

Iran in the Early Islamic Period

Iran Studies

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Iran in the Early Islamic Period

*Politics, Culture, Administration and Public Life
between the Arab and the Seljuk Conquests, 633–1055*

By

Bertold Spuler

Edited by

Robert G. Hoyland

Translated by

Gwendolin Goldbloom & Berenike Walburg



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Cover illustration: Alexander the Great, who is accounted of Persian ancestry by many Muslim historians, visits the Ka'ba in Mecca. Ms 22-1948, fol. 18v / Firdawsi, *Shahnama* © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

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Editor's Preface and Acknowledgements

Bertold Spuler was one of the leading German Orientalists of the middle decades of the twentieth century. He was a specialist of Iran and Central Asia and composed numerous books on this subject, attaining high international standing, as is indicated by the fact that many of his writings were translated into a variety of European languages.¹ One that did not receive this treatment (though it was translated into Persian) was his monumental work on early Islamic Iran: *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, which provides a fundamental basis for the study of Iran from the first Arab conquests in the 630s until the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in 1055. This is a very difficult period to write about, especially the first half of it, which has been labelled 'The Two Centuries of Silence' by the prominent Iranian historian Abdulhossein Zarrinkub.² Documentary evidence is very scarce and the Arabic and Persian literary accounts, though voluminous, are court-orientated, intended principally for edification and entertainment. It takes a lot of effort to use this material for historical ends and Spuler expended much labour sifting through it so that he could piece together a picture of numerous aspects of Iranian society. These included:

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- ¹ *Die Chalifenzeit: Entstehung und Zerfall des Islamischen Weltreichs* (Leiden, 1952); translated as *The Age of the Caliphs* by F.R.C. Bagley (Leiden, 1969); with a new introduction by Jane Hathaway (Princeton, 1995). *Geschichte der Mongolen, nach östlichen und europäischen Zeugnissen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1968); translated as *History of the Mongols: based on Eastern and Western accounts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries* by Helga and Stuart Drummond (London, 1972; repr. New York, 1988). *Les Mongoles dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1961); translated as *The Mongols in History* by Geoffrey Wheeler (New York, 1971). *Die historische Literatur in persischer Sprache* (HdO; Leiden, 1968); translated as *Persian Historiography and Geography* by M. Ismail Marcinkowski (Singapore, 2003). *Geschichte der islamischen Länder: 1. ein Überblick* (Berlin, 1948); translated as *The Muslim World: a historical survey* by F.R.C. Bagley (Leiden, 1960). *Geschichte der islamischen Länder: 2. die Mongolenzeit* (HdO; Leiden, 1953); translated as *The Mongol Period: a History of the Muslim World* by Arthur N. Waldron (Princeton, 1994). *Regenten und Regierungen der Welt*, vols. 3 and 4 (Bielefeld, 1953-); translated with revisions as vols. 2 and 3 of Martha Ross et al., *Rulers and Governments of the World* (London and New York, 1977-78). A bibliography of Bertold Spuler's writings can be found in I. Türschmann and A. Hartmann, 'Die wichtigsten Publikationen Bertold Spulers' in Hans Roemer and Albrecht Noth, eds., *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients: Festschrift für Bertold Spuler zum 70. Geburtstag* (Leiden, 1981), 458-77 (up to 1980), and in 'Spuler, Bertold', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, New York, 1996-.
 - ² *Do Qarn Sokut* (Tehran, 1956), though his explanation for the silence – the destructiveness of the Arab conquests and the low cultural level of the conquerors – is not now generally accepted.

religion (Zoroastrians, Muslims, Christians, Jews and Buddhists), ethnic groups (Arabs, Turks, Persians etc.), intellectual and cultural life, administration, law, economy (agriculture, manufacture, trade, etc.), social stratification, landownership, taxes, the military and daily life.

The volume Spuler produced is doubly difficult to access. Possibly because of the situation in Europe after the Second World War, it did not enjoy a wide distribution and many university libraries – even some very good ones – do not possess a copy. Secondly, being in German, it has not reached the worldwide audience that it deserved. And yet, more than half a century on, no textbook for this period of Iranian history has been produced that might serve in its stead, which greatly impedes the teaching of this subject to new students. It seems worthwhile, then, to make Spuler's work on this period accessible to a global audience. Now is a particularly opportune time, for Iranian history is enjoying something of a renaissance, in part because of current events, which see Iran featuring prominently in the world news and which have made scholars understand how important Iran is and was in geopolitical terms, as a crucial bridge between the Fertile Crescent and Central Asia, and in part because of the expanding horizons of late antique studies. Already in 1971, Peter Brown, in his by now cult book *The World of Late Antiquity*, argued that early Islamic Iran should be included within the purview of the scholar of late antiquity, for in the course of its encounters with the Late Roman Empire it had been exposed to some of the key phenomena of late antiquity, such as the tightening bond between religion and politics, the emergence of self-governing religious communities and the spread of Greek logic and science. The Sasanian period (224–652) has benefited from this attention, now well served by Touraj Daryaei's *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (London, 2009), and the medieval period is also quite well catered for, notably by David Morgan's *Medieval Persia 1040–1797* (London, 1988). It is to be hoped that the translation of Spuler's *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* will stimulate interest in and aid research on the time between these two eras.

Of course, the fact that no textbook for early Islamic Iran has been produced since Spuler wrote does not mean that scholarship in this field has stood still – indeed, it has become an increasingly popular area of study of late. Since no recent advances in our knowledge will be represented in Spuler's text, it would perhaps be helpful if I comment here on a few of the most important publications. As regards reference works the most significant development has been the launch of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, which made its début in 1982. Under the careful guidance of Ehsan Yarshater, it has become an essential tool for consultation and research on all aspects of Iranian history and culture, comprising high-quality entries on an enormous range of topics. Its usefulness

has been greatly enhanced by the fact that it is available free online, which also means that it can be easily and swiftly updated. In addition, I should mention the voluminous output of C.E. Bosworth, who, over the last five decades, has produced foundational works on numerous aspects of Iranian history, including monographs (in particular the ones on the Ghaznavid dynasty and the province of Sistan), translations (especially of al-Ṭabarī), articles and encyclopaedia entries (300 or so in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*).

Academic articles on early Islamic Iran published since 1952 are too numerous to consider here, but monographs are still relatively few, and it is worth mentioning those that have changed the way we think about and approach the subject. Particularly important are three highly original works by Richard Bulliet. His *Patricians of Nishapur* (1972) makes good use of biographical dictionaries to give a fascinating picture of a number of leading wealthy families in this east Iranian city in the aftermath of the breakup of the Abbasid Empire. He illustrates the crucial role of religious learning in their achievement of status, the rivalry that existed between the law-schools of the Shafi'is and Hanafis, and the part played by the recently introduced institution of the *madrassa*. In his *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (1979) Bulliet turns once again to biographical dictionaries in order to try to answer the question of when Iran became a majority Muslim country. Because Muslim and non-Muslim names were very often markedly different in Iran, it is reasonably easy to spot converts: thus someone called 'Ali ibn Rustam is very likely either a convert himself or the son of a convert. Examining a sample of 469 of such cases Bulliet is able to show that conversion to Islam occurred mostly during the period AH 150–300 (AD 767–912), with the process substantially complete by the end of the third Islamic century. His latest book, *Cotton, Climate and Camels in Early Islamic Iran* (2009), is perhaps his most innovative, tracing the rise of cotton cultivation in Iran in response to a demand for a simple and distinctive form of attire by newly-converted Muslims and its subsequent demise as demand fell and a long period of cold weather led to the migration into the Islamic world of large numbers of Turkic nomads from the Central Asian steppe.

In the field of religion the contribution of Wilferd Madelung has been significant, in particular his *Religious Trends of Early Islamic Iran* (1988), which grew out of his 1983 Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies. It is full of rich insights into the religious diversity of this land, illustrating the intersection between theology, law and ethnicity. For example, it considers the links between Maturidi theology and the Turks, the role played by the Murji'ite sect in the spread of Hanafism in east Iran, the theological dimension to the rivalry between the Hanafi and Shafi'i law schools in Iranian cities, the nature of Persian Kharijism

and the varieties of Persian Shi'ism, and the links between Sufi mystical orders, Shafi'i law and Ash'ari theology. What shines through clearly in this volume is the complexity of relationships between religious movements and their ideological motivations, geographical distribution, internal dynamics and external events.

The other giant in the field is Patricia Crone. Many of her writings offer insights into Iranian history and culture in the late antique and early Islamic periods; for example, her *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (2004) deals with Shi'ism and Isma'ilism in Iran and has a long section on the Persian tradition of kingship. But her greatest contribution to our understanding of this region lies in her recent work *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran* (2012). Here she examines a number of insurrections that took place in the mountainous regions of western and eastern Iran in the eighth and ninth centuries. A close analysis of the doctrines of the rebel leaders leads her to conclude that they rest upon regional forms of Zoroastrianism, but with local colouring; in east Iran/Transoxania, for example, some insurgents drew upon Buddhist ideas. She then relates these events to the bigger picture of the socio-economic changes wrought by the Arab conquests and Abbasid revolution and the ways in which the pre-Islamic Persian religious worldview found its expression within the new Islamic milieu.

Besides the output of these three prominent scholars the study of early Islamic Iran has been enriched in the last decade or so by a series of stimulating monographs. Saleh Agha's *The Revolution which toppled the Umayyads: neither Arab nor Abbasid* (2003) is an insightful investigation into the incubation of the revolution of AD 750 that led to the rise of the Abbasid Empire and demonstrates convincingly that the role played by Iranians was much more substantial than had previously been recognised. Deborah Tor's *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry and the Ayyar Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World* (2007) shows that 'ayyaris, who have often been portrayed negatively as brigands, originally began as ascetic defenders of a newly emerging Sunni Orthodoxy, and she illustrates their close links to the Saffarid state, which ruled east Iran in the ninth and tenth centuries. Parvaneh Pourshariati's *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire* (2008) offers a new interpretation of the collapse of the Persian Empire in the wake of the Arab conquests, namely that the alliance between the Sasanian and Parthian families (whose heartlands lay in the southwest and the northeast of Iran respectively) that had endured since the 220s began to unravel in the late sixth century, and particularly in the aftermath of the disastrous defeat inflicted by the Byzantines upon Emperor Khusrau II in 628. Turning to literary culture, we have Mohsen Zakeri's *Persian Wisdom in*

Arabic Garb: 'Ali b. 'Ubayda al-Rayḥani (2007), a presentation of the works of this key figure in the transmission of pre-Islamic Persian lore into Arabic, and Andrew Peacock's *Mediaeval Islamic Historiography and Political Legitimacy: Bal'ami's Tarikhnamah* (2007), which looks at the composition and reception of this very early witness to Persian prose writing. We might fittingly conclude with mention of the innovative work by Sarah Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran* (2013), which considers the ways in which Iranian converts to Islam used the pre-Islamic past to construct their new identity, social status and cultural outlook in a rapidly Islamicising world. The quality of these and other publications bodes well for the future of scholarship on early Islamic Iran.

A Note on Editing

The truism that every creative work is a product of its own time is worth emphasizing here and leads to two particular caveats. In the first place, Spuler envisages such notions as ethnicity and identity in quite essentialist terms, not as social constructs subject to variation and change, as has become more usual in recent years. In particular, he views the Middle East as dominated by three overarching groups: Arabs, Persians/Iranians and Turks, and attributes to them a clearly defined and enduring linguistic, cultural and ethnic character. This view has survived largely intact into twenty-first century scholarship and there has as yet been little appreciation of the degree to which these three labels have meant very different things to different peoples at different times. The dominance of the languages of Arabic, Persian and Turkish has helped to mask the fact that identities and allegiances were, and still are, quite fluid and multi-faceted in this region.

In the second place, Spuler has a very positive attitude towards the 'Aryan' people, which reflects his upbringing in Germany in the first half of the twentieth century. As an expert in the Middle East and Central Asia with a talent for languages, he was drafted into the military in the Second World War, where he served as a translator, interpreter and advisor on Turkish issues. The Communist government of the Soviet Union was at best lukewarm and sometimes overtly hostile to Islam and religious authorities in its Caucasian and Central Asian colonies, and the German Reich strove to win over the local populations of these regions by demonstrating support for Islam. Spuler had alluded in many of his writings to the positive aspects of Islam and its centrality to the Middle Eastern and Turkic world, and so it is not surprising that

he was selected by the German army to run a mullah training school at the University of Göttingen, which was intended to produce loyal leaders for military units composed of POWs and deserters from the Soviet army and staff for German-sponsored mosques in Soviet territories.³ Although these features of Spuler's writing could be excised without too much detriment to the work as a whole, it seems to me preferable to leave them in as a testament to the times during which he lived and wrote.

In the third place, Spuler was writing this book during the difficult days of the Second World War, and that can be discerned in his comments about the problems of getting hold of certain academic materials. It would also seem that his work was frequently disrupted, for he uses different ways of referring to the same source, often neglects to include items in the bibliographies, and so on (though it is not evident why he did not revise the whole book before publishing it). I felt it was therefore necessary to reorganise and simplify the overly complex system of references, abbreviations and bibliographies. Now all items (rather than, as before, a selected number) are in the bibliographies, arranged alphabetically (rather than, as before, by subject), except those that are very tangential to the study of Iran or those that Spuler says were inaccessible to him (then, in both cases, cited in full in the footnote in which they are mentioned). I have also simplified the rendering of place names where their modern equivalent is reasonably well known. Finally, I have included the corrections of Albert Dietrich (indicated by the letters AD) from his review of Spuler's *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (*Oriens* 6, 1953, 378–86), in which he went to the trouble of checking many of the references, which highlighted both the strengths and the weaknesses of the work as a whole.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to the Volkswagen Foundation for funding the translation of this book. The work was begun by Berenike Walburg, a promising young doctoral student in the field of Iranian history at St Andrews University who

3 U. Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: the Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800–1945* (London, 2009), 204, and E. Ellinger, *Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933–1945* (Edingen-Neckarhausen, 2006), 191, 254–56, 352–54. How committed Spuler was to the Nazi party (NSDAP) is difficult to say; many joined so as not to run the risk of falling foul of the authorities, so membership is not an automatic sign of support. He was exonerated of any charges after the war, though it is true that many of those exonerated might have sympathized to some extent with Hitler's policies.

very sadly did not live to see its completion. The bulk of the translation was accomplished by Gwendolin Goldbloom, and I am very thankful to her for her dedication and her competent handling of Spuler's often difficult prose. I was greatly helped in the final revision and editing by Sarah Waidler, with contributions on particular points from Tora Olsson, Anna Chrysostomides, Leyla Najafzada and Charles Mercer.

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[vii] Author's Preface and Acknowledgements⁴

Of all the upheavals to befall the Iranian people over time, the greatest and most far-reaching was the invasion of the Muslim Arabs in the first half of the seventh century AD, the impact of which is felt to this day. The changes it triggered were the prelude to a decisive and significant era of Persian history and the present monograph undertakes the task of examining this in all its aspects. It is true that this period has been discussed within the framework of the entire course of Iranian history; there are also studies of the Empire of the Caliphs – mostly in older works in the case of the Abbasid era – and studies of Islamic cultural history looking at the Iranian uplands and their fortunes. All the same, it seems to me that an attempt at giving a detailed presentation of the years from 633 to 1055 AD, namely the time between the Arab invasion and the successful Seljuk Turkish conquest, is justified. It will provide a building block for a continuous history of the Iranian people, a history which will draw on original sources and consider the existing material as completely as possible.⁵

The structure of this book reflects these aims. Firstly, it will be necessary to examine the extant material, which must then be arranged, presented and interpreted; thus the study will be analytical in its approach while at the same time hinting at broader continuities. This includes giving a perspective on the preceding Sasanid era on the one hand and the later era of Turkish–Mongolian rule on the other. These sections must not be understood as comprehensive accounts of these eras (especially the culture of the Seljuk years); rather, they should be seen as aids to understanding events from 633 to 1055. In addition, the author has drafted an overview of the history of the Empire of the Caliphs,⁶ the purpose of which is to set out and summarize developments described in the present book that particularly concern Persia. In the spring of 1949 it was ready for printing in fully proofed form (with seven colour maps) but was destroyed through the entirely inexcusable actions of a publishing house (founded after the war and by now liquidated) in Berlin. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that it may be published elsewhere in the not too distant future. This sketch should be seen as a supplement to | the information presented here: it situates the events in Iran within the greater framework of the history of the Islamic Empire.

[viii]

4 The original page numbering of Spuler's book is given throughout in square brackets in the margin. It is this numbering that is referred to in the indices below.

5 The geographical scope of this presentation is described on p. 300 below.

6 In the style of my *Mongolenzeit*.

Secondly, a continuous description of the Iranian character must concentrate on the enduring values of its culture in the widest sense of the word and on the everlasting flow of everyday life and its unchanging needs and requirements. This resulted in the description of political events in Iran being as brief as possible. Of course, they are varied indeed, and abound with significant events and profound catastrophes; but there is a constant up-and-down, to-and-fro, which may seem wearisome when presented in great detail, although it will furnish a feel for the factors which led to the – temporary – cultural and moral decline of this people. Thus where possible the details have been condensed in the following pages; the author's aim was to provide the right amount of information indispensable for the reader more interested in the cultural sections of the book who still needs to refer to the history. The emphasis, however, is on the chapters discussing the culture.

Everyone who has studied the eastern sources of the time knows that the effort involved in using the few and, on the whole, brief and incidental notes on cultural matters is similar to using tesserae to compose a mosaic, a mosaic that will remain incomplete especially for the seventh and eighth centuries. Often there is no information concerning a particular aspect of cultural or economic life for decades or even centuries.⁷ The absence of nearly all original documents and charters, together with the fact that there is virtually no genuine portrayal of personalities in the East, means that the images of individuals, their lives and their actions hardly ever stand out clearly. This difficult situation, therefore, needs dexterity and vividness of description to create a narrative.

The depiction of the culture must not be expanded boundlessly nor, in particular, burdened with unnecessary names. Consequently there are repeated references to the political and historical part of the book, which readers may follow if they so wish. When citing examples the significance of which for the whole is merely typological, the author has also refrained from giving the names of persons of lesser importance. Thus in descriptions of religious, | [ix] cultural and social life, there will be references to 'a vizier', 'a scholar', 'a general', 'a courtier', even if the source does give the respective person's name. These names would seem to be unnecessary within the scope of this book; interested readers may consult the source – which will be cited exactly. The date of an event, on the other hand, will be given as exactly as possible.

7 The same problem (*mutatis mutandis*) is encountered when studying Iranian art; see Kurt Erdmann, 'Lückenforschung im iranischen Kunstkreis', in *Kunst des Orients* 1 (Wiesbaden 1950), 20–36.

The unusual circumstances surrounding the source material relevant to the period described here, at which we will look in greater detail below,⁸ shows Persia mainly from the perspective of the conquerors of the years 633 to 651 AD, namely the Muslims. This is a deficiency in the historiography of which the reader must at all times be aware, which not only is the author unable to change but which will never be changed unless entirely new sources are discovered, and that does not seem likely.

Obtaining even the extant, well-known and accessible sources has been fraught with difficulty during the recent past in Germany. When in 1945 the author was able to dedicate himself to working on this monograph, the public libraries of Germany – insofar as they had survived past events at all – were virtually inaccessible to the public. That the author was able to use this time for research at all is due to the kindness of a number of colleagues and acquaintances whose names he is honour bound to list in gratitude. Frau Professor B. Hinz (Göttingen) put her husband's – who had not yet returned at the time – library at my disposal and also allowed me to access the section of the library of the university's Oriental Department which had found shelter in her home (it is now publicly accessible once again).⁹ Furthermore, Geheimrat E. Littmann (Tübingen) and Professors R. Paret, H.H. Schaeder, O. Spies, R. Strothmann and especially F. Taeschner have supported me throughout the hard times and deprivations of the last five years by sending me some of their own books, or books in their care (this would occasionally result in my having to consult different editions of the same author, which I have marked as different references). The library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle/Saale helped me even during the last months of the war with those books that had not been moved into safe storage.

[x] Once Germany's libraries had started functioning again, it was mainly the excellent university library in Göttingen which always supported my work in the most obliging fashion. This is one of the greatest collections in West Germany, the stock of which had survived nearly complete, even though its continuing excellence was now threatened due to lack of money. Even after I moved to Hamburg they were happy to send books to me here. Thanks to the support of the Orientalist librarian Dr H. Braun, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

8 See xv–xxxii below.

9 The Institute's extensive stock had been housed in a mine near Göttingen, where they were destroyed as late as 30 September 1945 in an explosion, together with numerous other libraries and collections of the University of Göttingen. Old ammunition had also been stored there (on a higher level), and exploded in an attempted ammunition robbery perpetrated by foreigners.

in Hamburg also allowed me access to all the oriental material that had survived the great conflagration of July 1943 (which sadly was very little) or that it had since been possible to acquire. Thanks to a generous donation from Professor Dr Fritz Krenkow (Cambridge), the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients now possesses a wealth of literature on Islamic Studies (especially Arabic). Finally the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg (Dr Voigt), which houses a great number of books from the erstwhile Berliner Staatsbibliothek – that incomparable institution of research, allowed me to borrow a great number of publications not otherwise accessible. All of this was done with the help of Dr H. Braun, who spared no effort on my behalf. Even so, there is unfortunately a small remainder of publications I have not been able to access; and I was not able to study foreign manuscripts either (although this is less significant, as most of the relevant contemporary texts are also available in printed form). Unless entirely new material is discovered it is unlikely that manuscripts will furnish fundamental new insights with regards to the time described here, although there may still be discoveries in the works of al-Thaʿalibī, al-Qudāʿī (d. 1062), the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* (ca. 1135) and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200) – Ibn al-Athīr's most important source (including for Iran).¹⁰

I also wish to extend thanks to those who supported my work directly: Professor K. Erdmann (Bonn), who went over the entire manuscript and has enriched it with original contributions to the chapter on the history of art; Dr W. Lentz, who spared no effort reading the proofs, Fräulein cand. phil. Inge Wildförster (Hannover) for the fair drawings of the maps; and finally and especially Professor Dr H. Scheel (Mainz), General Secretary of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz and Director of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (Mainz e. V.), who supported the publication of this volume in the *Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission* of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Finally I wish to thank the publishing house and the printers, whose | work is the fundamental precondition for books to be published at all and who are consequently entitled to any author's deepest gratitude. [xi]

Bertold Spuler

Hamburg, 28 September 1950

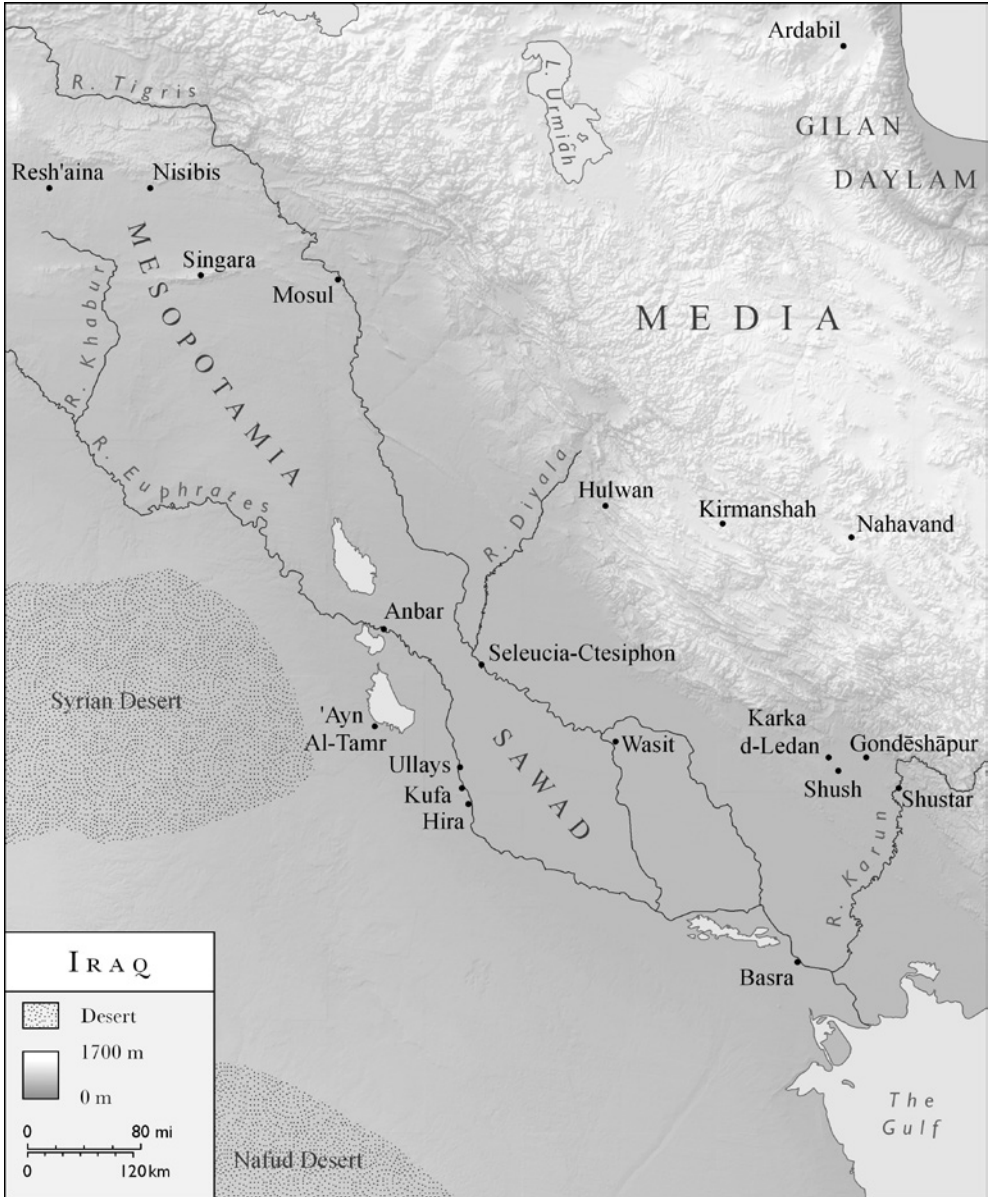
10 See *GAL I* 343 (= S I 584f.), I 501f. (= S I 914f.).

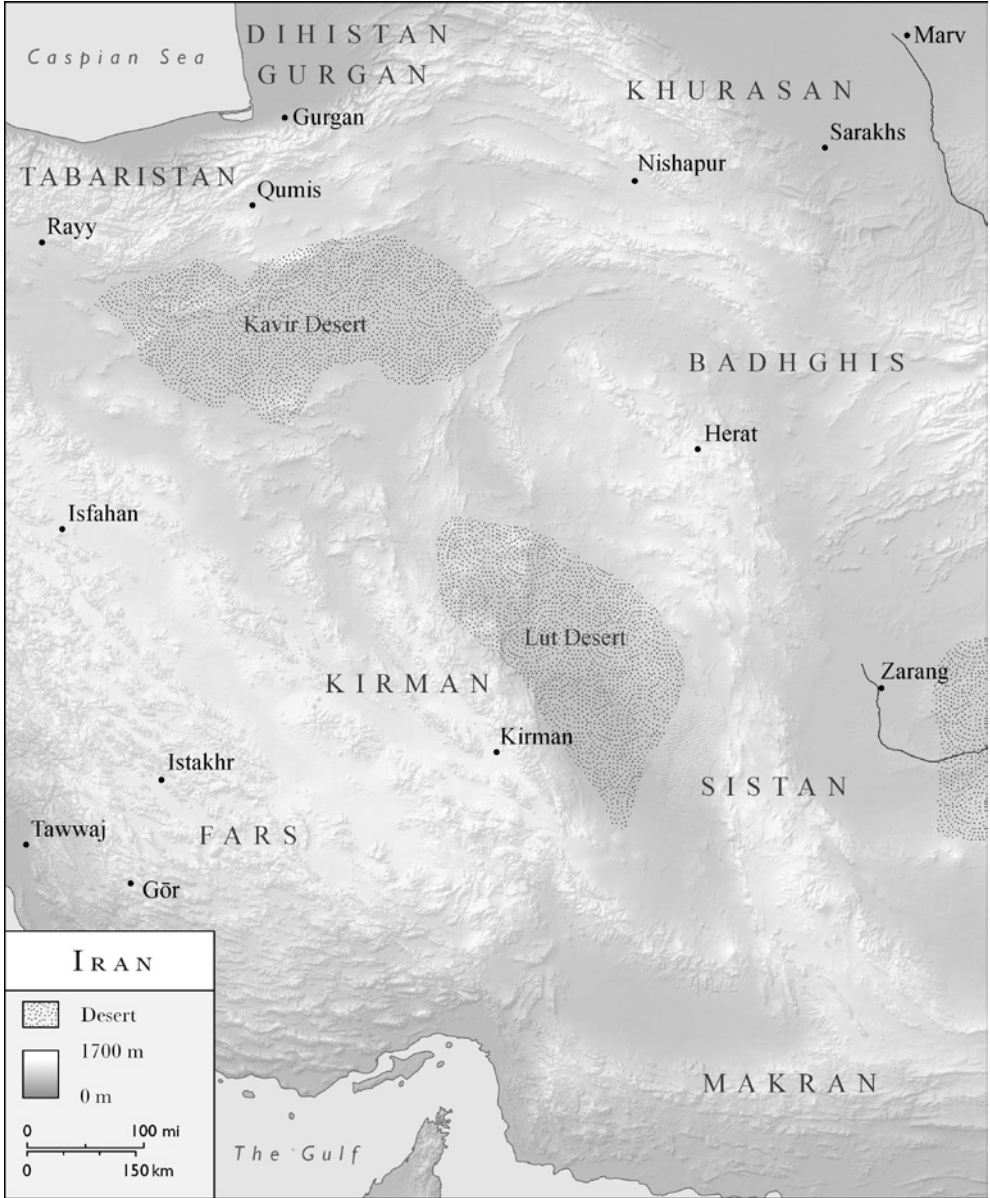
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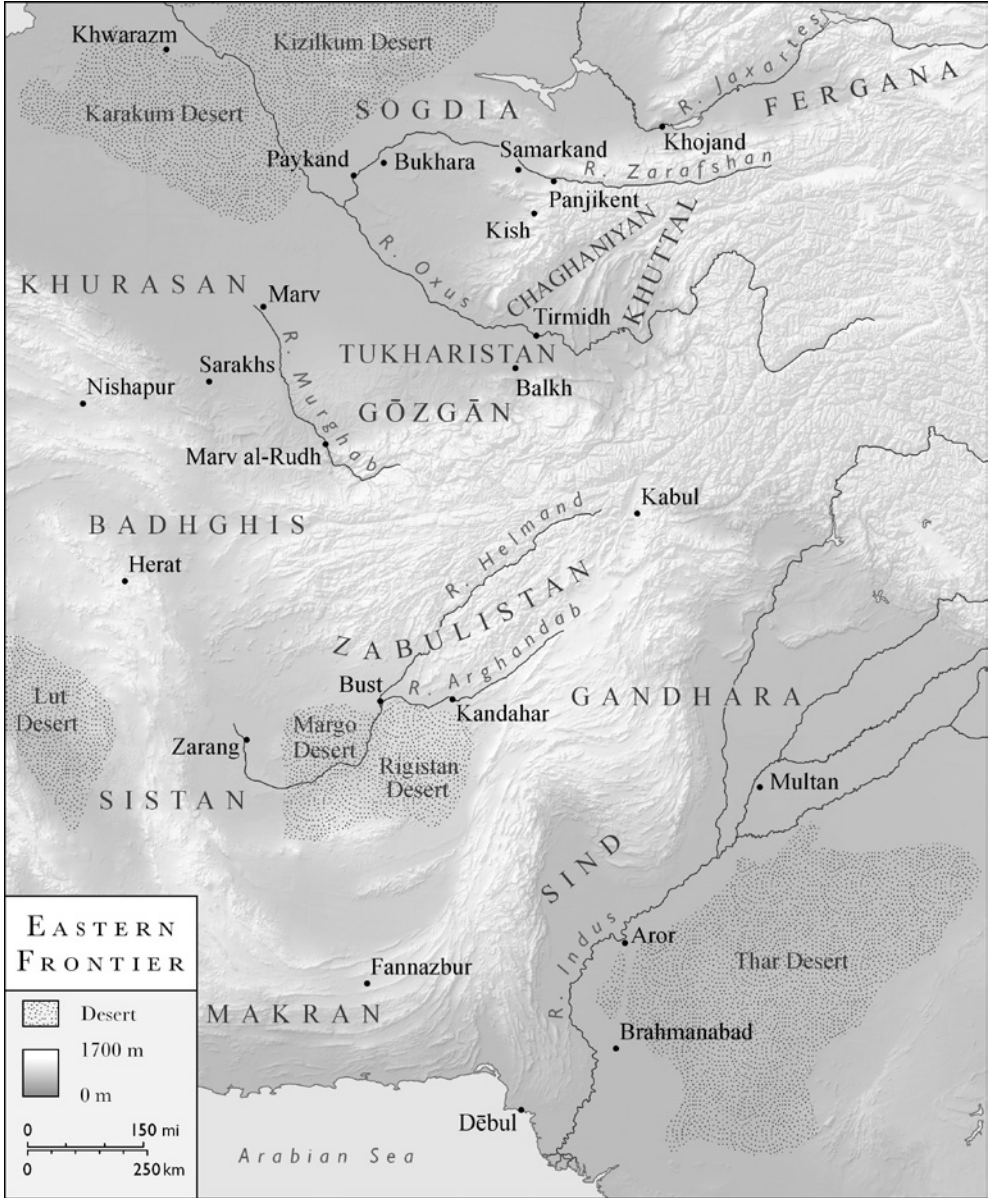
Muslim years are given with *one* corresponding Christian year if the two coincide entirely or deviate by only one or two months at the beginning or the end (i.e. if the Muslim year begins on or after 1 November or ends on or before 28/29 February). In all other cases, two years are cited, e.g.: 916–17 (AH 304).

Month names are often abbreviated, especially if they are long (e.g. Sept. = September, Ram. = Ramadan, Muh. = Muharram, Jum. = Jumada, etc.); Julian months are frequently given in Roman numerals when they are part of a precise date (i.e. year, month and day).

General Maps







Chronological Overview of Political History

The Importance of the Islamic Invasion for Persian History

[3]

One of the characteristics of Iranian history¹ is its clearly discernable periodization into large distinct sections, which are easily distinguished from one another and each of which displays a unique character. In the preceding millennia, individual periods had already been terminated or inaugurated by a national collapse. In this light we have to imagine the entry of the old Aryan population (which gave the country its name: Ērān) into the northeastern regions (Khurasan), a process which, together with the teachings of Zoroaster, gave the plateau for the first time a historically concrete form. In a similar way the rise of the Median and then Persian-Achaemenid state signified an inner transformation, even if it triggered changes only within the Iranian population.

Even more evident is the caesura introduced by Alexander the Great's invasion. In this case an element intruding from outside appropriated political power and was determined to make a bid for cultural leadership as well. It required a long, hard political struggle for the Iranian people to create their own national government in the guise of the Parthian state. This state combined Hellenistic influences with their own national tradition, and would form an important support in the ideological war between the Orient on the one hand and the Greek spirit and the power of the Roman state on the other.²

1 Spuler sometimes uses 'Persian' (as in the subtitle of this section) and sometimes 'Iranian' (as here) to denote the object of his study, and this is a quite common (albeit confusing) practice among Islamic historians. Persian refers originally to the province of Fars (Greek: Persis) in southwest Iran, but since the ruling families of the Achaemenid and Sasanid Empires came from Fars, the word Persian is often used to designate all of the territories and/or persons governed by these two empires. Iranian pertains to the land of Iran (Persian: Ērān) and its residents; it comprised modern Iran and parts of modern south Turkmenistan and west Afghanistan. Islamic sources mostly speak of 'Persians' (Furs), occasionally of 'ajam, which means non-Arab, but often the non-Arab inhabitants of Iran in particular. [RGH]

2 As noted in my preface, Spuler conceives of peoples and cultures in more essentialist terms than would be usual today. He often calls the Iranians a nation, but because of the strong modern connotations of this term it is more common now to use the term 'ethnie', a population 'with shared ancestry, myths and culture, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity' (Antony Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations*, Oxford, 1986, 32). [RGH]

The demise of the Parthian state and the onset of Sasanid domination (AD 224 or 226) brought about another important internal change for Iran. This transformation had a linguistic dimension and was linked to the restoration of Zoroastrianism, which was able to hold its ground against Christianity and Manichaeism, and yet it did not, and did not wish to, eliminate the linguistic and cultural inheritance of the past in terms of language and culture, as had been the case in previous political ruptures.

The Muslim Arab invasion of the lands settled by the Iranians was therefore not a novelty within the context of the history of the Iranian plateau. Alexander's Macedonians and Greeks had been foreigners who had already [4] succeeded in taking possession of Iran; | the Iranian people had already therefore had to hold their own, nationally as well as culturally. In addition to these world-historical parallels there were a number of external factors which repeated themselves in a very obvious way; then as now the last king of the East met his end at the hands of a murderer, then as now the conquerors were (temporarily) stopped at the Inner Asian frontier, where Sasanid Iran had defended Near Eastern culture and civilization in long battles against the Hephthalites and the Turks pushing hard behind them.³

However, the penetration of the Arabs meant more for Iran than previous (and subsequent) national catastrophes. For the first and only time in the course of their history the Persians, presented with the youthful fervour of the fresh and single-minded Arabs, gave up the true heart of their oriental culture (and indeed any culture): they gave up their religion in order to follow the teaching of the prophet Muḥammad. Thus, the great caesura in Iranian history that took place in the seventh century became the most important and truly decisive one in the long history of this people and its country. It divides the Middle Iranian period from the New Iranian one. It left its mark on the face of the people, and by asserting themselves as a national unit and an independent cultural entity against the Arabs, the Iranians had to re-define and delineate anew their whole being in the symbols of this new faith of the one God.

Such a renewal process does not happen in one day. The Persian nation needed several centuries in order to find its new self, to create a space for itself in the framework of the Islamic nations, and to find entry into the emerging community on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, whose constitutive element was Islam. By following this religion, Iran was able to spread parts of its ancient culture in a new guise far beyond the confines of the

3 On the continuity of the task of defending the frontiers and the strength Khurasan and its people acquired thanks to it (also in Islamic times) see also Toynbee, *Study*, I 73–78, II 138, 142f.

Persian language area; it could stamp a whole range of Iranian character traits onto Islam, and finally it could create its own special form of this religion (and this concluding phase has continued since 1502).

The Arab Conquest of Iran

[5]

Throughout their existence Sasanid Persia and Christian Byzantium had continued the old fight between Orient and Occident, without actually ever reaching a true and final result. The seventh century seemed to inaugurate a major shift and gave one of the two powers the upper hand. The Eastern Roman Empire had been weakened by the tyranny of the emperor Phokas (602–10), by the confusion caused by his fall and the accession of Heraclius (from Egypt), and by the subsequent attacks from northern and northeastern enemies aimed at the core of the state. It was no longer able to muster a united front when the Sasanid Khusrau II Parvēz (590–628) mounted a large attack against the southern provinces of the realm and seized not only Syria, Palestine and Egypt in two large expeditions, but was also able to move deep into Armenia and Asia Minor. Heraclius had to invest great effort in establishing a new military administration and at least attempting to balance the dogmatic differences between the individual Christian beliefs in order to prevail. In the end, with difficult and bitter expeditions, which were nevertheless surprisingly well-aimed and quick, he was able to drive Khusrau out of all the territories he had conquered and to pursue him into the heart of his realm, to his residence in Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Middle Tigris. There Heraclius dictated to him the terms of peace, for which the great ruler paid with a violent death and the loss of his throne (29 February 628).

It was obvious that military activities on this scale, which were furthermore followed by years of struggle for the throne in the Sasanid state, led Persia to a state of extreme exhaustion, but also that, despite its victory, the Eastern Roman Empire was temporarily not fully able to function. So the prerequisites were fulfilled for an external enemy, who might not have hoped in the past to attack a great power like Iran successfully, to have the prospect of being victorious.⁴ This enemy came from the southwest, from a region where so far no genuinely dangerous activities had threatened the existence of the great state, even if local raiders had long made their uncomfortable presence felt. Indeed, the southern border of the Sasanid state lay relatively unprotected since the demise of the Lakhmid dynasty in 602.

4 Michael Syr. 414, 416 explicitly refers to this background.

However, the vehemence of the attack that followed was not determined [6] by environmental changes on the Arabian peninsula, such as | a drought that would have compelled the population to expeditions on a larger scale,⁵ nor by the relocation of trade routes, nor merely by the Arabs' greed for booty, even though this trait, well-known among, and characteristic of, all nomadic and pastoral peoples, played a role which should not be underestimated. The actual motivation for the explosive and unstoppable advance of the Arabs was the new religion⁶ and the new ideological foundation that Muḥammad had given them. While the possibility that a simple attitude towards God and the world could have such an extraordinary effect has been doubted in the past, the events of the last centuries have shown with the necessary clarity what kind of forces (positive and negative) can be triggered by a new idea. Now no one can doubt anymore that the religion of the one God proclaimed at the time was the first and most long-lasting motivation for the expansion of the Arabs.

Muḥammad himself had prepared an expedition north immediately before his death, and the caliph Abū Bakr (632–34) had carried it out, despite the dangerous political situation in Arabia, in the summer of 632. Details of its course are not known, and it did not bring about a result. Properly organised military forays were conducted only in the following year of 633 in a northerly and northeasterly direction. They were aimed firstly at East Roman Palestine and from there at Syria and culminated in the battles of Ajnadayn (July or August 634)⁷ and the Yarmūk (Hieromax; 23 July–20 August 636)⁸ and in the capture of Jerusalem and later Damascus. These events are taken into consideration here only insofar as they were significant for the course of the conflict in Mesopotamia.

5 This view, presented by Leone Caetani and temporarily adopted by Carl Becker, presumes climatic changes that would have caused economic change at a speed which does not correspond to the geological reality and which can furthermore not be supported historically.

6 Indeed, the Arabs themselves stress this fact in the dealings with Rustam: Ṭab. I 2268, 2271, 2278. On p. 2643 religion rather than economic hardship, contrary to Persian opinion, is clearly highlighted as their motivation (which does, of course, correspond to the religious attitude of the historiography).

7 See *EI* I 149.

8 Caet. III 508–613; Christensen² 502–14; Qūzānlū I 243–346 (this last source is an essentially uncritical compilation of the course of the war, without special discussion of the military history and without reference to the sources). A simple rendition of the information given in the sources in the *Chronologia regum Persarum* is to be found in Assemani III/1 419–27.

Indeed, the Muslim Arabs simultaneously advanced against the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates.⁹ | Here Persian supremacy had not been touched by [7] the defeat against the East Romans, although Persian forces had been decimated and further weakened by the civil war that raged until 632. The first push was led by al-Muthannā ibn Ḥāritha from the tribe of Shaybān, soon supported by Khālid ibn al-Walīd from Yamāma (633 III/18–IV/16 = Muḥ. AH 12), against al-Ḥīra, the old residence of the Lakhmids on the west bank of the Euphrates, on the northwestern edge of the large marshes.¹⁰ The Persians under Hōrmīzdān were forced back from the city;¹¹ Persian rescue attempts with new troops failed,¹² and the Christian Arab auxiliaries of the Persians were defeated at Ullays on the Euphrates and the prisoners killed, due to a vow of Khālid's (April/May 633 = Ṣafar AH 12). After fierce resistance by the Christian Arab population, supported by monks and priests, al-Ḥīra had to surrender to Khālid (May/June 633 = Rabī' I AH 12). Despite two revolts the city was treated leniently¹³ but soon lost its importance due to the foundation of neighbouring Kufa,¹⁴ which was soon followed by Basra on the seashore.¹⁵

With the fall of al-Ḥīra the gates to Mesopotamia stood open. The Muslims travelled as far as the Tigris in individual raids, taking several smaller fortresses (among them Dūmat al-Jandal, which was defended by Arab allies of the Sasanids), and standing their ground in individual encounters with local detachments, while the Persians were reorganising their forces in the Zagros mountains. The situation of the Muslims became more difficult when Khālid, having repelled a Byzantine intervention in Mesopotamia in the late autumn of 633, was transferred to Syria in the following year (as he believed, because

9 Concerning the strongly divergent and often contradictory information of the sources for the Arab actions in Persia (634–51) the table in Caet. VII, XLIV–LI is helpful. See also the review by Wellh., *Sk.* VI 94ff.; Caet. VII 29f, and 240–48 for a critique of earlier presentations of this event.

10 On the historical geography of Mesopotamia in this period a new description by Helmut Braun (Hamburg) is expected, in addition to the works by Maximilian Streck (*Die alte Landschaft Babylonien* as well as relevant articles in the *Et*) and Aḥmad Susa (see note on p. 8 below).

11 Ṭab. I 2019; Athīr II 147f. Arabic form of the name: Hurmuzān.

12 Ṭab. I 2037f.; Athīr II 148.

13 Dīn. 117; Athīr II 149f.; Dennett 18f.

14 Ṭab. I 2360, 2389, 2481; Mas. IV 225f.; Athīr II 204; Caet. III 493f., 833–63; Reitemeyer 29–40; Qūzānlū I 249–62.

15 Ṭab. II 2377; Dīn.123; Caet. III 769–84; Reitemeyer 11–28.

of the jealousy of the later caliph ‘Umar), which he reached in a bold five-day-long march through the desert.¹⁶

- [8] His successor, al-Muthannā, one of the leaders of the tribe of the Bakr ibn Wā’il, was temporarily endangered by a Persian raid from Fars that advanced up to the ruins of old Babylon (Arabic: Bābil) near al-Ḥīra, but this ended with a Persian defeat and secured the country up to the Euphrates for the Arabs.¹⁷ Under the pressure of the continuous Muslim threat the prince and general Rustam, son of Farrukh-Hōrmuzd, succeeded in ordering the government and achieving recognition for the young Yazdagird (Yazdegert) III under his guardianship.¹⁸ Despite heavy losses in a series of encounters with the new Arab general Abū ‘Ubayd al-Thaqafi, he was able to prevent the invaders from making any real progress for a long time, as after the fording of the Euphrates the Muslims were repelled in a bitter battle at Qiss al-Nāṭif, and Abū ‘Ubayd fell (‘Battle of the Bridge’).¹⁹ However, internal discord made it impossible for the Persians to take advantage of this success.²⁰

In the ‘Battle of the Tents’ al-Muthannā, now chief general again, was able to prevent the Persians from penetrating once more into the northern Arabian–Syrian desert, and he raided a number of essential markets as far as the village of Baghdad. Only now, after the loss of Babylon, did the Persians pull themselves together for the decisive battle under the leadership of Rustam.²¹ Once more they advanced across the Euphrates at al-Ḥīra as far as the frontier stronghold of al-Qādisīya at the edge of the Syrian desert (30km southwest of this city).²² For weeks the Arabs under Sa’d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ were pitted against the Persians under Rustam;²³ although whether this occurred in the year 636²⁴ or

16 Ṭab. I 2121/3; Athīr II 151–54; Wellh., *Sk.* VI 37–51.

17 Athīr II 159f.; Qūzānlū I 262–265.

18 The clarification of the individual events and their sequence in these years is not possible anymore: Caet. III 695f. Regarding names see Justi, *Namb.*, 263, 148.

19 Ṭab. I 2174/80; Dīn. 118–20 (according to this on a Saturday in Ram. AH 13 = 634 X/29 XI 27); Ya’q., *Hist.* II 162; Yāq. VII 88f.; Athīr II 166–69. Also Qūzānlū I 266–68.

20 Dīn. 120f.

21 Ṭab. I 2247–56 (following Mesopotamian reports, which go back to the highly unreliable Sayf ibn ‘Umar), Dīn. 125.

22 Yāq. VII 4–8. *EI* II 655. Several different etymologies of the name Qādisīya are compiled by Aḥmad Susa, but in my opinion these are not tenable when compared with *EI*. See Susa, *Rayy Sāmarā’*, I, 247f.

23 Ṭab. I 2258–84. *EI* IV 30f.

24 Thus Wellh., *Sk.* VI 72.

637²⁵ cannot | be determined with any certainty,²⁶ but certainly in the spring. [9] The Persians were far superior in numbers, although it is doubtful whether they were indeed 80,000 men;²⁷ rather the statements vary between 30,000 and 120,000 men. The number of Arabs at the beginning of the battle is estimated at 9,000–10,000,²⁸ but this is probably too low, if the number of Persians was indeed as high as stated above. Since the reports regarding the strength of the Muslims range between 6,000 and 38,000,²⁹ we may assume around 20,000 warriors, an estimate which is also based on general military-historical considerations.³⁰ The battle raged with great ferocity for three or four days and nights. We do not possess a proper overview of the formation and the tactical movements of both armies, since tradition has only individual battle sketches (often of special heroic deeds). From these it appears that the elephant-troops of the Persians gave the Arabs a hard fight, and that the latter had to summon the utmost heroic bravery to hold out until auxiliary troops (allegedly 6,000 men) arrived from Syria, who forced the Iranian army to flee after Rustam's death. Thus the Arabs had become irreversibly the masters of Babylonia as far as the Tigris,³¹ whose southernmost part was occupied under the direction of Mughīra ibn Shu'ba.³² The booty was considerable: in addition to numerous treasures the old banner of the Sasanid Empire (Drafsh-i Kāvīyān)³³ had fallen into Muslim hands.

The rest of the Persian army, which had gathered near Babylon, was forced back with little effort and withdrew to the east into the mountains and the

25 Thus Caet. III 629–33 after Wāqidī.

26 Discussion of the year in Ṭab. I 2377; 'Iqd 14, 102; III 94. Athīr II 173–88, following Ṭab. I 2377, even moves the battle to the year 635 (AH 14). Wellh., *Sk.* VI 68–83.

27 So for example the contemporary Armenian historian Sebeos, see Hübschmann, *Zur Geschichte Armeniens*, 14.

28 In Sebeos.

29 Ṭab. I 2279: 12,000.

30 As mentioned to me by the military historian Alfred von Pawlikowski-Cholewa on 1 September 1949.

31 Bal. 255–62; Ṭab. I 2285–2358; Dīn. 125–31; Abū Yūsuf 16 f.; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 163f.; Mas. IV 207–25; Elias 82f.; Michael Syr. 417; al-Athīr II 173–88. Caet. III 629–713 (with reference to Syrian and Armenian sources as well); Wellh., *Sk.* VI 68–83; Christensen¹ 496–98. S.M. Yusuf, 'The Battle of al-Qadisiyya', in *IC XIX–XX* (Hyderabad 1945–46) (both volumes are inaccessible to me); Qūzānlū I 271–86 (with a primitive sketched map, 279).

32 Ṭab. I 2344–88.

33 Sarre, 'Die alt-orientalischen Feldzeichen', 244–361: Old and Middle Persian; 361f.: Islamic (mostly Ottoman).

- [10] chief general Hōrmizdān took up quarters in Ahvaz.³⁴ | Thus the victors could, despite the danger to their flank, risk crossing the Euphrates and take up the march via Kūthā³⁵ against the capital of the empire, Seleucia-Ctesiphon (called in Arabic ‘al-Madā’in’: ‘the Cluster of Cities’). In the following spring (637 or 638) the Muslims entered Bahrashīr via the part of the city located to the west of the Tigris, which was given up by the Persians after a short battle.³⁶ The eastern half of the city with the palace remained in Persian hands. However, due to the treason of a local the Arabs were soon able to cross the Tigris using a ford. At this point the Persians retreated from the eastern half under the direction of Yazdagird III, into the mountains (to Hulwan),³⁷ leaving the innumerable treasures in the palace and in the evacuated city to fall to the victors.³⁸ Iranian rule over Mesopotamia had thus effectively collapsed, and only a little later (by 640) the Arab occupation of the Byzantine region, together with Takrit, Mosul and Qarqisiya at the confluence of the Great Khābūr with the Tigris, was accomplished without great difficulty.³⁹ The rapid success of the Arabs and the haste with which the Persians evacuated this territory had deeper causes. Mesopotamia with its Aramaic or Aramaized population, inhabited largely by Christians, members of Baptist sects and Jews as well as some Manichaeans, had rejected Persian sovereignty.⁴⁰ The Iranians who lived here were certainly not very numerous. The rural population seems to have been completely passive during the advance of the Arabs; the caliph ‘Umar himself noticed this and left the people on their land as *dhimmīs*.⁴¹ Although the reception of the invading Arabs in Egypt, which had become disaffected by Byzantine religious policies at nearly the same time, did not take exactly the form as in Iraq, the basic conditions were nevertheless similar.⁴²
- [11] Following a series of encounters with an army which had been trapped for some time at Jalūlā’ (north-northeast of Seleucia-Ctesiphon) (637 XI/24–XII/

34 Ṭab. I 2421–24; Dīn. 133; Athīr II 196. Caet. III 715.

35 See *EI* II 1255.

36 Ṭab. I 2425–31. For Ctesiphon see Caet. III 760–63; *EI* III 81.

37 Sebeos 98f., Ṭab. I 2431–35f., 2441f.; Dīn. 133.; Yāq. I 394–97 (s.v. Īwān).

38 Naturally they would arouse the astonishment of the Arabs, and are described in detail: Ṭab. I 2436, 2444–50, 2451f.; Dīn. 133f.; Athīr II 199–201.

39 Ṭab. I 2474–77, 2479; Athīr II 202f., 205–7 (‘al-Jazīra was the area which was taken most easily’: Athīr II 206). Caet. III 752–69, IV 220–32; Qūzānlū I 287–99. For Armenia and Georgia see also *K’art’lis ts’khovreba*, 142f.; Brosset, *Add.*, 47f. (= *Chronique Arménienne*).

40 Also Ṭab. I 2369.

41 Ṭab. I 2370–73. See also 296f. below.

42 See Caet. v 4.

22 = Dhū 'l-Qa'da AH 16),⁴³ the Arabs proceeded to advance into the Zagros mountains and thus set foot on Iranian areas of settlement. Here they had to deal with different conditions: first of all, the terrain. The high, almost impassable, arid promontory was entirely unfamiliar to the Arabs and required very careful navigation. In addition, indifference, let alone approval, could not be expected from the population anymore. Furthermore, the Arab auxiliary troops of the Persian army who had often defected to their Muslim fellow-countrymen during the battles of the first years⁴⁴ were now rarely found in the ranks of the Persian army. While the capture of Hulwan was accomplished in a quick thrust after the battle of Jalūlā', allowing the Muslims to advance even further,⁴⁵ they then slowed down for purely military reasons. The troops had to be rested and the supplies had to be organised. The maxim that there should be no large river between the location of the Muslim armies and the capital Medina (originally attributed to 'Umar by tradition, it seems with some justification),⁴⁶ now had to be abandoned.

The first invasion into Persia proper (ca. 640 = AH 19) did not start from Mesopotamia. On the contrary, the governor of the Bahrain islands, al-'Alā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, organized an ordinary raid across the sea against the island of Abarkūvan and mainland Fars. This led the Arabs in a first surprise-attack as far as Iṣṭakhr (near ancient Persepolis), which gave them a victory by Ṭa'ūs over the Persians, but which then placed them in a very difficult position in a foreign country among a foreign people.⁴⁷ Tradition attributes this campaign to the initiative of al-'Ala' and his envy of Sa'd's successes. In any case, it had the effect that the position of the Persians in the southern Zagros seemed to be in danger of being flanked. For while the Arabs in Fars were hardly able to hold their position, the position of Hōrmizdān⁴⁸ in Ahvaz (Khuzistan) also proved to be untenable when 'Utba ibn Ghazwān tried to come to the Arabs' aid from Basra.⁴⁹ 'Utba advanced up the Dujayl⁵⁰ | without Hōrmizdān offering any serious resistance. Ahvaz fell into the hands of the victors, while Hōrmizdān [12]

43 According to Ṭab. I 2470 637 XI/24 XII/22 = Dhū 'l-Qa'da AH16. Bal. 263; Ṭab. I 2456–64; Dīn. 134f.; Ya'q., Hist. II 173; Michael Syr. 417f.; Yāq. IV 323; Athīr II 201. Caet. III 718–52; Qūzānlū I 303–6.

44 Ṭab. I 2475; Athīr II 202, 210. See 134f. below.

45 Bal. 301; Ṭab. I 2473f.; Ibn Rustah 164; Athīr II 201.

46 Ṭab. I 2360.

47 Bal. 386f.; Ṭab. I 2545–50; Dīn. 140f.; Yāq. II 426f.; IV 350; VI 325f.; Athīr II 208. Caet. IV 146–53, 505.

48 Regarding the name see Justi, *Namb.* 10.

49 Bal. 376f., 387; Ṭab. I 2533–38; Athīr II 209.

50 As the Arabs called the Kārūn river.

diverted eastwards to Rāmhōrmīzd.⁵¹ The information in the tradition with regards to the date varies considerably – between 637 and 640 (AH 16 and 19); we probably have to accept the latter if we look at the overall course of events.

After the fall of Ahvaz and in view of the persistent threat from Fars, central Khuzistan could not be held, despite the considerably stronger resistance of the non-Semitic population. When Hōrmīzdān (influenced by Yazdagird) broke a recent agreement with the Arabs, Ēdhaj fell into the hands of the advancing Muslims. The unrelenting battle, in which soldiers from Mesopotamia (with reinforcements from Basra, on the order of the caliph) took part on the Arab side in addition to troops from Fars, concentrated on the city of Shushtar (Arabic: Tustar) on the upper Dujayl. Hōrmīzdān defended himself energetically, but he was taken captive after the storming of the citadel (642 = AH 21)⁵² and taken to ‘Umar in Medina, who in the end spared his life⁵³ and kept him prisoner there.

One Arab division advanced (presumably subsequently)⁵⁴ to Gondēshāpūr (actually Vahy-Andiok-Shāpuhr; Arabic: Jundaysābūr) and a second advanced to Shush (ancient Susa).⁵⁵ The first city was taken by agreement, the second [13] by force. At this time we first hear of Persian | nobles with their dependents willingly entering into Arab service, embracing Islam and sinking to the level of deceiving their countrymen⁵⁶ in one of the few passages in which the

51 Bal. 377–79 (= Yāq. I 381f.), v 196; Ṭab. I 2538–41; Athīr II 210f. Caet. III 784–787, IV 144f.; Wellh., *Sk.* VI 94–113 (‘Die Eroberung von Iran’ concerns the rest of this section); Qūzānlū I 301–3.

52 Bal. 381 [AD] (= Yāq. II 388); Ṭab. I 2543f., 2551–56, 2569; Dīn. 137f.; Qommī 297–305. Caet. III 906–16; IV 454–60.

53 Here, in Ṭab. I 2558f., Ibn Sa’d v 64f. and Athīr II 212f., we also find the famous story of the cup of water, before the consumption of which Hōrmīzdān was not supposed to be executed (which forms the basis of the poem by August Graf von Platen-Hallermünde). *EI* II 359.

54 This has to be inferred from the geographical location. Al-Dhahabī and Ṭab. III 447–52 place the events already in the year 639 = AH 18 (see Caet. IV 3) with hardly any justification. The chronology is still very confused due to the attempt of an Iraqi tradition to place as many events as possible within the reign of ‘Umar.

55 Ṭab. I 2556–61, 2562–69 (there is information here by al-Madā’inī glorifying families of Persian origin, and by Sayf ibn ‘Umar with numerous unreliable facts); Dīn. 136–40; Athīr II 211f.; Abū ‘l-Fidā I 240–42. Caet. IV 460–74; *EI* IV 611f. For Vahy-Andiok-Shāpuhr = ‘Better-than-Antiochos-(built)-Shapūr’, see Henning, ‘Great Inscription’, 843 (see Muq. 145).

56 Ṭab. I 2562f.; Athīr II 213f.

conversion of individuals to Islam is reported.⁵⁷ The conquest of Khuzistan⁵⁸ opened one of the gateways into Persia to the Muslims, first into Fars, one of the core provinces of the country.⁵⁹ However, the expedition there surely did not happen as soon after the conquest of the southern Zagros as tendentious reports (such as Sayf ibn 'Umar's) would have it. For the newly formed main army of the Persians was not beaten yet and the army which was standing by Nahavand,⁶⁰ south-southwest of Hamadan (Ekbatana) in the province of Media (Arabic: Jibāl), was as dangerous for those planning excursions into Khuzistan and Fars as it was for the Muslims in Mesopotamia. Even if supplying Fars across the sea had been possible, an elimination of this army must have been desirable in order to secure the Arab positions; the need to obtain a new source of income after the tough battles of the past years may have played a role as well.⁶¹

During the battle of Nahavand, presumably in 642, the dogged struggle dragged on for three days.⁶² Some of the Persian troops were even chained to each other in order to prevent them retreating, since it was a contingent which consisted of people from all districts of the empire as far as the Indian frontier regions. On the Arab side the caliph 'Umar had led the military preparations on his tour of the conquered regions and assigned aid to Sa'd, especially from the garrison of Kufa. The Arab general who was in the battle itself, al-Nu'mān ibn Muqarrin from Kufa, fell, as did the Persian general. Again the Arabs overcame superior Persian troops⁶³ and thus won the 'Victory of Victories',⁶⁴ which certainly was worth the effort,⁶⁵ even though the glorifying reports of some sources, which state that the conquest took place very swiftly and without | any resistance worth mentioning, are definitely subjective (and [14]

57 See 134 below.

58 Large parts of the population of Khuzistan were at that time not yet Iranized but still spoke Elamite, see p. 243 below.

59 Athīr II 214.

60 Bal. 302f.; Dīn. 141–46 (642). Caet. IV 214f., 474–78; Qūzānlū I 310–23.

61 Thus Caet. IV 378, para. 253; but I would like to believe that this motive was not as exclusive as Caet. seems to believe.

62 Regarding the uncertainties concerning the battlefield etc. see Caet. IV 474f.

63 The information varies greatly; Athīr for example speaks of 50–150,000 men. For a general overview see *EI* III 984f.

64 Ṭab. I 2630. For this not wholly justified designation see Caet. IV 475f.

65 Sebeos 104; Ṭab. I 2596–632, 2642–46; Dīn. 141–45; Bal. 302–5; Aghānī/Būlāq XV 41; Ibn Sa'd VI 11; Mas. IV 230–36; Ya'q., Hist. II 179; Athīr III 2–6; Yāq. VIII 329f. Caet. IV 478–501; Qūzānlū I 323–38.

wrong).⁶⁶ In fact, the battle of Nahavand claimed so many victims, from among the Arabs as well, that they had to hold back for some time and could not prevent rebellions from arising in Media. Nevertheless, the victory of 642 marked the conclusion of the battle for the Iranian plateau.

The victorious Kufans secured for themselves the largest territories north of this region (called *Māh al-Kūfa*); their rivals, the Basrans, under the leadership of the Yemenite *Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī*,⁶⁷ occupied Dinavar and *Şaymara* further south in Kurdish territory. Here the 'Basran March' (*Māh al-Başra*) developed, which would play an important part in the supply of the garrisons⁶⁸ for a long time,⁶⁹ and gave rise to manifold conflicts, until *Mu'āwiya* as governor considerably expanded the territory of the Kufans in Azerbaijan and around Mosul.⁷⁰ Militarily the victory of Nahavand was completed, after a period of respite and the termination of not clearly discernable hostilities, with the capture of Hamadan in 643 (AH 22), which capitulated with the rest of the Persian army after a short battle.⁷¹

The city soon became the base for a further Muslim advance. However, the advance did not proceed in an easterly direction as yet: the next target was Azerbaijan (probably 643–44: *Sebeos*), which, after the decisive battle at *Vāj al-Rōdh*, fell victim to several concentric attacks by the Kufans, who were also supported from Hulwan and Mosul.⁷² Likewise, the capture of *Isfahan*⁷³ in southeast *Jibāl* was accomplished after a short battle (probably as early as 644), where an Arab commander took control; *Kāshān* and *Qom* on the fringe of the Great Desert now came into Arab hands as well.⁷⁴ Western Iran was controlled from Kufa by *Mughīra ibn Shu'ba*⁷⁵ and after him (from 645 onwards)

66 Thus I would also not like to agree with *Lökk. 75* that there was noticeable resistance only in eastern Persia.

67 *Qommī* 295–97.

68 *Bal.* 306, *Athīr* III 6. *Caet.* IV 501–5, 677ff.

69 See *Ibn al-Balkhī*, 120. The names '*Māh al-Başra*' and '*Māh al-Kūfa*' soon disappear from historians' writing, but still appear on coins in the tenth cent.: *Lane-Poole* I, 148, no. 437.

70 *Ṭab.* I 2672–74; *Athīr* III 12. *Caet.* IV 691/694.

71 *Bal.* 307, 309f.; *Ṭab.* I 2635; *Athīr* III 6f.; *Yāq.* III 150, VIII 472 (s.v. *Nahavand*). *Caet.* IV 678f.

72 *Bal.* 322, 325f.; *Bal., Ans.* V 31; *Ṭab.* I 2635, 2647f., 2651–53, 2660–62; *Sebeos* 105–10; *Leontios* 5f.; *Stefan As.* 152; *Ibn Sa'd* VI 69, 111; *Ya'q.*, *Hist.* II 180 (and after him 645 *Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ*); *Elias* 84f.; *Yāq.* I 173, IV 88; *Iqd* II 199 ('*Uthmān's* governors here); *Athīr* III 7, 10f., 32f. *Caet.* IV 676, 681–88, VII 61, 159–63, 220, 308–10; *Kasravī* II 16–21.

73 *Sam.* 41 r gives '*Shbāhān*' as the Sasanid form of the name.

74 *Bal.* 312; *Qommī* 25f.; *Abū Nu'aym* I 19–30; *Elias* 84; *Yāq.* I 273; *Athīr* III 7f. *Caet.* IV 678, V 6, VII 31.

75 *Bal.* 312f. (providing the date); *Ṭab.* I 2637–42; *Yāq.* I 97; *Athīr* III 8, 12f. *Caet.* V 3f.

by Sa‘d ibn Abi Waqqāṣ.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, a revolt in the recently conquered city of Hamadan posed a serious threat to the rearward lines of the Arabs. Through swift and energetic measures, the details of which are reported in a variety of ways, the disturbances were suppressed and the city compelled, under moderate terms (the payment of *jizya*),⁷⁷ to surrender.⁷⁸ Now the territory of Jibāl (Media) was, at least militarily, securely in the power of the Muslims. But the agents of king Yazdagird, who was still based in northern Fars, kept troubling the population. Even after the suppression of the revolt in Hamadan they succeeded in causing confusion here and there, and in keeping alive the population’s hope of a change in their fortunes. Consequently the local Muslim government, who were now guiding the campaign, since controlling it from Medina was no longer a practical option, had to contemplate the continuation of the military occupation of the Iranian plateau. This was necessary, despite the military demands on other frontiers (Egypt, northern Syria), if everything that had been achieved so far was not to be jeopardized.⁷⁹

Thus Muslim detachments advanced against Qazvin, Abhar and Zangān (Zanjān) in order to secure the north of Mesopotamia at least as far as the foothills towards the Caspian Sea, and to secure a permanent link to Azerbaijan, which was being occupied at the same time.⁸⁰ After some armed confrontations and the prevention of Daylami rescue efforts, the Arab general al-Barā’ ibn ‘Azib succeeded in the enterprise. Simultaneous, and later repeated, attempts to penetrate into the mountain regions on the southwest shore of the Caspian Sea, Daylam and Gilan failed;⁸¹ only the Mughan steppe and Darband were occupied under the leadership of Surāqa ibn ‘Amr. After the final subjugation of Azerbaijan and the occupation of the Armenian | frontier regions, a treaty was made with the Armenians.⁸² [16]

With this and the elimination of any attempts at interference by the Khazars,⁸³ the conditions for an attack on the old political and economic centre of northern Iran, Rayy (ancient Rhages, near modern Tehran), were

76 Ṭab. I 2801f.; Ya‘q., Hist. II 180. See *EI* IV, 30f. For details see p. 315f. below.

77 See pp. 449–54 below.

78 Ṭab. I 2649; Athīr III 8f.

79 Bal. 315–319; Ṭab. I 2680–82; Michael Syr. 424. Caet. IV 502–4; Qūzānlū I 339–46 (for the period 642–51).

80 See p. 14 above. Here and at the Armenian–Caucasian frontier there were constant instances of friction and Arab ‘raids’, see Bal. 322; Ṭab. I 2804–8 (from the years 645 or 646–47 = AH 24 or 26; according to Abū Mikhnaḥ); Yāq. I 160f.; VII 80f.

81 Bal. 321f.; Athīr III 9f.

82 Sebeos 100f.; Bal. 326–28; Ṭab. I 2663–67; Athīr III 11. Dorn, Schirw. 536–39.

83 Ṭab. I 2668–70.

created. This time, as was the case previously, treaties agreed between some local rulers and *dēhkāns* (Arabic: *dihqāns*; also sometimes called 'kings' by the Arabs), especially Siyāvakhsh (Siyāvūsh), son of Mihrān,⁸⁴ and the Muslims played a decisive role. Through their betrayal Rayy fell into the hands of the invaders, despite the support the Persians received from the inhabitants of the more northerly mountain regions. Yet it was then lost again and had to be reconquered the following year. This second time the city was plundered and destroyed, but soon rebuilt (at the earliest 644–45 = AH 23–24).⁸⁵ In the following years these successes resulted in the subjugation by the Muslims of the former allies of the people of Rayy from the provinces of Qumis and Gurgan under the command of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays the Yemenite (until 650–51 = AH 30).⁸⁶

While the Arabs' military operations here in the north took place mainly along the great roads, especially the Silk Road, the advance in the south of the plateau had also been taken up again (around 643). The dates here are uncertain as well, but it is clear that the victory of Nahavand finally gave the decisive impetus here, too. The invasion of Fars, that is, the conquest of the outer mountain ranges in Khuzistan, was, as has already been shown, considerably facilitated by the earlier landing of the Arabs from across the sea. Nevertheless, progress within this district was very difficult and gradual. Despite the substantial resistance of Shahrak, who finally died a hero's death in the battle of Rē(v)shahr (Rāshahr) near Tawwaj (Iranian: presumably Tavvag), the Arabs gradually captured the cities between the coast and the river Kur (Marvdasht), although they were hindered by numerous insurrections and revolts. Yet Nawbandagān, Kāzrūn, Shiraz, later also Arraghān on the Ṭāb, temporarily even Iṣṭakhr near ancient Persepolis, and finally Sīnīz on the coast, were taken one by one by the governor 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-Āṣ the Thaqaḥite, who was supported from Basra by Abū Mūsā.⁸⁷

Reinforcements from southern Mesopotamia under the reign of the caliph 'Uthmān (644–56) allowed renewed battles and consequently the advance to B(F)asā and Darabgird. A number of 'Kurdish'⁸⁸ riots and raids brought the invaders into a very dangerous position again, but the Arabs' martial vigour

84 For the names see Justi, *Namb.* 299, 214f.

85 Bal. 309–19; Ṭab. I 2653–56; Yāq. IV 380f.; Athīr III 9. Caet. v 8–19, VII 33–37, 59f.

86 Ṭab. I 2657f.; Ya'q., Hist. II 188; Yāq. I 105, II 895, IV 88, 98; Athīr III 10. Wellh., *Sk.* VI 110; Caet. v 19; VII 270f.

87 Bal. 383f., 389f.; Ṭab. I 2694–99, 2713–20, 2810, 2833; Yāq. I 737, II 560, 736, III 5, 204, 891, IV 224, 718, 817; Athīr III 15f., 38. Wellh., *Sk.* VI 111f.; Caet. v 6f., 19–27, VII 31f. Concerning the name Shahrak see Justi, *Namb.* 292, perhaps a short name Chirak.

88 See p. 240f. below.

always won them the victory. It was due to this vigour and the personal intervention of the governor of Basra, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Āmir ibn Kurayz, that the old royal castle of Iṣṭakhr and the city of Gōr (Arabic: Jūr, in Ardashīr Khurra) were eventually captured in 649–50 (AH 29).⁸⁹ Only now did the king Yazdagird III flee via Kirman (Karmania) to Marv in Khurasan.⁹⁰ Thus the way to Kirman was clear, and it now became the next target for the Arabs. Despite initial success, the indigenous forces in this district were unable to stand their ground, as they were troubled by the hostile disposition of the Qufṣ (Kufichis) on their southeastern border,⁹¹ who continued to cause trouble, attempts at reconciliation notwithstanding. The regional capital of Gīruft (Jīruft) and the island of Hormuz fell without significant resistance (650–51), but guerrilla warfare with the elusive mountain tribes continued for years, even centuries.⁹² Many of the inhabitants left the country and went to India.

The advance from Sīr(a)gān in Kirman to the northeast (650–51) via Pahrag and through the Persian salt desert onwards to Zāliq and Zarang under al-Rabī‘ ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī was, after many battles in the west of Sistan (Arabic | rendition of an earlier form ‘Sijistān’), made considerably easier by the fact that the ruler (‘Shāh’) of this region was quarrelling with his brother, the *zūnbīl*,⁹³ who then submitted to the Arabs. The latter now proceeded from Zarang nearly as far as Kandahar and into the region of al-Rukhkhaj (Arachosia), where battles with the mountain dwellers in Bust and Zābul(istān), as well as the advance on (at the time Buddhist) Kabul and beyond, would drag on for years and decades. After a difficult and long guerrilla war⁹⁴ and the forcible intervention of the caliph ‘Alī in the administration, the *zūnbīl* renounced his allegiance and brought the Arabs temporarily into a very difficult position.⁹⁵ But still, access to this country, which was otherwise difficult to cross, was won as far as al-Rukhkhaj and remained essentially secured under the administration [18]

89 Bal. 388f.; Ya‘q., Hist. II 192f. Caet. VII 32, 61f., 147–51, 164–66, 219f., 248–56, 271–73. Gōr is the present-day Firuzabad, see *EI* II 119.

90 See Bal. 515–19; Ṭab. I 2680–84 (Sayf’s account), 2862; Ibn Sa‘d v 32; Abū Nu‘aym I 34; Dīn. 148f. Elias 84. Michael Syr. 418 speaks of a five-year stay in Sistan. Caet. VII 271f., 293–300. The report about Yazdagird’s flight in Ṭab. I 2876, which corresponds most closely to the gradual advance of the Arabs, may well claim the greatest probability, but apparently the Arabs received only unclear news about the whereabouts of the king.

91 See p. 238 below.

92 Bal. 389–92; Ṭab. I 2700–4, 2828f.; Yāq. II 513, IV 265; Athīr III 16f., 49; Yāq. VII 243. Caet. VII 271–74. *EI* II 1106.

93 See p. 313 below. See Justi, *Namb.* 384f. (s.v. Zenbīl; with an erroneous etymology).

94 Ṭab. I 2829.

95 Bal. 392–97; Ṭab. I 2705f.; Ya‘q., Buld. 281; Athīr III 17; TS 80–85, 100, 106. Caet. VII 276–80.

of the energetic general ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Samura.⁹⁶ In addition, the region was used as a starting point for the conquest of Makran under al-Ḥakam ibn ‘Amr from the tribe of Taghlib and others. Once again there were major but locally confined battles. In the course of this the border of Sind was crossed several times, but at that time the caliph had still forbidden his men to stay in that country.⁹⁷ Thus the eastern border of the Iranian settlement area constituted the eastern border of the Islamic sphere of power as well.

The fact that southeast Iran was in Arab hands made it possible to take the northeast as well, and unexpectedly quickly. The Persians might have been hoping that resistance against the Arabs would intensify on the border of Khurasan, the second core province of the realm, but after the course of the campaign so far they had to assume that the Arabs would continue to attack along the Silk Road. Initially, however, this did not happen: rather, al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays appears⁹⁸ to have advanced from the southwest. He pushed (apparently in 650–51)⁹⁹ unexpectedly into Kohistan via Ṭabasayn (while Herat was left aside as an alternative base for the few remaining Hephthalites).¹⁰⁰ Then he took a sharp left turn north and advanced on Marv(-i Shāhigān), where Yazdagird III resided, while other detachments covered the left flank on their march to Nishapur (Nēv-Shāhpuhr), Bayhaq and Nisa in the northwest, and [19] then onto | Sarakhs in the north.¹⁰¹ Simultaneously, they joined up with the troops in Qumis and Gurgan. If there were Persian frontier emplacements, these were at the same time circumvented from behind.

Yazdagird was forced to flee to Marv al-Rōdh and, after the loss of nearly his whole realm, to appeal to the Qaghan of the west Turkish kingdom, the ruler of Sogdia, and the Chinese emperor for help.¹⁰² The Central Asian rulers, who were of a hostile disposition towards the Iranians but who feared the threat of an onslaught of a previously unknown people, sent relief forces to the king. But they were too weak to halt the Arabs, who were spurred on by their religious belief and their previous successes as well as the search for booty. Yazdagird fled to Balkh, before the walls of which city the Arabs (especially the Kufans)

96 Bal. 396f.; Ibn Sa’d v 33; Athīr III 174.

97 Ṭab. I 2706–8; Elias 86; Athīr III 17, 174, 177 (663–64 = AH 43–44).

98 Thus explicitly Ṭab. I 2884f. There are also some independent reports claiming that he went via Isfahan.

99 Thus also in Bal. 403.

100 See Caet. VII 488.

101 Bal. 316, 403–5; Ṭab. I 2884–88; Ibn Sa’d v 32f.; Ya’q., Hist. II 192f.; Ya’q., Buld. 278–80; Ibn Ḥawq.² 431; Iṣṭ. 273; Muq. 321. Caet. VII 275f., 281–83.

102 T’ang-shu, ch. 198, 3614/2, see also Franke II 368f.

and the Persians as well as the Central Asian auxiliary troops (including some from Tukharistan, Gōzgān and Chaghāniyān) met in battle. The Iranians lost this battle as well. Yazdagird crossed the Oxus at the old ford of Tirmidh. Now Khurasan, as far as Tukharistan, and Herat, with Bushang and Badhghis, were exposed to the enemy. Ṭāliqān surrendered voluntarily, Faryab was captured by force, while in Ṭus a native *marzbān* dynasty¹⁰³ (Kanārang) managed to hold out for some time.

When the king of kings saw that the Sogdians and Ferganians were not willing to offer him shelter, he used the respite created by the above subsidiary campaign to return to Balkh, supported by the Turkish Qaghan in person. The Arabs, who were still suffering under the latter's agents, would not tolerate this. Al-Aḥnaf immediately met him with Basran and Kufan troops. The battle that followed began with several contests between individuals, but dragged on and lasted right into the night, leaving the allies overpowered. Using money from the treasury which he had brought with him, Yazdagird tried to gain a foothold in Marv once more. But the *dēhkāns* dismissed the choice he offered of either working with the Qaghan or fleeing to China, and instead spoke in favour of conciliation with the Arabs. In the quarrel that followed, the nobles seized the empire's treasury and forced the ruler to flee to the Qaghan, with whom he crossed the Oxus and settled down in Fergana. While al-Aḥnaf established himself in Marv al-Rōdh | and the Kufans settled in four villages in the neighbourhood, Yazdagird received the rejection of his plea for help from China. He was therefore unable to provide military support for the rabble-rousers whom he repeatedly sent into Khurasan and the rest of Persia,¹⁰⁴ with the consequence that several disconnected uprisings (e.g. by the 'Kurds' at Ahvaz,¹⁰⁵ in Fars,¹⁰⁶ Sistan,¹⁰⁷ Kohistan,¹⁰⁸ Rayy¹⁰⁹ and Khurasan)¹¹⁰ sporadically hit the Arabs hard but never really caused a reversal. The violent death of Yazdagird III, who according to the most reliable source was killed 651–52 (AH 31) in his

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103 See *EI* IV 1056.

104 Bal. 406–8; Elias 86; Sebeos 131f.; Ṭab. I 2681–92; Ya'q., Buld. 291; Sam. 89 r; Yāq. III 167; Athīr III 13–15. Caet. VII 283–92, 490–92, VIII 3.

105 Ṭab. I 2708–11; Athīr III 18.

106 See p. 15 above and Ṭab. I 2829f.

107 Athīr III 43f.

108 Athīr III 52.

109 Bal. 318.

110 Under Qārin 653–54: Ṭab. I 2905f.; Athīr III 47–49. Caet. VIII 3–7. At the time of 'Alī: Bal. 408; Ya'q., Hist. II 213. Caet. IX 557f.

sleep by a miller near the River Murghāb,¹¹¹ eliminated the threat posed by the Sasanid dynasty almost completely. His son Pērōz did not relinquish his claims, but his calls for help directed at China as an exile¹¹² remained unsuccessful, and he was therefore condemned to insignificance.¹¹³ The final capture of the city of Marv al-Rōdh and the regions of Gōzḡān and Tukharistan with Balkh by al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays in 652 was inevitable,¹¹⁴ despite further resistance from the local population after the outbreak of the civil war. There were some local treaties (such as with the *marzbān* of Marv 656–57 = AH 36)¹¹⁵ but these only represented a ceasefire.

[21] Shortly before, the Arabs had already initiated an enterprise which many a conqueror of Persia before and after them had attempted and which has almost always remained unsuccessful. In 650–51 (AH 30) the Kufans, who had by and large missed out in Khurasan and now wanted to make up for this, ventured to seize Gurgan and Mazandaran (Ṭabaristan), despite an earlier treaty. Thus they advanced into the climatically very different hot and humid lowlands on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. The campaign (in which the Prophet's grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are said to have taken part as well) was unsuccessful despite a formal treaty¹¹⁶ and left the Zoroastrian dynastic rulers of the country (for centuries to come)¹¹⁷ in control of the region, which thus allowed it to continue as a refuge for the ancient Iranian way of life. This was

111 Ṭab. I 2872–83; Dīn. 148; Sebeos 132 (according to him killed by Hephtalites); Leontios 5 (according to him fallen in battle); Ibn Aṭham/Wilken I 160–65; Michael Syr. 421f. (according to him the miller was Turkish); Athīr III 45f. Caet. VII 437–52. That his corpse was lifted out of the river under the guidance of a bishop, that the murderer was killed and that the corpse was buried in Persepolis (Iṣṭakhr) is clearly a tendentious legend. Tolstov, *Civ.*, 222.

112 T'ang-shu 2614/2. Franke II 368f., III 357f. (a Persian work by Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran AH 1316, about the family of Yazdagird mentioned here is not accessible to me); Chav., *Doc.*, 172f. Concerning the name Pērōz (PJRWC) see Justi, *Namb.* 247–50, with regards to this Pērōz, 249, no. 42.

113 Chav., *Doc.* 172f.; Franke II 369f., III 356f. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, 13f., 17–19.

114 Ṭab. I 2897–2904. Caet. VII 487–93, 495f.

115 Ṭab. I 3249; Yāq. III 409f. Caet. IX 226; Gibb, *Conq.*, 15.

116 Bal. 335; Ṭab. I 2657–60, 2836f.; Ibn Isf. 98–100; Yāq. VI 19–21; Awl. 26–28, 35–37; Athīr III 41. Caet. VII 301–8. A similar enterprise directed against Daylam in 656–57 (AH 36) is hardly mentioned (Bal. 322) and remained unsuccessful: Caet. IX 225f.

117 The assault of the Arab partisan 'Umar ibn Abī 'l-Ṣalt (the enemy of al-Ḥajjāj) in 702 (AH 83) on the independence of the *ispāhbadh* failed: Athīr IV 190. Melgunof, 48f., 55.

the reason why the old road to Inner Asia remained dangerous for a long time,¹¹⁸ with traffic being forced to take considerable detours for decades.¹¹⁹

The Umayyad Era

With the death of Yazdagird III the conquest of Iran could be considered to have been complete. However, this does not mean that the country was now completely 'pacified'. The following centuries were characterized by all manner of disturbances, which continued with larger or smaller breaks until the decline of the Umayyads who had been ruling in Damascus since 661. The ruling dynasty became embroiled in struggles with numerous political and religious opposition parties,¹²⁰ and this repeatedly spread to Persia. The southern regions in particular – Khuzistan, Fars and Sistan – were often the target of Arab groups that had been forced out of Mesopotamia by these conflicts. Among these were first and foremost the Khārījites, whose first forerunners (who were in existence prior to the proper consolidation of this faith) had ventured under Ḥasaka ibn 'Attāb as early as 656–57 as far as Zarang (the Helmand Delta). However, they were there | annihilated by a general who had been sent [22] by the caliph 'Alī, since they constituted a threat to the troops in Sistan.¹²¹

The Khārījite troops at the frontier of Kurdistan (near Shahrazur)¹²² continued to be only a small number under 'Alī, but soon they began to increase in proportion to the rising importance of this religious (and social) movement. From 687–88 onwards, lengthy wars raged in southwest Persia between Azraqite¹²³ Khārījites under al-Zubayr ibn al-Māhūzī and Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a on the one hand, and government troops commanded by the capable general al-Muhallab (from the tribe of the Azd),¹²⁴ who had proved his merit in Khurasan, on the other. These wars spread from Fars into Khuzistan and Mesopotamia as well as into Isfahan, Sistan and Kirman.¹²⁵ They fused with

118 Ṭab. I 2839.

119 See p. 427 below.

120 For a basic overview see Wellh., *Opp.*; Jakubovskiy, 'Feodal'noe obščestvo', 1–60. The anti-Umayyad bias of later historians is dealt with in Zayyāt, 'Mazā'im al-mu'arrihīn al-'Abbāsiyīn', 161–68.

121 See p. 17f. above. Bal. 395. Caet. IX 229f., X 192.

122 Ṭab. I 3427f.; Athīr III 149. Schwarz VI 698.

123 Shahr./Cairo I 161–65 (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 133–36). See EI I 563f. and p. 168 below.

124 'Iqd I 57–59; Yāq. I 57f. See EI III 691f.

125 Bal., Ans. IV 112ff., 158f.; V 252, 332, XI 110–14, 118–24, 135; Ṭab. II 583, 587f., 753–65 (after Abū Mikhnaf); Aghānī/Cairo III 295; VI 142–51; Aghānī/Bulāq XI 164; Athīr IV 109–12;

the conflicts of the major civil war between the Umayyads and ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, from whom coins from Iṣṭakhr and Darabgird (682–3 = AH 63) exist.¹²⁶ Only immediately before the conclusion of these battles in 692¹²⁷ did a concerted attack against the Khārijites become possible, the latter having advanced from Kirman as far as Darabgird. Despite their success against the caliph’s brother ‘Abd al- ‘Azīz, they eventually had to retreat into the mountain region of Khuzistan.¹²⁸ The fighting turned serious after the installation of al-Ḥajjāj as governor in Mesopotamia (693/94 = AH 74).¹²⁹ He confirmed al-Muhallab as commander-in-chief, but then deposed him for a time due to internal strife among the officers after the annihilation of a Muslim detachment near Kāzrūn (694–95 = AH 75).¹³⁰ Thus strife among the Azraqites themselves decided this conflict. Dissent could not be avoided in a faith that wanted [23] to depose its leader every time he ‘sinned’ and | some of the believers would surely find occasion for this course of action frequently. Such a reason, about which no detailed information survives, and a quarrel over whether poisoned weapons should be allowed (as endorsed by al-Qaṭarī) were responsible for the Azraqites’ split, in which only a quarter or a fifth remained on al-Qaṭarī’s side, with whom he then retreated to Mazandaran where he soon perished in battle. The rest gave allegiance to ‘Abd Rabbih al-Kabīr, who, however, soon fell after the abandonment of the staunchly defended Gīruft.¹³¹

If we look at the course of the Khārijite unrest in Persia, especially the politically motivated riot in 695–96 of Muṭarrif ibn al-Mughīra, who soon fell in the fight against the troops of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf near Isfahan,¹³² it becomes apparent that the movement had been brought into Iran from the outside. Persia was the refuge for heretics who had been forced from their Mesopotamian homes and who now found shelter in Persia’s rugged mountain region. Only rarely (for example in Rayy in 686–87)¹³³ did it happen that the population supported them, whether because of their antipathy towards Islam, or towards the Arabs and the unrest that their internal tribal power struggles brought to

Yāq. v 100f.; TS 109–13. Brünnow 35–49 (after al-Mubarrad’s *al-Kāmil*); Schwarz vI 698. See p. 168f. below.

126 Nützel, I 39f.; Lavoix, I, 52, no. 114.

127 Bal., Ans. v 337–47; Aghānī/Cairo IX 305; Aghānī/Bulāq x 154; xvii 162; ‘Iqd I 132, III 18; Athīr IV 134f. *EI* I 936 (s.v. Dayr al-Djāḥalīk).

128 Ya’q., Hist. II 316–19, 324f.; Athīr IV 132–34.

129 Ṭab. II 863; Athīr IV 141. *EI* II 214–16, 551f.

130 Bal., Ans. IV 158–68; Ṭab. II 875–80; Athīr IV 141f., 150f.

131 Ya’q., Hist. II 329f; Ṭab. II 1003–22; Athīr IV 169–72. Wellh., *Opp.* 39f.; p. 168 below.

132 Ṭab. II 987–1003.

133 Bal., Ans. XI 118; Ṭab. II 827–29; Athīr IV 112. Wiet 167f.

the country.¹³⁴ A real consolidation of the Khārijite creed and Persian national traditions only happened very late and in remote areas (such as in Sistan far into the Ṣaffārid period);¹³⁵ in the seventh century the two had as of yet nothing in common.

All in all, the unrest which the Khārijites caused in southern Iran had lasting consequences for the struggle in the eastern mountain region. This instability also continued after the Muslims had subjugated the central Iranian territory, and was partly led by believers who saw their real test as being 'Holy War' (*jihād*).¹³⁶ In this region believers were specifically seeking a martyr's death¹³⁷ and became the main participants in the almost annual summer *razzias* (derived from the Arabic *ghazw*, meaning 'raiding'), which soon became the terror of the neighbours (e.g. in Sogdia, but also in Asia Minor).¹³⁸ The actual leader of the native resistance was now the *zūnbīl*, under whose influence the population of Kabul rose against the Muslims in 682–83.¹³⁹ This leader inflicted a bloody defeat on the Muslims at Junza and forced them to vacate the whole of the northeast of the (then) province of Sistan. When the *zūnbīl* fell in battle, his successor (possibly his son) bearing the same title (his name is not mentioned) soon continued the battle against the invaders with great energy. He forced al-Ḥajjāj's governor to agree to a peace treaty after a bloody defeat (693–94 = AH 74)¹⁴⁰ and successfully repelled a second assault in 698–99 (AH 79).¹⁴¹ He also adroitly evaded the grasp of Arab armies by retreating into the mountains¹⁴² and soon his security increased due to internal discord among the Muslims. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath had quarrelled with al-Ḥajjāj because of the latter's demands for more extensive campaigns against the *zūnbīl*. He was beaten twice by al-Ḥajjāj's troops after the breakdown of negotiations¹⁴³ and taken captive during his flight, but eventually he was 'rescued' by the *zūnbīl* in accordance with an earlier agreement. By

134 Thus 680–81 (AH 61) in Sistan: Athīr IV 39.

135 Shahr./Cairo I 168 = Shahr./Haarbr. I 138f. See p. 169f. below.

136 See Qommi 37.

137 Ṭab. II 1037 (698–99 = AH 79). Despite the fact that the commanding general 'Ubayd Allāh in a phase of the conflict with the *zūnbīl* declared a planned battle absolutely pointless and the leader willing to undertake it 'insane', the latter found fighters who were willing to sacrifice themselves and who indeed fought until most of them had fallen.

138 Ṭab. II 393f.

139 Ibn Sa'd VII/1, 115, 127; Athīr IV 40. EI I 170; II 636.

140 Athīr IV 142f.

141 Bal., Ans. XI 311–14; Ṭab. II 1036–38 (after Abū Mikhnaf); Athīr IV 174.

142 Athīr IV 175f. (699 = AH 70).

143 Aghānī/Cairo VI 46ff. EI I 935f. (s.v. Dayr al-Djamādjim); Fries 13; Wellh., *Arab.* 145–56.

delivering his head to al-Ḥajjāj, who had demanded this and had made promises, the *zūnbūl* ensured a long repose in return for the payment of tribute (704 = AH 85).¹⁴⁴ From 717 onwards he stopped these payments and thus effectively broke his connections with the Umayyad state, which was prevented from intervening in the eastern mountain region,¹⁴⁵ as well as in Ghōr,¹⁴⁶ by the continuous Arab tribal feuds. Consequently Buddhism was able to survive in these regions for the time being with its sphere of influence only insignificantly broken up by scattered Arab settlements.

[25] It is not possible to discuss the reasons and patterns behind the religious, political and tribal conflicts in other parts of the caliph's empire here.¹⁴⁷ | However, the fact that such clashes were tolerated and allowed to spread unchecked throughout Iran shows how securely the country, with the exception of the eastern regions and the southern shore of the Caspian Sea,¹⁴⁸ had been in the hands of the Arabs since the caliphate of 'Alī (656–61). There was no centralised Persian resistance anymore; if disturbances sprang up here and there – as they did in Iṣṭakhr in 659–60,¹⁴⁹ Badhghis, Herat and Bushang in 661–62 (AH 41)¹⁵⁰ as well as in Rayy in 683–84 (AH 64)¹⁵¹ – they remained isolated enterprises.

Islamic sources do not provide coherent information about the feelings of the subject population or about their attitude towards Arab rule, and we have no other sources from this period. Therefore we can at best draw conclusions from some hints. The fact that the number of those Iranians who left their homeland in order to keep their Zoroastrian faith is comparatively small shows, on the one hand, that the religious pressure exercised by the Arabs was not too harsh. This is confirmed by the fact that, in some districts at least, Zoroastrian communities survived for centuries.¹⁵² On the other hand

144 Ṭab. II 1052–79, 1085–1124, 1132–35, 1235 (after Abū Mikhnaf); Tha'āl./Gab. 30r–32v, 35r–36r, 38r–41r; Ya'q., Hist. II. 331–34, 343; Athīr IV 178f., 186f., 192. For 'Abd al-Rahmān see *EI* I 59f.

145 Bal. 397–401. See *EI* IV 492f. (s.v. Sistan); Wellh., *Arab*. 163f.

146 Futile forays as early as 667 (AH 47) (Ṭab. II 84; Athīr III 181) and then in 725–26 (AH 107) and in the following year, also against Khuttal (Ṭab. II 1489f.; Athīr V 51f.).

147 The most comprehensive overview is to be found in Wellhausen's classic account *Das arabische Reich* (= Wellh., *Arab*.).

148 Concerning the resistance against the Arabs in Daylam and Media (Jibāl) see Sebeos 141f.

149 Ṭab. I 3448–51; Athīr III 152f. Caet. X 263–66 (with extensive discussion of this event and its historicity).

150 Athīr III 166. Tolstov, *Civ.* 222. For Herat during that time see *EI* Turk. V 429f.

151 Athīr IV 56.

152 See p. 190f. below.

it demonstrates that relatively wide circles in Iranian society were willing to change their faith rather than to leave their home or give up their social standing. Especially after the suppression of the two great resistance attempts in Khurasan in 680–81 (AH 61) and 685–86 (AH 66), when during the height of the Arab tribal feuds the Khurasanians threw off the Arab yoke and the inhabitants of the individual districts took their fate into their own hands,¹⁵³ the class of minor princes, *marzbāns* and *dēhkāns* were able to preserve their leading social positions only by swift affiliation with Islam. Thus Iranian culture retained its home here even in changed circumstances, a fact which was to have far-reaching consequences for the Islamization of Persia¹⁵⁴ and the amalgamation of Persian and Islamic culture.¹⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the resistance against Arab rule was without doubt very vigorous. [26] Apart from the outbreaks mentioned above, defiance was also expressed in Mesopotamia, where the Persian element played an important part in al-Mukhtār's religiously motivated uprising in 682.¹⁵⁶ This animosity of the Iranians to their new lords was considerably augmented by the fact that they treated the country like conquered booty and that large tribal groups from Basra settled there, especially in Khurasan.¹⁵⁷ The aversion was surely increased by the circumstances of the Arab tribal feuds, which run like a thread through the whole period of Umayyad government in the East, and which occurred at the same time as the religious conflicts (e.g. with the Khārijites); both of which were fought on Iranian soil.

These feuds began in the context of political conflicts under 'Alī¹⁵⁸ and continued in the endeavour to push the northern Arabs (Qays), especially the Tamīm, out of the government of Khurasan.¹⁵⁹ When Ziyād ibn Abīhi, the well-known Umayyad governor in Mesopotamia and Persia, planned to hand the

153 Thus Ṭab. II 490 [RGH: the *ahl* Khurasan here must refer to the Arabs (*ahl* can refer either to the troops of a region or its population, but in the early period the former is common), since Ṭab. goes on to say that 'each tribal group seized control over a district'; the general point Spuler is making is broadly true, but this quotation does not support it]. See also Ya'q., Hist. II 300f., and in general Gibb, *Conq.* 16f.

154 See p. 133f. below.

155 See p. 262f. below.

156 Ṭab. II 596–600; Ya'q., Hist. II 307–16. Gelder, *Mohtar de valsche Profeet*; Vloten, *Rech.*, 16–18; *EI* III 773–75.

157 Ibn Sa'd VII/1 4, 18. For the Arab tribal situation in Khurasan see primarily the classical account of Wellh., *Arab.* 256–306 and p. 248 below.

158 Athīr III 130 (657–58 = AH 37). Concerning the (initially gradual) emergence of clear differences between the Kalb and the Qays see Wellh., *Arab.* 112f.

159 Bal. 409; Ṭab. II 65f.; Athīr III 174.

administration over to the Azd, who belonged to the southern Arabs (Kalb), and were among the supporters of the Umayyads¹⁶⁰ (665–66 = AH 45),¹⁶¹ discontent grew so much that it became necessary to send 5,000 Kufans and Basrans, who were of mixed tribal extraction and consequently neutral, to help remedy the situation. However, during the military command of their fellow tribesman al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, the influence of the Azd in Khurasan rose considerably.¹⁶² Ziyād's son 'Ubayd Allāh naturally also relied on these friends and colleagues of his father.¹⁶³ After the accession of the Marwānid line of the Umayyads the Azd won power again in a revolt in 683–85 (AH 64–65), and after a temporary coalition with the anti-caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr they went [27] over to the Umayyad | 'Abd al-Malik.¹⁶⁴ After a bitter struggle the Tamīm and Bakr ibn Wā'il were forcibly expelled or crushed.¹⁶⁵ Similar circumstances had already developed in 680–81 (AH 61) in Sistan.¹⁶⁶

The northern Arabs had already tried to reassert themselves at the time when an Umayyad was governor both by fighting him and by the reconciliation of old disagreements (693–94 = AH 74),¹⁶⁷ but internal feuds broke out again very soon. Tribal hatred went so far that the attackers did not even stop at the complete destruction of the Muslim Oxus fleet during a campaign against Bukhara, a deed that was of course punished by the Umayyads in the severest possible manner.¹⁶⁸ The governor was soon deposed from his office and Khurasan was assigned to al-Ḥajjāj, who after some time appointed the celebrated victor over the Azraqite Khārijites, al-Muhallab, as head of the administration (698–99 = AH 79).¹⁶⁹ When the latter's son and aide al-Mughīra died suddenly in Aug./Sept. 701 (Rajab AH 82)¹⁷⁰ and the father followed him in death (702 1/5–11/3 = Dhū 'l-ḥijja AH 82) on his return from a foray into Transoxiana, the

160 Ṭab. II 472–75 (battle at Marj Rāhit). Concerning Ziyād's origin see Fück, 13.

161 Ṭab. II 79–81, 84f.; Athīr III 179f.; TS 91.

162 Ṭab. II 155f., 161f.; Tha'āl./Gab. 20v–22v; Athīr III 181f.; TS 86–90. Wellh., *Arab.* 44, 131f.

163 Bal. 410; Ṭab. II 166f., 178–80; Tha'āl./Gab. 29v–30r; Athīr II 196f.; TS 94f.

164 Bal., Ans. IV 75f., 77f.; Ya'q., Hist. II 323f.; Ṭab. II 488–94; Athīr IV 61f., 81f.

165 Bal., Ans. v 313–16; Ṭab. II 494–97, 593–98, 695–99; Aghāni/Cairo III 137, 219 (Bashshār ibn Burd's view), Aghāni/Būlāq x 151f., xII 117f.; Athīr IV 99f.

166 Athīr IV 40; TS 100–9. Regarding Isfahan see Aghāni/Cairo v 13f.

167 Bal., Ans. IV 153f.; Ya'q., Hist. II 324; Ṭab. II 831–34, 860–62; Athīr IV 142. See *EI* I 550f. But the Qaysite leader 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāzim had minted his own coins in Khurasan at that time: Barthold, *Turk.* 184.

168 Ṭab. II 1022–31; Athīr IV 172f.

169 Ṭab. II 1032–36 (after Abū Mikhnaf); Ya'q., Hist. II 316; Athīr IV 173; TS 114–16. Wellh., *Arab.* 156f.; Fück, 13f. (Muhallab's alleged Persian origins).

170 Athīr IV 182.

administration of Khurasan passed on to his other son Yazīd,¹⁷¹ who was, however, soon deposed.¹⁷² Since then he (as supposed supporter of the anti-caliph ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr), like his relatives, suffered much from al-Ḥajjāj’s hostility.¹⁷³ Conflicts between the Arab tribes, rebellious individuals, | politicians and military figures with wounded personal or tribal honour, continued [28] in addition to these other disagreements with the government.¹⁷⁴ Some of the perpetrators, like Mūsā ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khāzim (who had been deserted by most members of his tribe after his father had crushed the Tamīm), sought refuge with Transoxanian rulers in Samarkand and Tirmidh. Mūsā managed to take the fortress of Tirmidh with a band of his followers, from which he harried the surrounding area for some years until he was finally surrounded by a government army and besieged for several years. The hostilities were aggravated by the intervention of the Hephthalites, Tibetans, and Turks; Mūsā fell in battle only after renewed and protracted fighting,¹⁷⁵ and Arab tribal legend later glorified his fate.

The immediate danger on the Oxus frontier was thus removed, but it had become clearer now than it had been during previous Turkish incursions (667, 671, 674 = AH 47, 51, 54)¹⁷⁶ that the situation here required a new resolution urgently. It had been possible in 671 (AH 51) to take Balkh after a fierce battle and Kabul through surprise and with a subsequent settlement,¹⁷⁷ and in 703 (AH 84) to take Badhghis with the fortress of the local *nēzak* by force in his absence.¹⁷⁸ However, raids into Bukhara (674 = AH 54,¹⁷⁹ 696/97 = AH 77),¹⁸⁰ Samarkand (676 = AH 56¹⁸¹ and 680/81 = AH 61)¹⁸² and Kish as well as Khuttal

171 Ṭab. II 1082–84; Tha‘āl./Gab. 36r–37r; Ibn Sa‘d VII/1, 94 (top of page); Athīr IV 184; TS 119–21 (riddled with wrong information regarding the supposed intentions of Qutayba ibn Muslim).

172 Ya‘q., Hist. II 341f.; Ṭab. II 1138–44 (includes Abū Mikhnaḥ’s account 1143f.); Athīr IV 188. EI IV 1259f.; Gibb, *Conq.* 17f.

173 Athīr IV 193. List of individual governors in Khurasan and Sistan: TS 122ff.

174 Athīr IV 184, 187.

175 Ya‘q., Hist. II 324; Ṭab. II 1145–63; Elias 96; Athīr IV 194–97.

176 Athīr III 181, 194, 197.

177 Ya‘q., Hist. II 258; Athīr II 156.

178 Ṭab. II 1129, 1144; Athīr IV 191, 193f. Concerning the *nēzak* see Christensen² 502.

179 Bal. 411; Ṭab. II 149f.; Narsh. 36f; Athīr III 197.

180 Bal. 416; Athīr IV 172 f. Regarding Sogdian princes as hostages see Bal., Ans. v 117–19.

181 Bal. 411; Bal. Ans. v 117; Narsh. 37–41; Athīr III 201f. Gibb, *Conq.* 19–23.

182 Bal. 413; Athīr IV 39.

(679 = AH 70)¹⁸³ only brought temporary success and, despite all the treaties agreed at the time, did not have a durable result. By contrast, an attack by the Daylamis on the Islamic frontier city of Qazvin (700 = AH 71) did have a lasting deterrent effect, so that external attacks on this place ceased for a long time.¹⁸⁴ For some time to come, though, attacks by the Khazars and Alans (Āṣ[ṣ] = Ossetians), for example in 722–23¹⁸⁵ and 730–31, as far as Ardabil and Mosul,¹⁸⁶ [29] would repeatedly cause difficulties here.

The Conquest of Transoxania, Khwarazm and Gurgan

The campaigns beyond the Oxus in the previous centuries had shown the way for a new wave of Islamic expansion. A new effort was at that time also made on other frontiers (Sind and Spain in 711, Asia Minor in 717–18) and here in Central Asia now reached regions that were at that point at least indirectly accessible to Chinese influence.¹⁸⁷ After the previous events, al-Ḥajjāj initially was doubtful whether to appoint Qutayba ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī of the Qays governor of Khurasan,¹⁸⁸ since the political differences caused by the crushing of the Tamīm and the unrest triggered by Mūsā were too strong. Furthermore the Qays still stood in opposition to the Umayyad caliphs who worked closely with the Kalb. Sogdians and Hephthalites made use of this period of uncertainty for repeated uprisings against Arab rule.¹⁸⁹ However, after the accession of al-Walīd (705 = AH 86),¹⁹⁰ the appointment was implemented.¹⁹¹ Qutayba soon created a base for his far-reaching campaign across the Oxus. He marched from Marv al-Rōdh to Ṭāliqān, joined forces there with the ruler of Balkh, later

183 Bal. 417; Ṭab. II 1040–46 (partially following Abū Mikhnaf), 1080f.; Athīr IV 175, 182f. Barthold, *Turk.* 183; Gibb, *Conq.* 23–28.

184 Athīr IV 177.

185 Ṭab. II 1438f., 1483; Athīr V 41. See for Shīrvān also Dorn, *Schirw.* 539–41; Leontios 38f.; John Catholicos 81f.; Stefan As. 158 (for 683–84: Armenia).

186 Ṭab. II 1527–31; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 381; Leontios 99–101, 111f.; Athīr V 59f.

187 See Hoffmann, 'Tibets Eintritt', 270–73 (with map 269); Spuler, 'Mittelasiens', 335–38 (with map). India: Ya'q., *Hist.* II 345–47.

188 Bal. 414–16; Bal., *Ans.* IV 11f.; Aghānī/Būlāq XIII 60f.; Ṭab. II 1141; Tha'āl./Gab. 471–51v, 55rv, 57r–61r, 61r–62r; Athīr IV 193. His biography Ibn Qut., *Ma'ār.* 207f. See *EI* II 1250f.

189 Bal. 418f.

190 Bal. 419; Athīr IV 200.

191 Thus Ya'q., *Hist.* II 342. Or even a year earlier: see Ṭab. II 1180. Regarding the following (up until 715) see Barthold, *Turk.* 184–86; Wellh., *Arab.* 267–77. A brief note about his actions also Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn, 2.

also with the king of Shūmān (northeast of Chaghāniyān), as well as with the Turkish *nēzak* (or Tīrek) Ṭarkhān from Sistan in Badhghis. He accepted the submission of the kings of Chaghāniyān (Arabic: Ṣaghāniyān) and Tukharistan and eventually made the final necessary preparations in Marv.¹⁹²

In 706 (AH 87) Qutayba crossed the Oxus at Amul and marched to Paykand in the land of the Sogdians, whose resistance he managed to break despite a fierce struggle. But the population soon gave vent to its displeasure in a riot and after renewed occupation the country was treated more severely.¹⁹³ The attack on Bukhara | only followed two or three years later (708 or 709 = AH 89 [30] or 90), after the Transoxanian territory north of Tirmidh had been occupied in 707 (AH 88).¹⁹⁴

The call for help of the prince Vardānkhudāh¹⁹⁵ of Bukhara to the eastern Sogdians and the Turks came too late for them to send reinforcements for the garrison, and on receiving the news of the defenders' unsuccessful sortie the Sogdians agreed to a treaty with the Muslims.¹⁹⁶ The defection of the *nēzak* of Sistan, on the other hand, caused by Qutayba's undiplomatic behaviour, posed a serious threat, since now the native rulers found new courage to fight the invaders. The Kabul-Shāh did indeed grant him support, allowing the Arab garrisons to be expelled from Tukharistan. Thus the situation in the winter of 709–10 (despite the fact that Qutayba's brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān re-conquered at least Ṭāliqān, which had seceded earlier) was very serious; auxiliary troops had to be called in from the whole of Khurasan.¹⁹⁷ With their help it was possible to occupy Faryab and Gozgān and to pursue the *nēzak* as far as Tukharistan. After protracted fights in mountain valleys and gorges, the brave ruler finally fell into Qutayba's hands through treason. Contrary to his word Qutayba had him executed with a large number of his faithful followers, an action which caused outrage even among the Arabs,¹⁹⁸ but which ultimately increased the population's fear of the conquerors and consequently contributed to further

192 Bal. 419f.; Ṭab. II 1178–82, 1184f.; Dīn. 329f.; Athīr IV 200–2. *EI* I 845f.; Gibb, *Conq.* 28–58; Sadighi, 24–30.

193 Bal. 420; Kurat, *Kut.* 393f.; Ṭab. II 1186–89; Aghāni/Cairo IX 137; Narsh. 43f.; Ya'q. II 342; Athīr IV 202. Leontios 3–37 has very confused ideas about this Muslim excursion into Inner Asia.

194 Bal. 412; Ṭab. II 1189f., 1194–97, 1198f.; Narsh. 42f.; Athīr IV 204. Shiratori, 'A Study on Su-t'e', 135–40 (especially Chinese reports from pre-Islamic times).

195 Regarding the name see Justi, *Namb.*, 353 as well as Christensen² 501.

196 Ṭab. II 1201–4; Kurat, *Kut.* 394f.; Narsh. 8, 44–46, 51f.; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 6; Athīr IV 207f. A summary in Gafurov 138–42.

197 Ṭab. II 1205–8; Kurat, *Kut.* 395f.; Chav., *Doc.* 289ff.; Athīr IV 207f.

198 Ṭab. II 1218–24; Athīr IV 209f. Marquart, *Wehrot*, 40–43.

successes. Thus Qutayba and his brother were able to cross the middle Oxus again, defeat the king of Shūmān (who had seceded earlier and was now killed in the battle), and with the occupation of Nakhshab (Nasaf) and Kish they could push closer to Samarkand from the south. The Sogdians, who were put into the gravest of dangers by this, deposed their previous 'accommodating' *ikhshēdh* Türkühūn (in power since around 700), who committed suicide. Into his place stepped (his son?) Ughrak (Ghurek) (700–12, 721–38).¹⁹⁹

- [31] At this point the Arabs intervened in a fraternal dispute of the Āfrīghid (called thus by Tolstov) ruling house in Khwarazm²⁰⁰ and took the region without any great effort. The ruler (Khwarazm-Shāh) Janghān (Jānfar or Jīghān?; according to Tolstov Khanjerd = Khangīrī), who was now freed from the threat posed by his brother Khur(ra)zād (possibly a title, a translation of Baghpūr), was killed in his capital Kāth (today the village of Shaykh 'Abbās Valī, northeast of Khiva beyond the Oxus) and replaced by his son Askajamūk. The Arab governor in Gurganj (today Kuhna Urgench at the top of the Oxus delta) supported him, a move which divided the territory into two semi-independent administrative districts (with the Arab one in the west), until in 995 the Khwarazm-Shāhs took possession of the Arab emirate again.²⁰¹ The ruler of the free part was coerced to pay tribute to the Arabs and to provide 10,000 men for auxiliary troops as well.²⁰²

199 Bal. 421; Ya'q., Hist. II 342f.; Ṭab. II 1225–31; Kurat, Kut. 400–15 (using Ibn A'tham); Nasafi, *Qand* I 48; Chav., *Doc.* 136; Athīr IV 211. Marquart, *Inschr.*, 7–9, 62f.; Kračkovskaja and Kračkovskiy, 'Drevneyšiy arabskiy dokument', 61–63; Freymann, 'Datirovannye sodiyskiy dokumenty', 161–65. For the name of the ruler (Ikhshēdh of Sogdia, Afshīn of Samarkand) see Freymann, 'K imeni sogdiyskogo ichšida Gurek', 147–49; coins *ibid.* 1939/IV, 99. Ikhshēdh (Arabic: Ikhshīd) is the Sogdian form of khshaēta, see Christensen² 501 and 502; Smirnova, 'Sogdiyskie monety', 360. A list of the Sogdian rulers of that period based on the coins and documents from Mount Mugh is given in *ibid.*, 363–66 (with the corresponding Chinese forms of the names); see also Smirnova, 'Rezjume'. On the title 'Tarkhūn' see p. 357, n. 14 below, and Freymann, 'Nachodka', 7–17.

200 Tolstov, Chor., 119–27. Tolstov's thesis (*Civ.* 224f.) that it was a class conflict between 'democratic elements' and the 'rising feudal class represented by the Khwarazm-Shāh' is not really borne out by the sources. See also Tolstov, 'The Early Culture of Khwarizm', 92–99; *id.*, 'Monety šachov drevnego Chorezma', 126; *id.*, 'K istorii chorezmikskich Siyavušidov', 275–86; *id.*, 'Drevnosti verchnego Chorezma', 156; Field and Prostov, 'Khwarazm', 139–48 (with illustrations).

201 Barthold, *Aral.*, 20; Sachau, *Khvār.* (Ḥor. 480 = translation, 482, following Bir.). See *EI Turk.* v 242f. The basic discussion of this is in Tolstov, *Civ.* 223–71 (with numerous illustrations and very enlightening maps).

202 Bal. 421; Ya'q., Hist. II 343f.; Ṭab. II 1236–53; Kurat, Kut. 396 (using Ibn A'tham); Sam. 209 v; Athīr IV 217–19.

With their help the Muslims could take Samarkand relatively easily, in 711– [32] 12 or 712–13 (AH 93 or 94). Now the Oxus basin was in its middle and lower parts practically entirely in the hands of the Arabs, who, in agreement with the Tibetans (who were enemies of China), had already approached the middle reaches of the Syr Darya and in 712–13 (AH 94) occupied Shāsh (= present-day Tashkent) on the other side of the river. Here they stood at the threshold of the region of Fergana,²⁰³ which had been transformed into flowering gardens and rich farmland by its population's expertise in the art of irrigation. King Chandrāpīda of Kashmir felt compelled to call on the Chinese for help, who at that time were very influential in the 'Four Garrisons' (in the Tarim basin) far into Inner Asia.²⁰⁴ At that point Qutayba was recalled to Marv by news of the death of al-Ḥajjāj (714 v/20–VI/18 = Ram. AH 95). But the caliph al-Walīd soon ordered him to continue the fight.²⁰⁵ This never came to pass: the alleged campaigns of his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān in Fergana (northeast of Kāsān and Akhshīkath) are unclear in their chronological setting (705 = AH 86)²⁰⁶ and their geographical course, and the report of Qutayba's campaign in Kashgar²⁰⁷ has been proved to be a legend.²⁰⁸ Still, the situation seemed so threatening to the local rulers of Tukharistan, Khwarazm and Mazandaran that over the next decades (718–55) they repeatedly turned to the rulers of the T'ang dynasty in China for help, and the latter even sent a certificate of appointment to the ruler of Mazandaran.²⁰⁹

Qutayba apparently met his death in 715 in Fergana during a military campaign.²¹⁰ Both he and al-Ḥajjāj had agreed to the caliph al-Walīd's (died 715) plan to declare his son 'Abd al-'Azīz as successor instead of his brother Sulaymān. But when Sulaymān then asserted himself as caliph, Qutayba found himself in a precarious situation (especially since he lacked the protection of al-Ḥajjāj, who had died in the meantime). Attempts to mollify the new Commander of the Faithful did not lead to any satisfying results. Although Sulaymān never openly condemned him | (maybe indeed due to Qutayba's [33] undeniable successes in expanding the Islamic territory) he nevertheless deposed him. Qutayba felt so threatened by this that he decided to rise up

203 Bal. 422; Ya'q., Hist. II 334; Ṭab. II 1256f.; Dīn. 330f.; Vloten, *Rech.* 5.

204 T'ang-shu 3614/4; Chav., *Doc.* 129, 287–91. Franke II 440, 444; Gibb, *Chin.* 614.

205 Bal. 422; Athīr IV 221f.

206 Athīr IV 201.

207 Ṭab. II 1275–81; Athīr V 2 (714–15 = AH 96).

208 See Gibb, 'The Arab Invasion of Kashgar in 715', 467–74.

209 Chavannes, 'Rapports diplomatiques', 519f.

210 Ṭab. II 1256f. EI II 65.

against Sulaymān, but he did not convince the assembly of the tribal leaders. Rather, opposition arose under the leadership of Wakiʿ, which was backed by the *mawālī*, who appeared here as a community and acted as a political force for the first time, under their leader Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī,²¹¹ after the income from eastern Khurasan (in the west as far as the ‘Nahr Balkh’) had been guaranteed to him for life. Against this group Qutayba could not hold his ground when he was surrounded in his quarters. After a bloody struggle he fell fighting; his severed head²¹² was sent to the caliph Sulaymān, who did not – like Wakiʿ ibn Ḥassān in the east – indulge in public defamation but had the head buried quietly.²¹³

With Qutayba’s death the expansion of Islam in Inner Asia had reached its end for the time being, but his example continued to have an effect even after his death, since the connection to Khurasan via the ancient road across Asia (the Silk Road) had to be secured. So far Mazandaran (Ṭabaristan) and Gurgan had formed a dangerous obstacle here and at the same time a danger for the cities of Qumis and Nishapur. The new governor of Khurasan and protégé of the caliph Sulaymān, Yazīd ibn Muhallab,²¹⁴ succeeded comparatively easily in invading and occupying the capital. But the first campaign against the *ispāhbadh* of the mountainous Mazandaran with its especially uninviting climate in 716–17 (AH 98) failed, and, after the Arabs were beaten repeatedly and caught in ambushes, Yazīd found himself compelled to enter negotiations, for which Ḥayyān (as the ruler’s fellow-countryman)²¹⁵ was called in. They did not lead to any satisfying results and were soon frustrated by an onslaught of | Turks and Chöl (Ṣul)²¹⁶ from Kohistan, who had already advanced to the far south despite the fact that the latter suffered a heavy defeat.²¹⁷ Only in the

211 Al-Nabaṭī is here apparently used as generic word for a person who spoke Arabic badly (such as al-Ḥayyān) (see Ibn Qut., ‘Uyūn 69) (like kāfir: Wellh., *Arab.* 156; Lammens, *Om.*, 82; *GAL S* I 114 middle). Initially the Nabaṭīs were close to the Arabs in this respect (Bal. Ans. IV 162 the ‘son of a Jewess’ is called a ‘Nabaṭī wild ass’ by Syrians). That he was in fact Persian is clear from the fact that he is later (see below) labelled as a ‘fellow-countryman’ of the *ispāhbadhs* of Mazandaran. For the rest see Goldziher, *Muḥ. Stud.* I 156–58; *EI* III 865–67; Grünebaum 208f.; Sadighi 29 and n. 5.

212 Regarding this custom see p. 376 below.

213 Said explicitly by Athīr v 11.

214 Ṭab. II 1306, 1313; Thaʿāl./Gab. 62 r–62 v; Yaʿq., Hist. II 354–56; Yaʿq., Buld. 277; Jahsh. 45f.; Ibn Qut., ‘Uyūn 17–22; Athīr v 9.

215 Athīr v 12.

216 Concerning these people see p. 240 n. below.

217 Ṭab. II 1317–29 (following Abū Mikhnaf); Yaʿq., Hist. II 355; Ibn Isf. 105–9; Athīr v 11; Yāq. VI 20.

second attempt, and due to the treason of a local, was a permanent establishment in Gurgan successful.²¹⁸

Rise and Victory of the Abbasid Movement

During and because of these external events the situation in Khurasan changed. The successes of Ḥayyān, and the *mawālī* who were united with him in their fight against Qutayba, and Ḥayyān's role as mediator in Mazandaran, must have provided the ever-growing number of Iranian *mawālī*, Iranians (of different linguistic groups) who had converted to Islam, with a heightened sense of self-esteem. Indeed, the new caliph 'Umar II (717–20) listened to their complaints (including that '20,000 *mawālī* are serving without pay or rations').²¹⁹ This was not surprising considering this caliph's attitude. He, at long last, had realized that the predominance of the Arab aristocracy was not tenable any longer and that the financial exploitation of the state and of those subjected by this aristocracy had to be stopped, and that consequently the full inclusion of the new Muslims was inevitable if Umayyad rule was to persist. Islam had to be taken seriously as the basis of the state if national, social and cultural differences were to be prevented from breaking up the Muslim empire.

'Umar II tried to pave the way for his ideas by deposing several governors of Khurasan (amongst them al-Jarrāḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī) who were of the opinion that the population of Khurasan could be 'governed only with severity',²²⁰ and by ordering that conversion to the new religion was not to be hindered by tax obstacles, despite fiscal worries.²²¹ Naturally, under these circumstances the economic basis of the state would have to be reorganized, and particularly (exclusive) payments to the Arabs would need to be abolished. But the aristocrats were not willing to give up | their privileges without a fight, and consequently 'Umar II's policy was abolished after his death in 720. That the Arab establishment, the mainstay of the state, was digging its own grave would become clear very soon, since the disadvantaged *mawālī* could not no longer be suppressed (neither in Persia nor in Mesopotamia or Egypt) and after only thirty years the Umayyad state collapsed completely. [35]

218 Bal. 336f.; Ṭab. II 1354; Tha'āl./Gab. 64r–69r; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 21–24; Athīr v 13. Melgunof 55; Rehatsek, 441f.; Sadighi 32f., Rabino, *Maz.* 440.

219 Bal. 421; Ṭab. II 1354; Tha'āl./Gab. 74v–76r; Athīr v 19. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*. See Wellh., *Arab.* 166–94, 215f.

220 Thus Ibn Sa'd v 251 (appointment), 285; Athīr v 20. Kračkovskiy, *Sogd. Sbornik*, 59–61.

221 Bal. 426f.; Ṭab. II 1352–57; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 48f., 50f.; Athīr v 18–20.

The first signs of this development could be seen in Iran (the sole focus of our attention here) quite soon. Ḥayyān's cooperation in the overthrow of Qutayba had shown to the *mawālī* that they no longer had to suffer quarrels among Arabs passively. The failure of 'Umar's intended reforms alienated them again, as did Ḥayyān's mysterious death (possibly in 721), which was apparently due to poison.²²² There was no hope of concessions on the part of the government (a second disturbance in Samarkand in 728–29 showed this yet again),²²³ but it was still possible to rise against the authority of the Umayyad state and its representatives in Khurasan. Of course, Persian national spirit alone would not have provided a proper foundation for revolt at this time, since the people of Iran were divided between the religions of Islam and Zoroastrianism, the latter being furthermore too weak, outwardly as well as inwardly, to serve in this way.²²⁴ Now a new movement from within Islam offered itself to the Muslims of Khurasan,²²⁵ most of whom had so far been orthodox Sunnis (i.e. following the government line in matters of religion). This movement seemed suited to unite them into a special community within the new religion, perhaps even to make them appear as the spearhead of true Islam, to raise their self-esteem and to base their rejection of Umayyad rule (and of the Arab tribes with their feuds) on religious law.

Abbasid propaganda had begun at the end of the reign of 'Umar II under the leadership of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās (who lived in Syria)²²⁶ and was supported in Khurasan by Muḥammad ibn Khanīs, Abū Muḥammad Ziyād al-Ṣādiq (also called Abū 'Ikrima al-Sarrāj), Abū Salama al-Khallāl Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān and Ḥarb ibn 'Uthmān.²²⁷ One cannot explain the reaction it caused in northeast Iran either wholly in rational terms nor [36] view it as a conscious or spontaneous expression of the Iranian | spirit. The sources are too meagre and later accounts are coloured too much in Abbasid favour; moreover, the propaganda reached the Arabs of all tribes,²²⁸ here as

222 Athīr v 37. Vloten, *Abb.* 23.

223 Ṭab. II 1507–12; Athīr v 54f. See Bal., *Ans.* v 161 as well as p. 141, 453 below.

224 See p. 188 below.

225 See p. 146 below.

226 See *EI* I 15 and s 1–3; Vloten *Abb.* 16f.

227 Ṭab. II 1358f., 1501–6; Athīr v 20, 53. *EI* I 112f. Regarding the names see Vloten, *Abb.* 34ff.

228 Of the 12 *nuqabā'*, the highest ranking representatives of the movement, eight were Arabs and four were *mawālī*; we have no information about the racial composition of the rest of this circle of 70 people, who received advice for their behaviour by letter from the Abbasid imam Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (720: Ṭab. II 1358) (it should be noted that the number conspicuously corresponds to the number of the apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ). Abū Muḥammad Ziyād had the clear order in 727–28 (AH 109) to settle among the Yemenites

well as in Mesopotamia, and did not primarily pursue national or social revolutionary goals for the Persians (or other peoples or classes). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the Khurasanians were more open towards this propaganda than others. Its aim must have conformed right from the start with the wishes of the Iranian (and especially Khurasanian) population, and since the victory of this movement would indeed fulfil to a large degree the aspirations at least of the leading social and cultural classes of (northeast) Iran, one cannot deny a certain conscious cooperation between different elements within this development.

The objective of the movement, along with the Alid party which at that point cooperated with it (although its leader, with characteristic political short-sightedness, did not recognise the true concern of the Abbasid propagandists),²²⁹ was, and remained until its victory, religious and was religiously motivated. Its main goal was the removal of the secularised Umayyad rule and assertion of the 'House of the Prophet' as the only valid dynasty. Whoever was fighting for it did not need to have national or social reasons; but this did not stop people from advancing religious reasons and using religious motivations when indeed they had other things in mind.

The increase in Abbasid propaganda after the appearance of 'Ammār ibn Yazīd, called Khidāsh (the folk etymology of which is 'Khaddāsh' = 'scratcher'), around 730²³⁰ (and especially from 738) remained for decades the political movement in the Iranian sphere which really carried weight, | despite all the repressive measures of the Umayyad government. Everything else that went on in terms of changes of governors,²³¹ political quarrels,²³² internal disagreements among the ruling Qays or other less important tribal feuds²³³ was only

and to treat the Muḍar kindly (who had fought in a bloody feud in 724–25: Athīr v 47f.); see Ṭab. II 1501; Athīr v 53 and p. 228f. below. For a general overview of Abbasid propaganda see Wellh., *Arab.* 315–23.

229 Quarrels between the two directions in Khurasan are reported in 727–28 (AH 109): Ṭab. II 1501; Athīr v 53.

230 Ṭab. II 1639–41; Pseudo-Balkhī VI 6of.; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 383, 391f., 'Iqd II 263f.; *Din.* 335f.; Elias 102 (729–30); Athīr v 80. Barthold, *Turk.* 190–94; Vloten, *Abb.* 21–32, 35ff.; Vloten, *Rech.* 45–53. Browne, I 236–40. Khidāsh later went over to the religious opponents of the Abbasids, but was soon executed, see Sadighi 223f.

231 Bal. 426–28; Ṭab. II 1417–28, 1436, 1438, 1454–62, 1467f., 1477, 1480–85, 1497–1501, 1565–72, 1573–86, 1636–39, 1641–67, 1764–69, 1845–47; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 82, 84, 89; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 388; Athīr v 34, 37, 39, 43, 49, 52f., 57f., 67, 68, 79, 80f., 83; TS 122–31.

232 730–31 on the occasion of a change of governor: Athīr v 67–69. See Vloten, *Rech.* 30.

233 724–25 (AH 106) between the Muḍar and the Yemenites in the vicinity of Balkh: Ṭab. II 1473–75; Athīr v 47f. Wellh., *Arab.* 195–99.

of superficial importance in comparison, even when – like the revolt of a previous Khurasanian governor in Basra²³⁴ (720) – it sent ripples as far as Fars and Kirman. It was not possible anymore to stop the secession of the Sogdians (720–21) led by Divāstich, the kinsman of the *ikhshēdh*,²³⁵ some of whom moved to Fergana, which was now independent once more.²³⁶ Turkish raids, the Turkish alliance with some east Iranian kingdoms (e.g. including Khuttal) and the attacks at Amul²³⁷ meant that the Sogdians' secession could not really be halted, despite some Arab successes near Paykand in 728,²³⁸ in Kish and Bukhara in 730²³⁹ as well as in Chaghāniyān in 739.²⁴⁰ In 741 they were finally granted an advantageous peace treaty, which even allowed them to renounce Islam if they wished and to take Muslim prisoners of war.²⁴¹

The Umayyad administration in Khurasan tried in vain to fend off the Abbasid propaganda by means of interrogations, persecutions, arrests, executions²⁴² and all manner of harassment. However, the propagandists, many of whom according to good oriental historical tradition were also active [38] as merchants, were able to evade all this.²⁴³ Despite the occasional | annihilation of one centre of propaganda or another, in the end all this was unsuccessful, since the actual source of the discontent was not eradicated. This dissatisfaction was due on the one hand to the caliphs and their followers' disregard for the Islamic commandments, while on the other hand it was caused by the predominance of the Arab aristocracy. Indeed, the whole social structure of the Umayyad state made its eradication impossible.

Thus all the preconditions for a revolution were fulfilled when the influence of the Damascus caliphate in Khurasan was practically neutralized by internal quarrels. The recalled governor (since 738) Naṣr ibn Sayyār refused to go to Damascus when he received the news of the murder of al-Walīd II and

234 Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 55–60; Athīr v 28. Wellh., *Arab*. 195–99.

235 Ya'q., *Hist.* II 373; Ṭab. II 1428–32, 1439f.; Chav., *Doc.* 292f.; Athīr v 36, 39. Barthold, *Turk.* 186, 188f.; Smirnova, 'Sogdiyskie monety', 365; Gafurov 144f.

236 See p. 254f. below.

237 Athīr v 56, 58. On this subject see Gibb, *Conq.* 59–91; Sadighi 36–38. Fighting in Azerbaijan and Armenia around 722: Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 75.

238 Bal. 428f.: Ṭab. II 1512–25; Athīr v 55. Marquart, *Inscr.* 33–36.

239 Ṭab. II 1532–38; Athīr v 60–63.

240 Ṭab. II 1543–1619; Athīr v 87. Gafurov 147.

241 Ṭab. II 1717–25; Athīr v 92. Barthold, *Turk.* 192.

242 725–26 (AH 107): Ṭab. II 1488f.; Athīr v 51. 23 March 728: Ṭab. II 1492, 1560, 1586–88, 1639f.; Athīr v 53.

243 721: Ṭab. II 1434; Aghānī/Cairo VII 56; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 62; Athīr v 38. 727–28: *Din.* 337f.; Athīr v 53. 735: Athīr v 69. Gafurov 149–55.

returned to his district (743).²⁴⁴ He had carried out²⁴⁵ the order to execute an 'Alid pretender (Yaḥyā ibn Zayd),²⁴⁶ but then stopped the newly appointed governor Maṣṣūr ibn Jumhūr by force of arms from taking control of affairs, thus practically cutting his ties with the caliphate.²⁴⁷ When he tried to win supporters by distributing the public treasure, his actions soon came back to haunt him. Juday' ibn 'Alī al-Azdī, called al-Kirmānī because of his origin, made himself leader of a group of discontented people, who caused unrest in the bazaars. Soon the political quarrel turned into a tribal one, but it was characteristic of the late Umayyad period that fighting was increasingly often primarily politically and religiously motivated with tribal differences decreasing in importance. The Yemenites, but also the Rabī'a and the Azd, joined forces under al-Kirmānī against Naṣr, who was supported by the Muḍar.²⁴⁸ But since Naṣr had initially been friends with al-Kirmānī, he did not have him executed when he got hold of him, despite the urging of his followers, and instead – after several talks – only had him incarcerated (14 July 744 = 28 Ram. AH 126). Al-Kirmānī escaped after 29 days with the help of some of the Azd and returned to Khurasan after he had tried to find supporters in Mesopotamia.²⁴⁹ Here he allied himself with the previous governor al-Ḥārith ibn Surayj, who had returned (early April 745 = late Jum. II AH 127) from exile amongst the Turks, | and with the support of the Tamīm and some of the Muḍar he forced [39] Naṣr after several fast-changing battles (with partially religious Murji'te motivation) to evacuate the city of Marv. Soon afterwards (Saturday, 23 April 746 = 25 Rajab AH 128) he also disposed of al-Ḥārith and his brothers.²⁵⁰

We must bear this confusion in mind if we are to understand why the Abbasid party was able to be victorious in Khurasan relatively easily. It had become further united and had been strengthened by envoys and by the organisation of its followers.²⁵¹ However, in the end the actions of one specific person were decisive: that of Abū Muslim, a skilful propagandist as well as an

244 Bal. 429f.; Athīr v 99. On Naṣr see *EI* III 943–45.

245 Zayd is the fifth imam of the Zaydis, who were named after him.

246 Ya'q., *Hist.* II 397f.; Athīr v 110.

247 Ṭab. II 1855–1858; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 105f.; Athīr v 110.

248 The occasionally used (superordinate) name Nizār refers here only to these, since the Rabī'a (see Athīr v 128) were on al-Kirmānī's side.

249 Ya'q., *Hist.* II 399; Ṭab. II 1858–66; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 166; Athīr v 112–14; TS 131–37 (fighting among tribes in Sistan). Vloten, *Abb.* 43–59.

250 Ya'q., *Hist.* II 407f.; Ṭab. II 1867–69, 1887–90, 1917–36; Athīr v 114f., 127–29. Wellh., *Arab.* 289ff., 302ff.

251 Ṭab. II 1869, 1916f.; Tha'āl./Gab. 121r–127r; Athīr v 114.

energetic politician.²⁵² He himself kept the beginnings of his career shrouded in obscurity.²⁵³ There were several stories about his origins, some of which portrayed him as a freeborn man, others as a slave. It seems certain that he was Persian (probably from Isfahan)²⁵⁴ and that he was won over to the Abbasid cause in Kufa (where he had ended up, again under circumstances described in a variety of ways).²⁵⁵ Here the Abbasid Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad appears to have given him the name under which he became famous (on his coins²⁵⁶ he calls himself ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim: whether this is an earlier form of his name remains unclear;²⁵⁷ the sources certainly use names which are completely different from his actual one).²⁵⁸

[40] Abū Muslim was allegedly just 19 years old²⁵⁹ when – probably around 746 – he set out for his Persian homeland and travelled on to Khurasan in order to start his propaganda campaign in this – as we have seen – politically fragmented country. The motto of his campaign he had minted on his coins:²⁶⁰ ‘Say: I do not ask any recompense for it from you except for love of kin’ (Qur’an 42:23), which was naturally taken to refer to the relatives of the Prophet (we also find the phrase ‘Judgement lies with God alone’).²⁶¹ This endeavour was made even easier by the fact that western Iran was harrowed at the same time by the fighting between the ‘Alid rebel ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mu‘āwiya,

252 Ṭab. II 1937, 1965; Aghānī/Būlāq XI 74f., XII 81. Browne I 240–47; Vloten, *Abb.* 60–75; Barthold, *Turk.* 193–96.

253 Ṭab. II 1965; Mas. VI 59f. The tradition given by Ibn Khall./Wüst. IV 71 is only one of several (see *ibid.* 73).

254 Browne, *Ist.* 440f. (from Kayān or Qutāb near Isfahan).

255 Thus also in Athīr V 14, see also 127.

256 See p. 40 n. below.

257 See *EI* I 107, supplemented in *EI Turk.* IV 39–41.

258 See the compilation in Athīr V 93–95. Much less extensive in Ṭab. II 1960, who supports the thesis that Abū Muslim came from Khuṭarnīya (Mas. VI 59: kh-r-ṭ-j-n-h) near Kufa, al-Mukhtar’s home town (see Wellh., *Arab.* 315; Friedländer, 1908, 118–20; Sadighi 40, n. 1, and 40ff.). Regarding Abū Muslim see Wellh., *Arab.* 323–34, and the thorough and insightful studies of Moscati, ‘Abū Muslim I–III’.

259 Thus Athīr V 129.

260 Lane-Poole I 33, no. 216; IX, 37; Lavoix I 132f., nos. 553–58, 560; Nützel I 109f., no. 599f.; Tiesenhausen 63f., nos. 656–60 (coins from 744–46 [sic] = AH 127–28 from Jayy; 745–46 from al-Taymara and Kufa; 746–47 from Māhī and Rayy; 748–49 = AH 131, from Balkh). On the Marv issues of 748–50 = AH 131–32; this warcry is not found any more: Lavoix I 134, nos. 561–63.

261 Lavoix I 133, no. 559; Guest, ‘A Coin of Abū Muslim’, 555f.; Walker, ‘New Coin Evidence from Sistan’, 115–21 (issues from Kirman, which was hostile towards Abū Muslim, from 753 = AH 136 by Abū Muslim’s father-in-law [Athīr/Tornberg V 191]).

who had been forced back from Kufa, and the Persian ‘client’ Muḥārib ibn Mūsā, which took place in the region of Fars and Kirman as far as Isfahan and Rayy.²⁶² Furthermore, a Khārijite revolt²⁶³ raging in Mesopotamia wrested this region from the central control of Damascus for a long time too, and closed Persia off even more than the Khurasanian turmoil would have done on its own. Consequently Abū Muslim could risk travelling with a group of 70 men – disguised as pilgrims – from Khurasan via Nisa to Qumis in the spring of 747, and to request the government authorities to join the Abbasid cause. Other agitators took the same step in Nishapur, in Ṭāliqān and in Khwarazm. The connection with the new head of the party, Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī, was continuously maintained. On 9–10 June 747 (25–26 Ram. AH 129) Abū Muslim himself finally unfurled the black banner of the Abbasid party before the walls of Marv. The general mood favoured the swift spread of the movement in the surrounding area;²⁶⁴ Khurasan, Gurgan, Tukharistan and Bukhara were also soon | included [41] in the mission. Abū Muslim established himself for the time being²⁶⁵ in the village of Sīqadanj²⁶⁶ and later in al-Mākhuvān near Marv.²⁶⁷

All this – as we have already stressed repeatedly – was not a purely Persian movement, even though that part of the population must in no way be underestimated. Abū Muslim was not shy about using certain national motifs to advertise his cause,²⁶⁸ with permission of the Abbasid imam Ibrāhīm,²⁶⁹ but he did so without putting the Arabs second.²⁷⁰ For in addition to the dissatisfied Iranians, there would always be Arabs who did not agree with the

262 Ṭab. II 1976–81; Aghānī/Būlāq XI 73–75; Tha‘āl./Gab. 127r–132v; Jāhīz, Bayān² II 67f.; Athīr v 138f.; Shahrastānī 12f. Wellh., *Arab.* 239ff.; Sadighi 39f., 182; *EI* I 27f. and s. 4.

263 Dīn. 338–41; Athīr v 130–32.

264 Sixty villages around Marv are said to have joined the Abbasid cause on one single day. According to Leontios 121–23 the population was especially tired of the civil war in the country, and the burden of taxation.

265 Ṭab. II 1949–59, 1961–65; Ibn Sa‘d VII/2, 103; Elias 105; Athīr v 132–35.

266 Thus according to Sam. 322 v: ‘3 parasangs from Marv’. Other transmitted forms are Saqīdanj and Safīdanj. *EI* II 464 (Ibrāhīm der Abbaside); Vloten, *Abb.* 76–99 (here a summary of the different traditions); Vloten, *Rech.* 65.

267 Ya‘q., *Hist.* 409–11; Ṭab. II 1965–69; ‘Iqd III 257 bottom.

268 See p. 228f. below.

269 Ṭab. II 1947: Intercepted letter of Ibrāhīm, to have all Arabs in Khurasan killed. Whether this was really only Umayyad horror-propaganda is doubtful, because Marwān II had Ibrāhīm killed subsequently, and under Abbasid rule such a fake document would have hardly been published by Ṭab.

270 Frye, ‘Abū Muslim’, points this out emphatically, referring to Daniel C. Dennett’s unpublished dissertation, *Marwan ibn Muḥammad*.

government due to their political quarrels and tribal feuds. Indeed, most of the Yemenites joined the revolt against Umayyad rule, and the Rabī'a were considered well disposed towards it from the very first, while the Muḍar were not trusted. Because of this, the governor Naṣr did not succeed in staying out of this affair, since he found no support among the Umayyads and therefore had to look for alliances wherever they were offered. When he was taken prisoner after a military encounter with the followers of the Abbasids, he had to accept the face-saving ultimatum that Abū Muslim sensibly offered, namely a choice between joining the Abbasid cause or withdrawing with a promise not to take part in the fighting anymore.²⁷¹

This, however, did not constitute a proper solution to the problem. Because of Abū Muslim's involvement Naṣr was able to move against his old enemy, al-Kirmānī, and the latter was killed during an encounter, probably with Abū Muslim's consent.²⁷² Soon the Arabs felt | that the Abbasid movement was detrimental to their privileged position.²⁷³ Attempts were made to settle the differences between the Muḍar and the Yemenites²⁷⁴ in order to stem the flood of 'people' into the Abbasid party. But this did not succeed: Abū Muslim was canny enough to outplay the stumbling Naṣr by reminding 'Alī ibn al-Kirmānī of the death of his father at the hands of Naṣr when 'Alī appeared to be willing to aid the coalition of the Arabs. Now both parties – in the knowledge that individually they would not be able to withstand the movement – had to look for reconciliation with Abū Muslim. And even though he indicated to the religiously inclined among his followers what his 'position regarding the *fiqh*' was with the Shi'ite adage: 'he would order what is allowed and forbid what is forbidden',²⁷⁵ he was also enough of a statesman to present the Abbasid cause to politically interested circles as one which had interests that mostly coincided with their own aims.²⁷⁶ Generally one has to assess Abū Muslim primarily as a politician, whose religious beliefs contained certain ideas from the East (such as the doctrine of reincarnation, which offered a basis and support for the Shi'ite perception of the imamate),²⁷⁷ but who would also act readily against really religiously motivated groups (like the Shi'ites in Bukhara) in the interest of the state. He probably did not hold any messianic beliefs regarding

271 Ṭab. II 1965, 1972; Tha'āl./Gab. 132v–135r; Mas. VI 60–63; Athīr v 134f.

272 See Wellh., *Arab.* 305².

273 Thus Ṭab. II 1865 (for 744 already). Vloten, *Abb.* 100–13.

274 Ṭab. II 1969, 1975; Athīr v 137.

275 Ṭab. II 1965; Athīr v 137.

276 Ṭab. II 1984f.; Dīn. 358f.; Athīr v 135.

277 See p. 197f. below.

his person, either;²⁷⁸ and he calmly witnessed the eradication of religious enthusiasts (favouring the Abbasids) in Mesopotamia.²⁷⁹ His ultimate aims regarding the Abbasids remain unclear though.

Abū Muslim welcomed leading Arab circles to join him. This was of the utmost importance for the continuation of the fight in Iran, but also in Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. His strained relations with Naṣr, who was very independent and energetic, explain why Abū Muslim for now joined ranks with the Yemenites and Rabī'a against the 'pro-Umayyad Muḍar'. They opened the way to Marv itself for him – probably on Thursday 15 Feb. 748²⁸⁰ – where he soon appointed 'aristocratic marshals' | (*nuqabā'*) from among the Khuzā'a, [43] Ṭayyi', Tamīm and Bakr ibn Wā'il, and where he accepted the homage given to the 'family of the Prophet'. Naṣr fled (on the advice of one of Abū Muslim's negotiators, who was later executed for this advice) from the city and for the time being established himself in Nishapur.²⁸¹

The unquestionable success of Abū Muslim's movement made the caliph (from 7 Dec. 744) Marwān II²⁸² take notice, despite all his worries of the Khārijite disturbances in Mesopotamia and in Arabia and the confused situation in western Iran²⁸³ caused by the 'Alid 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya's revolt. But the Abbasid party's numbers that had been conveyed from Khurasan²⁸⁴ could only show him that the number of his opponents had grown considerably. It seemed increasingly hopeless that he would prevail against this agitation as Abū Muslim's advance could not be stopped once he had succeeded in having Balkh occupied by Abū Dā'ūd, who held the city against attacks by Tukharian and Transoxanian troops advancing from Tirmidh,²⁸⁵ and once Qaḥṭaba ibn Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī, who had arrived with new commands from the Abbasids and new auxiliary troops, conquered Ṭus and Nishapur after heavy fighting (4 May–1 July 748 = Ram. – Shaw. AH 130). Qaḥṭaba forced Naṣr to flee to Gurgan, whose

278 The prayer 'for him and the party' (Ṭab. II 1970) does not have to contain this. See also the oath 'on the Qur'an, the Sunna of the Prophet and the consent (*riḍā*) of the house of the Prophet' in Marv: Ṭab. II 1989.

279 See p. 148 below.

280 9 Jum. II AH 130 was a Wednesday. According to Ḥamza Iṣf. already on Monday, 25 Dec. 747 (17 Rabī' II AH 130).

281 Ṭab. II 1986–95; Ḥamza Iṣf. 138; Athīr v 137f., 141f.

282 EI III 365f; Vloten, *Abb.* 114–27.

283 See p. 40 above.

284 Athīr v 137.

285 Ṭab. II 1997–99; Athīr v 143f. Dīn. 359f. speaks of 100,000 people, who, distinguished by the black items of clothing they wore, flocked to Abū Muslim from the whole of Khurasan within a short time.

governor fell in battle, and he pursued him in early August 748 (Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 130).²⁸⁶ After the bloody suppression of a riot the inhabitants had to agree to being integrated into the Abbasid sphere of power²⁸⁷ whose administration Abū Muslim now began to organize by appointing governors and commanders.

With his increasing success Abū Muslim's self-confidence grew as well. At the same time as he curtly refused Khārijite demands that he should join their political and religious view, defeating their propagandists in battle,²⁸⁸ he also eliminated al-Kirmānī's two sons, 'Alī and 'Uthmān, the leaders of the Arab–Yemenite circle²⁸⁹ that had joined him, in order to gain absolute control over [44] the movement. | His old adversary Naṣr died at the end of that year on his flight to Sāva in northeast Iran (9 Nov. 748 = 12 Rabī' I AH 131).²⁹⁰ While Abū Muslim remained in Khurasan in order to secure this core Persian province for good, the leadership of the military expeditions in central Persia lay in the hands of Qaḥṭaba and his son al-Ḥasan. From Qumis Qaḥṭaba took Rayy after a short battle (30 Sep.–28 Oct. 748 = Ṣaf. AH 131) and won the *ispāhbadh* of Mazandaran for the Abbasid cause, although the lord of Dunbāvand offered resistance right up until the time of the caliph al-Manṣūr, and it was impossible to force him to adopt a different attitude due to the inaccessibility of the region.²⁹¹ Since the followers of the Umayyads (now often called 'Syrians' after the centre of their power) and the Arabs who had been driven out of Khurasan had retreated to Nahavand, they took Qom, attacking the city's lightly defended flank with 'Syrian' troops from Kirman²⁹² from 24 Feb.–25 Mar. 749 (Rajab AH 131). In this city the eagerness of the attackers was newly encouraged by the rich booty, so that they persevered during the three-month siege of Nahavand led by Qaḥṭaba and his son in the spring of 749.²⁹³ Only after a secret pact between the Syrians and Qaḥṭaba were the gates opened and the city occupied, with all native defenders being executed.²⁹⁴

286 Ṭab. II 2000–6; Tha'āl./Gab. 137 r–139 r; Athīr v 144f.; EI II 672f.

287 Ṭab. II 2016f.; Athīr v 147. A summary may be found in Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 179–206.

288 Ṭab. II 1995f.; Athīr v 143.

289 Ṭab. II 1999f.; Athīr v 143f.

290 Ṭab. III 1f.; Dīn. 361f.; Mubarrad, Kāmil 171, 454; Athīr v 148. The report that he died on 9 Nov. 748 = 12 Rabī' I AH 131 at the age of 85 in Sāva contradicts the accounts in other sources which claim that he died before he even reached Rayy, which at that time was fending off Qaḥṭaba's first attack: *ibid.*

291 Ṭab. III 2–4; Athīr v 148. For the advance of the Khurasanis see Wellh., *Arab.* 334–42; Wiet 168.

292 Ṭab. III 4–6.

293 Sha'bān until Shawwāl AH 131. = 749 III/26 VI/21.

294 Ṭab. III 6–8; Dīn. 632f.; Athīr v 149f. See Yāq. III 32f.

Now the Umayyad troops gave up the defence of the rest of Persia. The governor fled from Hulwan and the troops in Shahrazur on the western border of Kurdistan surrendered on 11 Aug. 749 (21 Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 131) after a one-day siege. In the meantime, the offer to 'Abd Allāh, the insurgent ruler in southern Jibāl and Fars, to join the Abbasid cause had been rejected and he had been taken captive and executed.²⁹⁵ Now the whole of Persia lay at the feet of the victorious party, and an advance from Shahrazur through the Zagros mountains to Khāniqīn in Mesopotamia was no longer a risky venture. Only now did the caliph Marwān II advance from Ḥarrān against the rebels with the troops stationed in Syria and the Jazīra. He came across the Euphrates as far as the Great Zāb river, whilst Qaḥṭaba crossed the Tigris at 'Ukbar(a) | and advanced [45] to al-Anbar on the Euphrates, a rash expedition in which the bold commander-in-chief met his premature death together with that of one of his most able generals.²⁹⁶ But against all expectations, this incident did not lead to any reversal in the situation of the Abbasid army. Marwān II was beaten between 16 and 25 Jan. 750 (2–11 Jum. II AH 132) by the Great Zāb²⁹⁷ in a battle which lasted ten days, and he was forced to flee to the west.²⁹⁸ The last Umayyad administrative body in Fars was removed by force and a reliable governor was appointed after the failure of an Abbasid prince.²⁹⁹ Thus the decision about the Umayyads, and therefore about the future of Persia, had been made. The proclamation of Abbasid rule in Kufa under Abū 'l-'Abbās (soon called 'al-Saffāh' = 'the shedder of blood' because of his cruelty against the Umayyad princes and other followers of the house)³⁰⁰ on 6 Nov. 749 proved to be the beginning of a new era and the origin of the Abbasid ruling house, which completely suppressed the Umayyads and was to hold the caliphate in the east for 500 years.³⁰¹

295 Ṭab. III 9; Athīr v 139. See p. 43 above.

296 Ṭab. III 10f.; Athīr v 150f.

297 EI IV 1278.

298 Ṭab. III 38–42; Ya'q., Hist. II 413f.; Tha'āl./Gab. 139r ff.; Mas. VI 73; Dīn. 363; Athīr v 156–58. Assemani II (text) 108, 110; Leontios 123; Stefan As. 161f.; Elias 106; Michael Syr. 471f. The news of these events also reached the Chinese (who at that time in 751, see p. 47 below, were in intensive contact with the Muslims): T'ang-shu 3614/4; Franke III 399f.

299 Ṭab. III 71f.; Athīr v 166, 168.

300 See also Aghānī/Cairo IV 343–55. Amedroz, 'On the Meaning of the Laqab as-Saffāh', 660ff.

301 Marwān II's last battles up to his fall in Egypt in August 750 cannot be discussed in detail within the scope of a history of Persia.

Early Abbasid Rule

The victory of the Abbasids created a new situation in Persia. In Khurasan the hegemony of the Arab tribes was abolished, although the greater part of them had already been driven out of the country. Furthermore, the Persians had played a decisive part in the victory of the new dynasty and consequently in the implementation of the new order³⁰² which replaced the Umayyad system that had depended on the Arabs. In view of these facts there could be no doubt that the Persians now had to be considered as equal partners in the new state. This was only possible if, rather than nationality as in the past, religion, [46] i.e. Islam, became the decisive | criterion. Such a complete revolution was in line with the propaganda that had brought the Abbasids to such heights, and indeed there were no further controversies about this aspect.

Of course, after the segregation of the Khārijites and Shi'ites, there was no true unity in Islam anymore. Consequently the question would soon arise as to which of the varieties of Islam should provide the orthodox form from now on. Abbasid propaganda had so far avoided answering the question of which branch of the Hashemite house was destined to be the true successor of the Prophet. In this way the followers of 'Alī and his house (the Shi'ites par excellence) had been won for the movement. But once the Abbasids had taken their seat on the throne, there was of course no place for the offspring of 'Alī and Fāṭima anymore. This development would be significant throughout the empire, including, of course, Iran with its many, if rather dispersed, bases of Alid sentiment. But the Shi'ite party was prevented from taking action for the time being due to its relatively small numbers, unfortunate spatial distribution, absence of a universally acknowledged and politically effective leader and especially the repeatedly demonstrated lack of political insight of the Shi'ites in general and the Alids in particular. However, beneath the surface this group retained its importance as a rallying point for the dissatisfied.³⁰³

Thus the religious basis of the Abbasid empire could only be the 'cleansed', i.e. truly religious, conception of 'Sunni' Islam that was the accepted belief of the majority (*ahl al-sunna wa 'l-jamā'a*). Indeed, the bulk of the Muslim community had bowed to this development and the vast majority of Iranians joined this orientation as well, since it was the only one to realise their political goals and to establish equality for the Persians. This was also and especially the case in Mesopotamia and in the new capital city Baghdad which started developing

302 This was clearly acknowledged by the caliph al-Manṣūr: Ṭab. III 430f.; Mas. VI 203f.

303 Ṭab. III 128 (758–59: execution of officers who were suspected of spreading Shi'ite propaganda).

quickly from 762 onwards. Only as Sunnis could the people of Persian origin, such as for example the Barmakids,³⁰⁴ become viziers or officials or courtiers. Scholars and theologians, too, could only in this way engage in effective public activity, even though some opposition against the new course remained discernible in these circles as well. However, its supporters were forced to disguise themselves or were left behind.

Of course, the Abbasid movement – as has been repeatedly stressed – had not been primarily political. A considerable number of its core followers in particular had been led by religious considerations. Many of them | disappeared into the Shi'ite opposition without drawing attention to themselves [47] in public. The impressive personality of Abū Muslim had played an essential role as well. He had succeeded in acquiring an extraordinary reputation, which was seen beyond his mere political standing. When Abū Ja'far (the later caliph al-Manṣūr) travelled to Khurasan in 750 as his brother al-Saffāḥ's envoy for a political consultation with Abū Muslim, he already felt anxious because of the latter's far-reaching influence in the country, to the point where Abū Muslim apparently had a group of supporters so loyal they would not even stop at assassination³⁰⁵ at his command.³⁰⁶ This circle saw Abū Muslim as the embodiment of the divinity and although Abū Muslim's own position on this subject is not quite clear from the tradition, and he kept quiet about his opinion for the time being because of political reasons, the Abbasids still must have seen this as a considerable threat to the cementing of their reputation. Furthermore, they could see from the attitude of zealots, who soon (in 753–55 or 758–59) emerged in force in Mesopotamia (Rāwandīya; possibly from Rāvand near Kāshān), how far the religious fervour of individual circles went and had no qualms in destroying the Rāwandites.³⁰⁷ There can be no doubt that the two founders of the dynasty must be seen as politicians only.

Thus the Abbasids soon took measures to break Abū Muslim's influence. Meanwhile, on the occasion of a foray to Kish, he had replaced the local ruler with his brother Ṭarān (certainly a man who was loyal to him), fought against the Sogdians and appointed a new governor over them, and he had defeated the rebels Sharīk ibn Shaykh and Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ (752–53 = AH 135) during

304 EI I 691–93.

305 Similar to the later *fidā'īs* of the Assassins.

306 Thus the murder of a political prisoner in Kūfa, which was ordered by Abū Muslim from Khurasan: Ya'q., Hist. II 422f.; Ṭab. III 59. A sketch of the kind of government led by the Abbasids is given in Wellh., *Arab.* 347–52.

307 Ṭab. III 129; Dīn. 373; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 209f.; 227–29; Athīr v 187; Abū 'l-Fidā II 12. See Browne I 315f.; Friedländer (1908) 121–24; Sam. 245 f; see below p. 148.

campaigns to Bukhara and from Balkh via Tirmidh to Amul, capturing and executing them.³⁰⁸ In July 752 (Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 133) Arab troops, together with Turkic Qarluqs allied to them, gained a victory on the Talas river, near Ṭarāz (on the modern Kazak-Kyrgyz border), against the Uighurs and the neighbouring Chinese governor of the 'Four Garrisons'^{309,310} (an ally of not only the Uighurs but also of exiles from Khwarazm,³¹¹ who had migrated to the Khazars after [48] 712). | This strengthened Abū Muslim's authority yet again, even more so since booty of precious porcelain fell into the hands of the Muslims (paper manufacturers were also taken captive at that time and forced to settle in Samarkand, thus establishing the manufacture of paper in the Islamic East, from where it spread to the West in the course of the next centuries).

When an Abbasid agent was sent to neutralize Abū Muslim, the latter of course had no difficulty arresting him in Amul on the Oxus.³¹² The only remaining option was to send Abū Muslim, who was a powerful governor despite some ill-defined political opponents,³¹³ together with Abū Ja'far on a pilgrimage to Mecca, a request which he could hardly refuse, though he mitigated its danger by taking along 8,000 men into Mesopotamia (instead of the 1,000 allowed).³¹⁴ Now at least he was removed from Khurasan (departure on 28 Feb. 754 = 1 Ram. AH 136), and the pilgrimage would soon be the preferred way of removing politically dangerous men of standing from the scene of their activities and to send them temporarily into an honourable exile. But Abū Muslim was not to return to Khurasan, although he tried to make his way there after completing a military assignment. For when the caliph al-Saffāḥ died in July 754 (Dhū 'l-ḥ. 136),³¹⁵ his successor Abū Ja'far, now called al-Manṣūr, who had just undertaken the same pilgrimage as Abū Muslim, had no qualms about having the

308 Ya'q. Hist. II 420f.; Ṭab. III 74, 80, 81–84; Tha'āl./Gab. 156 v–157 v; Narsh. 61f.; Mas. VI 176–78; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 211; Athīr v 169–71.

309 The 'Four Garrisons' (Kocho, Khotan, Qarashahr, Kashgar) encompassed the Tarim basin and the territory bordering to the east with Besh Balyq, Kumul and Shache, see Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas*, maps 37 and 38–39.

310 T'ang-shu 3614/4; Chav., *Doc.* 140–42, 295–98; Ṭab. III 79f. See Franke II 440; Barthold, *Turk.* 3, 195f.; Grousset, *Histoire de la Chine*, 191–94; Gibb, *Conq.* 92–99; Spuler, 'Mittelasien', 336f.

311 Tolstov, *Civ.* 227f.

312 Ṭab. III 61; Athīr v 170.

313 Ṭab. III 61 (where the information about the brutal regime of Abū Muslim, which surely goes back to these hostile circles, could also be the historian's pro-Abbasid bias).

314 Ya'q., Hist. II 433; Ṭab. III 84f.; Tha'āl./Gab. 160r–v, 162r–166r; Athīr v 171; Abū 'l-Fidā II 6. Frye, 'Abū Muslim'.

315 Ṭab. III 88; Athīr v 172. *EI* I 78 and supplementary volume, 6.

greatest propagandist for the Abbasid cause, the actual 'king-maker', treacherously arrested on the occasion of an audience in Mesopotamia and | eliminated (mid-Feb. 755).³¹⁶ If Abū Muslim walked into this trap so unsuspectingly, [49] he might have been assuming that the Abbasids, who ultimately owed him everything, would respect at least his person. But the Islamic public now had to get used to the fact that the new state would not show any such consideration.

That Abū Muslim's death had an enormous impact is not to be questioned. Only in Iran, however, did some circles dare to rebel against this heinousness; tellingly, they were characterized by religious associations and were convinced that the divine light had been immanent in the murdered man. Over the next decades these religious movements would be typical of the development of northeast Persia. They clearly show the degree of religious fervour that had been stirred in the country by the Abbasid propaganda, and the way in which the old religious beliefs merged with the teachings of the Qur'an, even though the incomplete reports in the sources do not always allow us to reach exact conclusions about the content of the propounded teachings.³¹⁷ At least an impression is conveyed of the way in which Zoroastrian beliefs (such as engaging in prayer five times a day) were adopted by Islam in general³¹⁸ and how certain Iranian religious beliefs were adopted by Persian (and later also other) Shi'ite circles. It is certain that political aims also asserted themselves in this form: elements who did not agree with the way in which the Persians were included into the Abbasid state, or who wanted to secure a greater independence for their people, participated in such movements and thereby made them even more dangerous for the Baghdad government than they already were.

Consequently, the caliphs always reacted in the harshest possible way against these movements, the first of which emerged immediately after Abū Muslim's death and apparently originated from circles for whom his personality had been important on a religious level as well. They were (in Khurasan) led by Sinbādh (called Pērōz Ispāhbadh), whom the sources call a former Zoroastrian. He presented himself as a reformer of this religion (like

316 The night of 25–26 Sha'b. AH 137 = 13–14 Feb. was Thurs.–Fri., not Tues.–Wed. as stated: Dīn. 373–75; Tha'āl./Gab. 166v–169r; Ya'q., Hist. II 439–42; Ḥamza Iṣf. 140; Jahsh. 97f., 120; Mas. VI 181–86; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 213–24; Michael Syr. 473; Elias 107; Athīr V 175–80; Must. 294; TS 138f.; Ibn Khall./Wüst. IV 70–77, no. 382 (here the date of death is given as 22, 24 or 27 Sha'b; none of these dates fits with the day of the week). For al-Manṣūr see in general EI III 269f.

317 See in detail 196ff. below.

318 See p. 139 below.

[50] Bihāfrīd, who had been annihilated shortly before),³¹⁹ but he also | counted on Islamic circles for support, even if the majority of his followers came from among the (surely barely Islamicized) ‘mountain dwellers’. The aims of his movement were stated to be to avenge Abū Muslim’s death and to advance into Arabia in order to destroy the Ka’ba. After Nishapur, Qumis and Rayy had fallen victim to this movement, al-Manṣūr sent troops against them. Seventy days after the outbreak of the revolt they clashed with Sinbādh’s men between Rayy and Hamadan and defeated them after the latter had become confused due to their war-camels’ shying. Their leader had to flee and, having sought refuge with the ruler of Mazandaran, was executed by the latter, as he wished to have Sinbādh’s wealth.³²⁰ Since he refused to hand this over to the caliph, the caliph’s troops chased him to Daylam. Another part of Sinbādh’s treasures had been kept by the governor of Rayy. He too was defeated by the caliph’s army in 755–56 (AH 138) at Qaṣr [al-]Pērōzān between Rayy and Isfahan and forced to flee to Azerbaijan where he was later murdered.³²¹

This still did not resolve the situation in northern Iran. Rebellious movements of individual sections of the army against the governor (757–58),³²² and another governor’s attempt to establish himself securely as ruler over Khurasan by eliminating the Abbasid followers,³²³ were based on the condition that there were great numbers of dissatisfied people whose support could be relied upon. And when the son of the caliph, al-Mahdī, invaded Mazandaran (Ṭabaristan) after the suppression of these disturbances (in 758 or 759), it may have been possible to use military might to force the *ispāhbadh* to leave the country. However, after the withdrawal of the troops the population soon turned away from Islam again. When the main fortress was taken by a stratagem in the following year of 759–60 (AH 142), the ruler was compelled to commit suicide because of his ‘breach of contract’, but native Zoroastrianism could still not be suppressed, either here or in Daylam,³²⁴ where Arabs were killed in 760–61 (AH 143) in a popular revolt, with the result that the caliph had to invoke a ‘holy war’ (761–62).³²⁵ Clearly, the popular mood here was firmly against the new order.

319 See p. 196 below.

320 Ṭab. III 118–20; Mas. VI 188f.; ʿIqd I 50–56; Siyāsāt-nāma 182f.; Ibn Isf. 117–19; Athīr v 180; Abū ʿl-Fidā II 8f. Rabino, *Maz.* 442.

321 Ṭab. III 116f.; Athīr v 181.

322 Ṭab. III 128; Athīr v 186.

323 Ṭab. III 134f.; Ya’q., Hist. II 445f.; Athīr v 188.

324 Melgunof 56. A history of the Daylamis may also be found in the Qābūs-nāma/Diez 22–174 (with family tree). See Kasravī I 14–19.

325 Ṭab. III 136f., 139–41; Bal. 338f.; Ya’q. Hist. II 447; Elias 108; Ibn Isf. 119–22; Ibn Qut., ‘Uyūn 229; Athīr v 188–90; Yāq. VI 6f., 21; Awl. 44–47. Vasmer, ‘Die Eroberung Ṭabaristans’, 86–90 (see the review of this by K. Mlaker in *OLZ* 1930, 537–40; *EI* I 923; Sadighi 58.

Things were not much different in Khurasan, as we can see by the rapid and substantial success³²⁶ that Ustādhsīs (Ustādh Sis) had in 767 or 768 (AH 150 or 151) with his religiously motivated movement³²⁷ (despite the temporary resistance of the garrison at Marv al-Rōdh) in Khurasan, Badhghis and Sistan, which was supported by the population of Tukharistan. The crown prince al-Mahdī succeeded in getting things under control in this region through military measures and he forced Ustādhsīs to surrender,³²⁸ but the unsettled atmosphere was not calmed. Similarly, in the border regions in the eastern mountain marches, which had been under threat for a long time, the balance had by no means been reinstated. The authority of the Abbasids was recognized in Sind³²⁹ (as well as in Arabia),³³⁰ but the *zūnbīl* had no intention of complying with the demand of the governor in Sistan to resume payment of the tribute that he had suspended for decades.³³¹ Just as on so many occasions in the past, it was not possible to catch him at this time, as he escaped from al-Rukhkhaj (Rukhudh = Arachosia) northwards to Zābulistān. In 768 he even had a Muslim general murdered, yet it was not possible to hold him to account for it.³³² The caliph's troops only came as far as Kabul in the following year,³³³ the city itself was occupied from Khurasan in 794–95³³⁴ (AH 178) only, at which time rich booty was taken.³³⁵ Around the same time as the battle for Kabul we may assume that the caliph's troops renewed their raids into Fergana, whose ruler at that point seems to have resided in Kashgar (perhaps in exile). After a period of lengthy fighting, negotiations eventually led to a treaty.³³⁶ [51]

Foreign-policy initiatives from Persia and the inner consolidation of Abbasid rule in Khurasan in general were also impeded by constant uprisings of disillusioned religious mobs. Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, called Yūsuf al-Barm, who moved from Bushang in 776–77 (AH 160) and whose movement took in central Khurasan along with | Marv al-Rōdh, Ṭaliqān and Gōzgān, was soon beaten. [52] At the same time Fergana, where there was unrest once again, was forced to

326 The number of 30,000 as his followers is of course to be taken with the usual care, see p. 197 below.

327 See p. 197 below.

328 Ṭab. III 354–58; Tha'āl./Gab. 192r–193r; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 262f.; Athīr v 219; TS 142.

329 Ṭab. III 138; Ya'q., Hist. II 448; Athīr v 189.

330 Ṭab. III 81; Athīr v 191–93.

331 See p. 24 above.

332 Athīr v 224f.; Abū 'l-Fidā II 28; TS 143f.

333 Ṭab. III 369; Athīr v 225; Abū 'l-Fidā II 28.

334 According to Athīr already in 787–88 (AH 171).

335 Bal. 401f.; Ṭab. III 634; Ya'q., Buld. 291; Athīr VI 38; TS 154f., 156 (795–96).

336 Ya'q., Hist. II 465f. See *EI* II 65 (s.v. Farghāna).

surrender during a campaign that went as far as the capital at that time, Kāsān. Yūsuf held particular (negative) views regarding the caliph al-Mahdī, and while we may assume that his war-cry (based on a well-known Shi'ite motto) would have had religious significance at that time and in that place, we do not know anything about it.³³⁷ The most radical and most dangerous of these insurrections was that of Hāshim ibn Ḥakīm, called al-Muqanna' ('the veiled one'), which started at a village near Marv and extended beyond the Oxus as far as Kish. Here the leader finally settled and met his death after a fanatical final fight in a sea of flames in a burning fortress (probably 778–79 = AH 162/63).³³⁸ The 'ones dressed in red' in Gurgan apparently preserved his ideas in the following decades, despite the caliph ordering several military campaigns against them.³³⁹

The final result of these constant failures of native revolts in Khurasan was the realization that Abbasid rule could not be toppled by force in this area. Yet the caliphs had to draw some conclusions from the constant upheavals as well. The changing of nearly all the governors on Iranian soil in the years 779–80 (AH 163)³⁴⁰ and 781–82 (AH 165)³⁴¹ can certainly be traced back to the endeavour to replace governors who had been vulnerable or determined to be unsound with others who were better suited to the task. In one case (in Khurasan) this met with little success, since the governor there rebelled openly and had to be removed by force, which caused further upheaval. Under the new man, the administration of Sistan was joined to Khurasan once again.³⁴²

Of course the reconciliation of the Persian nation did not take place in one fell swoop. After the suppression of so many insurrections oriented towards Abū Muslim and Zoroastrianism it was not surprising that now the ideas of the Khārijites asserted themselves (791–92 = AH 175) here in the northeast as well, i.e. the ideas of the same religious party whose significance in Mesopotamia was receding considerably, but which still found support in some areas of [53] Iranian territory (especially in Sistan).³⁴³ | Ḥuşayn from Oq (Ūq),³⁴⁴ a client

337 Ṭab. III 470 [AD]; Ya'q., Hist. II 478f. (for the name Kāsān see EI II 65–66); Ya'q., Buld. 303f.; Athīr VI 15. Moscati, Mahdī I. 331f., Barthold, *Turk.* 198; Wiet 126.

338 Ṭab. III 484f., 494 [AD]; Narsh. 64–74; Athīr VI 13, 17; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 273; Abū 'l-Fidā II 44f. (during the year 779–80). Barthold, *Turk.* 199. Details about al-Muqanna's religious beliefs are discussed p. 198ff. below.

339 See p. 200f. below.

340 Ṭab. III 500; Athīr VI 21f.; TS 150.

341 Ṭab. III 505; Athīr VI 22.

342 Ṭab. III 503; Athīr VI 24; TS 151. See Tritton, *Theol.* 19.

343 See p. 70 and 169 below.

344 This is how Athīr writes it, but TS has 'Ḥuḍain'.

of Qays ibn Tha'labā, came to prominence by promoting religious slogans of this movement in Khurasan in 791–92 (AH 175). His army was so strong that he could repel an attack by the governor of Sistan and subsequently occupy Badhghis, Bushang and Herat. There in the mountainous region he held his own against a greatly superior army for two years before eventually meeting a violent death.³⁴⁵

Yet the Khārijite movement was still not extinguished. From Sistan it asserted itself in 795–96 (AH 179) under a new leader, Ḥamza ibn 'Abd Allāh (al-Shārī) al-Atrak (Āzarak?),³⁴⁶ who in the following year managed to advance as far as Bushang and Herat and subsequently, after defeating two government armies, arrived at Nishapur. Only there did he suffer a devastating defeat and retreated, allegedly with only 40 men, to Kohistan in 805, while the Abbasid troops occupied Oq and Guvayn, and later also Zarang (all northeast and east of Lake Zira = Hāmūn), where they devastated several Khārijite villages, partly as a revenge for Ḥamza's cruel attacks, such as that on Bushang. The rugged mountain terrain, which had already cost the Muslims so many bloody casualties in previous decades, now turned out once more to be a good refuge for the enemies of the state. The war against Ḥamza dragged on for another five years,³⁴⁷ hampered by an apparently politically motivated revolt under Abū 'l-Khaṣīb in Nisa (West Khurasan) in 799–802.³⁴⁸ For even when a battalion of allegedly 10,000 rebels were defeated and the cities around Kabul and in Zābulistān were occupied,³⁴⁹ Ḥamza was still able to advance from Sistan into Herat in 810.³⁵⁰

At the same time as the Khārijite upheavals, the first Alid turmoil broke out in Daylam in 792–93 (AH 176), and found far-reaching support especially in the cities. The governor of Gurgan, Mazandaran and Rayy was able to put it down from Ṭaliqān (northwest of Qazvin) by convincing the rebel leader, the Alid Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan, to agree to a peace treaty on condition that the caliph guaranteed his safety during the negotiations. Hārūn al-Rashīd agreed, but then broke his word and let Yaḥyā die in prison, although the caliph was still 'punctilious' enough to have a legal scholar confirm the invalidity | of [54]

345 Athīr VI 41; TS 152f.

346 Bal. 401f.; Ṭab. III 638, 650; Athīr VI 49; TS 157–60.

347 Athīr VI 50; TS 160–70 (here after p. 170 a fantastic account of Ḥamza's further campaigns).

348 Ṭab. III 649–51; Athīr VI 54–57.

349 Ṭab. III 650; Jahsh. 233; Athīr VI 55.

350 Ṭab. III 650; Athīr VI 69.

his *amān* in this case,³⁵¹ a procedure which very soon caught on and increasingly, among many other things, imbued Abbasid policy with that faithlessness which differentiated it so unfavourably from the Umayyads' honourable behaviour at the height of their rule.

The collapse of this religious movement as well, and the eradication of its teachings, at least in public, served to convince the population of the province of Khurasan – a province so crucial for Iranian culture – that they stood no chance against the Abbasids if they endeavoured to take a different religious path. The comparatively quick course which nearly all the government's military campaigns took here (unlike in Sistan)³⁵² shows clearly that wide and influential circles of the country kept aloof from these movements. One would not be wrong in counting the landed gentry (*dēhkāns*) among those who mainly supported the government. Even now they could, as previously, maintain their privileged social standing only by joining the official creed of the central government. This does not have to mean that this class generally agreed with the court's policy, however, and some governors had to deal with them firmly. Yet it was characteristic of their position that they did not undertake any armed uprising, but instead addressed their complaints to the government in Baghdad,³⁵³ which, of course, included some of their peers. Thus, despite the changing times, they could hope to transform their opposed interests into a favourable compromise and thereby preserve their privileges.

Repeated changes of governors³⁵⁴ proved to be without effect; 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Māhān, who had held the post since 796–97 (AH 180), had to deal with new revolts continuously sprouting up, and not even the formal transfer of the administration of Khurasan to the prince al-Ma'mūn (reverting to an age-old practice)³⁵⁵ in 798 (AH 182)³⁵⁶ made any lasting impression. After all this, and also due to the clear dissatisfaction shown by the *dēhkāns*, the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd [55] felt obliged to travel to the East (Rayy) on 22 April 805 (18 Jum. I AH 189). The authority of his person was intended to finally consolidate Baghdad's

351 Ṭab. III 612–14; Ya'q., Hist. II 492; Jahsh. 230; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 292f.; Athīr VI 41; Abū 'l-Fidā II 62. Sadighi 54–56; Kasravi I 20–22. Regarding the situation in Shirvān at that time: see Dorn, Schirw. 542f.

352 TS 148f.

353 Ṭab. III 702; Athīr VI 63. For general information on this change from a violent to a non-violent policy see Toynbee, *Gang*² 378.

354 Ṭab. III 627, 631, 634; Athīr VI 40, 47, 49, 50.

355 See p. 320 below. Andisio, *Harun ar-Rashid*.

356 Ṭab. III 647; Athīr VI 53. For the charter of the caliph's two sons, which was kept in Mecca and set out the question of succession and the investiture of al-Ma'mūn in the eastern part of the empire, see Ṭab. III 655; Ya'q., Hist. II 501–13; Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 161ff.

influence in the region. Admittedly, he did allow himself to be persuaded by 'Alī ibn 'Isā's princely gifts to overlook the irregularities in his administration and to confirm him in his office.³⁵⁷ Only the necessity of removing the Transoxanian governor Rāfi' ibn Layth in 806 (AH 190)³⁵⁸ and 'Alī's preparations for war forced Hārūn to reorganize the administration and to have 'Alī arrested in Marv by his designated successor Harthama ibn A'yan, his assets (allegedly 80 million dirhams and 1500 camels) seized, the last of his extortions compensated for, and his person finally taken to Baghdad.³⁵⁹ This development made the caliph decide to travel east once more on 5 June 808 (5 Sha'b. AH 192), but on 24 March 809 (3 Jum. I AH 193) he died in Ṭus before he could really intervene in events.³⁶⁰ The task of overpowering Rāfi' in Samarkand (810–11 = AH 195), where he was supported by the Sogdians, the Qarluq Yabghu and the Tibetan kingdom, was bequeathed to Harthama by Hārūn al-Rashid. Renewed Khārijite attacks under Ḥamza were also repelled by Harthama,³⁶¹ who was joined by a new governor in Transoxiana.³⁶²

Hārūn al-Rashid's campaign in the East gained lasting importance through the fact that his son al-Ma'mūn (the previous governor of Khurasan) joined him on the advice of his Persian mentor al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, who had become a Muslim only in 805–6 (AH 190). After the caliph's death, al-Amīn, his son by an Arab woman, succeeded to the rule in Baghdad and the western half of the empire in accordance with the provisions for dividing the empire as issued by his father, while al-Ma'mūn was supposed to govern the eastern half of the state from Khurasan under the supremacy of his brother. With the good advice of al-Faḍl ibn Sahl he succeeded in establishing a strong support base for himself here and was able to lay claims on the caliphate. Harthama, the governor of Khurasan, joined him | and became commander of his guard.³⁶³ To [56] what degree the fact that al-Ma'mūn's mother was Persian influenced the good relations between him and the population is not reported by the historical

357 Ṭab. III 701–6; Ya'q., Hist. II 514f.; Athīr VI 63. Barthold, *Turk.* 203.

358 Barthold, *Turk.* 200f.

359 Only one Zoroastrian banker hid the deposit that he held and supported 'Alī.

360 Concerning his grave here see 'Iqd II 25; III 39.

361 See p. 53 above.

362 Ṭab. III 707f., 711–30, 732–34, 775; Ya'q., Hist. II 520f., 527–29; Dīn. 387; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 312–18; Tanūkhī, Faraj II 48; Athīr VI 68f., 74; T'ang-shu 3614/4. Barthold, *Turk.* 202; Luciano Petech, 'Il Tibet nella geografia musulmana', 63 (in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Cl. di Scienze Morali, ser. 8, vol. II, 1947; currently unavailable to me); Hoffmann, 'Tibets Eintritt'; Rehatsek 421–23.

363 Ṭab. III 772–75, 778; Jahsh. 353f.; Athīr VI 75. Gabrieli, 'La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašid', 341–97.

tradition.³⁶⁴ Presumably, however, this factor was of considerable importance, for it gave him direct linguistic access to his mother's compatriots. Moreover, al-Ma'mūn was an open-minded and very active man so that his character won him favour as well and he was in turn probably the most important of the middle Abbasids. In any case, al-Amīn did not succeed in shaking al-Ma'mūn's position in the East,³⁶⁵ although the latter was simultaneously fighting Rāfi' on another border.

The former governor 'Alī, whom the caliph had assigned the task of moving against his brother on Wednesday 1 Jan. 811,³⁶⁶ was beaten after a bitter and long battle at Rayy by al-Ma'mūn's general Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn and fell as he fled.³⁶⁷ After Ṭāhir had also repelled a second attack of the caliph's troops, which advanced from Hamadan under the leadership of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jabal, the victor continued the fratricidal war, moved to Qazvin and occupied the surrounding mountain region; 'Abd al-Raḥmān, meanwhile, fell in a rear-guard attack. Al-Amīn was at that time preoccupied by revolts in Ḥoms (809–10 = AH 194)³⁶⁸ and Damascus (810–11 = AH 195).³⁶⁹ Consequently the troops that he raised at Hulwan and Khāniqīn were so weak that they retreated from Ṭāhir without coming into contact with the enemy.³⁷⁰ Whether treason committed by secret followers of al-Ma'mūn, of which there were some even in Baghdad itself,³⁷¹ also played a role cannot be determined. In any case, soon [57] afterwards it was possible for Ṭāhir | to capture Ahvaz by surprise, its governor falling in the ensuing desperate battle outside the gates of the city.³⁷² With this the whole of the Zagros mountain range was in al-Ma'mūn's power and Iran was cut off from Baghdad, Gurgan was occupied only a couple of months later by one of al-Ma'mūn's brothers³⁷³ and the governors of Mecca and Medina

364 Ṭab. III 1142 says: 'He put the Persians above the Arabs'. In general see *EI* III 241f.

365 Ṭab. III 780–83; 786; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 529–31; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 322f.; Athīr VI 73, 75.

366 2 Rabī' II AH 195 was a Thursday.

367 The development can be seen clearly from the coins: in 809–10 coins were still minted in al-Amīn's name in Bukhara, Samarkand, Balkh and Nishapur, in 810–11 only in Herat. While al-Ma'mūn refers to himself as 'heir apparent' on these coins, he generally omitted this term from 810–11 (AH 195) onwards; see Tiesenhausen XVI; Lane-Poole I 91*. Ṭab. III 795–802, 808, 814–26; *Jahsh.* 367, 371; *Mas.* VI 420–23; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 323f.; Athīr VI 79–81; 'Awfi 167, no. 709; 180, no. 987. See also Schwarz VI 756; Wiet 169 (Rayy).

368 Ṭab. III 776; Athīr VI 75.

369 Ṭab. III 830; Athīr VI 82.

370 Ṭab. III 826–29; *Mas.* VI 439f.; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 325f.; Athīr VI 83–85.

371 Ṭab. III 808; Athīr VI 84.

372 Ṭab. III 833, 840, 851; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 330f.; Athīr VI 87.

373 Ṭab. III 868; Athīr VI 93.

personally surrendered in time.³⁷⁴ In the meantime Ṭāhir had trapped the caliph al-Amīn in Baghdad (812–13 = AH 197)³⁷⁵ and the city fell after a long siege and the captured Commander of the Faithful met a violent end (late Sept. 813 = late Muḥ. AH 198).³⁷⁶

However, al-Ma'mūn, the victor and now the generally acknowledged caliph, did not travel to the royal residence on the Tigris but remained in the East for several years. This, too, speaks for the fact that he felt a bond with the Iranian people, to whom he (like his ancestors in 747–50) owed his victory over the forces of the West. The self-confidence of the Persians grew once more, and by remaining in Marv³⁷⁷ al-Ma'mūn might have tried to direct the powers of Khurasan, which increasingly called for an independent political solution, into paths that could join the policy of the caliphate. In order to achieve this he chose a completely new method, which at the same time seemed suitable to reconcile the Shi'ite circles, who were becoming increasingly numerous, especially in Iran, with the existence of the empire. This new approach was to appoint the Shi'ite imam 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (the eighth in the line of the Twelvers)³⁷⁸ heir apparent to the empire on 24 March 817 (2 Ram. AH 201)³⁷⁹ and to solve the problem of the party's colour through a compromise.³⁸⁰ This arrangement did not last long: at the beginning of Sept. 818 (late Ṣaf. AH 203), 'Alī died suddenly in Ṭus after enjoying some grapes.³⁸¹ Whether it was chance or whether the caliph's changed political attitude, of which there had been some indication, had moved him to poison 'Alī, as is claimed by Shi'ites (who admittedly like to stress the martyr motif in the case of those imams who did not fall in battle), is not certain today.

[58]

Thanks to al-Ma'mūn, the Abbasids' position in the East was now consolidated, which allowed them to resume their attempts at foreign conquests for the first time in decades (apart from an expedition in the direction of Ustrūshana in 794–95, AH 178).³⁸² Now, in 816–17 (AH 201), the border regions of Daylam and

374 Ṭab. III 863.

375 Ṭab. III 867–81; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 335f.; Athīr VI 90–93.

376 Ṭab. III 882–909; Ya'q., Hist. II 534–37; Mas. VI 439–88; Michael Syr. 490, 495–97; Athīr VI 94–97; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 339–41; Abū 'l-Fidā II 102f. See *EI* I 343f. and s 23.

377 'Iqd III 257.

378 *EI* I 311.

379 Ṭab. III 1012f.; Ya'q., Hist. II 545; Aghānī/Būlaq xviii 29f.; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 353; Athīr VI 111. Gabrieli, *Al-Ma'mūn e gli Alidī*. Regarding this time see also Barthold, *Turk*. 208f.

380 See p. 349 below: up till now the Abbasid colour was black and the Shi'ite colour white.

381 Ṭab. III 1029; Ya'q., Hist. II 550f.; Mas. VII 3; Athīr VI 119; Abū 'l-Fidā II 118; Must. 207. Wiet 110.

382 Ṭab. III 631; Athīr VI 48.

Mazandaran, which had officially been put under Hārūn al-Rashīd's control in 805, were occupied.³⁸³ One of the rulers, Shahriyār ibn Qārīn ibn Sharvīn (Bāvand dynasty), was driven out, while the other one, Māzyār ibn Qārīn, who was to play a great role in the future, appeared before the caliph. The ruler of Daylam also fell into captivity³⁸⁴ and in the same way the ruler of Ustrūshana and the Kabul-shāh were compelled to submit.³⁸⁵

Over the following years it became increasingly clear that al-Ma'mūn's presence in Mesopotamia was necessary³⁸⁶ if repeated upheavals in Mosul,³⁸⁷ Kufa,³⁸⁸ the Jazīra,³⁸⁹ Mecca,³⁹⁰ Yemen³⁹¹ and finally in Baghdad itself (on account of the appointment of 'Alī al-Riḍā as heir apparent),³⁹² were not to undermine the government's power in a very dangerous fashion. In addition, Khurasan and northern Iran were afflicted by a severe famine in 816–17 (AH 201),³⁹³ which was followed in 818–19 by a series of heavy earthquakes that lasted 70 days and were especially felt in Balkh, Gözgān, Faryab, Ṭāliqān and Transoxania.³⁹⁴ The caliph set out on his way to Baghdad via Sarakhs in 817–18 (AH 202) and immediately after his departure his trusted advisor, the steward of the east Iranian territories, al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, was assassinated (13 Feb. 818 = 2 Sha'b. AH 202),³⁹⁵ possibly on the order of the caliph himself, to whom he had allegedly given an incorrect picture of the situation in Baghdad and the provinces, which only 'Alī al-Riḍā is said to have explained to him.³⁹⁶ The [59] revolt of Maṣṣūr ibn 'Abd Allāh, a nephew of Yūsuf al-Barm,³⁹⁷ in Khurasan |

383 Ṭab. III 705; Ibn Isf. 141f.

384 Ṭab. III 1014; Ibn Isf. 145–48; Athīr VI 111; Abū 'l-Fidā II 116. Rehatsek 43f.; Rabino, *Maz.* 406f., 412; Kasravī I 23–27.

385 Bal. 340.

386 See Athīr VI 118.

387 Athīr VI 102, 108, 119.

388 Ṭab. III 976–79; Athīr VI 102–4, 105; TS 172.

389 Athīr VI 104.

390 Ṭab. III 982, 987f., 992–95; Athīr VI 105.

391 Ṭab. III 987; Athīr VI 106.

392 Ṭab. III 998f., 1001–11; Athīr VI 107. See *EI* II 463f. and relevant 'addenda' (s.v. Ibrāhīm). There are coins from Fars which mention al-Riḍā as heir apparent in 818–19 = AH 203 and, strangely, there are still examples in 819–20 = AH 204 from Isfahan: Lavoix I 220, no. 904; 223, no. 913; see Tiesenhausen XVI.

393 Ṭab. III 1015; Athīr VI 116.

394 Athīr VI 121; Abū 'l-Fidā II 120.

395 Ṭab. III 841, 965; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 549. See *EI* II 37f.

396 Ṭab. III 1025–27, Michael Syr. 505; Athīr VI 118f.

397 See p. 51f. above.

was soon suppressed (we hear nothing about his motives).³⁹⁸ In the meantime al-Ma'mūn had come of age politically. He succeeded very quickly in re-establishing order in Mesopotamia, in removing³⁹⁹ the anti-caliph Ibrāhīm,⁴⁰⁰ and in taking public life in Baghdad, including science and arts, to the highest level. As a result of this, Persian problems escaped his attention more and more and were replaced mainly by theological matters, in which the caliph intervened directly when he elevated the Mu'tazilite creed to the position of state dogma in 827.⁴⁰¹

Ṭāhirids and Khurramites

With the departure of al-Ma'mūn from Iran, in Khurasan at least the way was clear for an independent organization of political affairs. After numerous uprisings fuelled by religion had failed in the region, astute people understood that only the socially stable and politically well-versed elite, the *dēhkāns*, could establish the independence of the region. When Hārūn al-Rashīd had ordered that the empire be divided in two, he showed that he had understood that Iran could no longer be ruled from Baghdad, and al-Ma'mūn had been in Khurasan long enough to be able to confirm this insight. He was intelligent enough not to stand in the way of further development, but to try and keep it in a form which would make further cooperation between Baghdad and Khurasan possible and which would preserve a united caliphate at least in the eyes of the outside world.

Because of the doubtful attitude of the troops, which had been amassed in Khurasan to maintain the peace (in the face of the Ḥarūrīya movement),⁴⁰² the caliph found himself forced to send his general Ṭāhir (from an Iranicized family of Arab origin)⁴⁰³ as governor⁴⁰⁴ (he set off Tuesday, | 7 May 821 = [60]

398 Ya'q., Hist. II 546.

399 Ṭab. III 1015–20; Ya'q., Hist. II 545f.; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 354; Athīr VI 116f.

400 Ṭab. III 1032–34; Ya'q., Hist. II 547f., 558; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 355f., 358f.; Athīr VI 120f.

401 See p. 156f. below.

402 Ḥarūrīya (named after their first place of assembly) was the earliest name of the Khārījites, but was otherwise at that point no longer used. But it has to be assumed that remnants of the Khārījites (or a particular school of thought among them) are being referred to.

403 See Fück 77.

404 Ṭab. III 1040–44; Ya'q., Hist. II 554f.; Aghānī/Būlāq XIV 36f.; Ḥamza Isf. 145; Gard. 5; Athīr VI 122f.; 'Awfi 152, no. 312; Abū 'l-Fidā II 138; TS 177. Regarding the Ṭāhirids see Krymskiy, 25–43; Gafurov 165–67; EI IV 664f. Ibid IV 660f. concerning Ṭāhir.

penultimate Dhū 'l-qa'da AH 205).⁴⁰⁵ Just after he arrived in Nishapur he omitted the mention of the caliph from the *khuṭba* during the Friday prayer,⁴⁰⁶ thereby declaring himself – according to the custom of the time – independent, but died immediately afterwards (Oct. or Nov. 822).⁴⁰⁷ His son Ṭalḥa therefore took over the administration of the country. Al-Ma'mūn, who learnt about this through the postmaster's report,⁴⁰⁸ needed only to briefly consider this situation before deciding to appoint the usurper (who after all came from a house that was loyal to the caliph and whose brother 'Abd Allāh had held important military posts in Baghdad)⁴⁰⁹ governor of the territories that he already had in possession anyway. Ṭalḥa was very pleased:⁴¹⁰ just as it was important for him and the majority of the population, especially the theologians, that he was officially appointed by the Commander of the Faithful,⁴¹¹ it was important for the caliph to preserve at least a nominal sovereignty over northeast Iran.⁴¹²

Thus nothing had really changed in theory, but in practice the first independent Muslim dynasty had established itself on Iranian soil and the rebirth of the Persian nation as a state began. However, the decisive event was not the result of a religious or social uprising but came out of the self-determined decision of a member of the leading regional social class of the small princes and *dēhkāns*. Consequently, it did not cause a revolutionary upheaval in the country itself, | but it allowed the existing social and class systems to remain, with their indigenous traditions, but also with their orthodox Sunni 'established Church', which was at that time strongly influenced by Mu'tazilite views.⁴¹³

405 This day, however, was a Friday.

406 Ya'q., Hist. II 556f. For details, which are transmitted in various forms, see Goeje, 'Über die Geschichte der Abbasiden von al-Jakubi', 163–66; *EI* IV 660f.; Siddiqi I 571–79. See p. 325 below.

407 Ḥamza Iṣf.: Saturday 27 Jum. II AH 207 = 17 Nov. 822, which, however, was a Monday. Gard. and Athīr; Jum. I AH 207 = 822 IX/22 X/21. 'Iqd III 257; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 364; Michael Syr. 511; Ṭayfūr 59.

408 See p. 334 below.

409 Here he received the letter from his father, which was hailed as model of wisdom and true princely prudence: Ṭab. III 1045–1061; Ṭayfūr 36ff (German translation 17ff; Russian translation by A.E. Schmidt, 'The Ideal of a Mohammedan Governor in the Ninth Century: the Epistle of Ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn to his Son' in *Bulletén Sredn.-Aziatskogo Gos. Un-ta* VIII, 1925, 127–38); Herzfeld, *Sam.*, VI 154f. Richter, *Fürstenspiegel*.

410 Ṭab. III 1063–65; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 361f.; Athīr VI 129; Abū 'l-Fidā II 141; Must. 316. Regarding the Ṭāhīrids see Shābushtī/Rothstein 159–65.

411 See 326f. below.

412 See 324f. below.

413 See pp. 156f. and 434f. below.

This was of decisive importance for the internal history of the Iranian people and its culture, for it meant that the old inheritance was preserved in Islamic Persian culture.

If religious movements receded to a large degree in the northeast, this did not mean that the differences between Persian culture and Islam had been erased. On the contrary, independent ideas now emerged in other regions as well, in which the connection with the development of Persian fortunes in general was beginning to become clear as these regions, after nearly 200 years of silence in the sources, began to be filled again with historical life. While the frontier regions on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea remained politically passive for the time being, a religious movement of unknown impetus arose on the Media–Azerbaijan border. This was especially dangerous for Baghdad since it raged for two decades, was situated relatively closely to northern Mesopotamia and received ample support from the recalcitrant Caucasus, at least some of which was backed by Byzantium.

Bābak's Khurramite revolt, which broke out with the castle of al-Badhhdh(ayn)⁴¹⁴ at its centre, occupied the caliphate from 816–17 (AH 201) onwards⁴¹⁵ (after a first prelude in 808)⁴¹⁶ and apparently was related ideologically to the religious movements in Khurasan in the second half of the eighth century.⁴¹⁷ The initial response from Baghdad was that it would suffice to have the governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan deal with it (820–21⁴¹⁸ and 824–25).⁴¹⁹ Therefore, despite the temporary involvement of the adventurer Muḥammad ibn al-Baṣīth, the ruler of Tabrīz and Marand, who supported the caliph, the fighting dragged on for long years without any decision. The hand of the rebels was furthermore strengthened by the fact that the caliph's general Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī fell around 5 June 829 (= Rabīʿ AH 214)⁴²⁰ at the end | of a [62] lost battle,⁴²¹ and they gained even more power in the following years as a governor tyrannized the population of Azerbaijan, which consequently became

414 Mas. II 75; VII 62, 123. The vocalisation in *EI* Turk. I 556 (s.v. Aras) 'Buz' is wrong; correct *ibid.* II 171 (see Yāq. II 93).

415 Ṭab. III 1015; Mas. VII 123; Athīr VI III.

416 Ṭab III 732; Athīr VI 68.

417 See p. 200f. below.

418 Ṭab. III 1039, 1044; Ya'q., Hist. II 563f.; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 361; Athīr VI 123.

419 Ṭab. III 1072; Ya'q., Hist. 564f.; Athīr VI 132.

420 The 26 Rabīʿ I referred to in the text was not, as stated, a Thursday, but a Saturday.

421 Ṭab. III 1101f., 1171; Ya'q., Hist. II 565; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 374; Athīr VI 139f. *EI* III 290 (s.v. Marand).

rebellious. It is certain that a number of people from the country had joined Bābak's troops by the time the caliph had the culprit deposed and executed.⁴²²

Although Caliph al-Ma'mūn had contributed to directing the attention of the Eastern Romans away from the support of Bābak onto geographically closer worries in several campaigns (in 830 and 831 = AH 215 and 216) in Asia Minor,⁴²³ a decisive change took place only after his death in 833, which was followed by the suppression of the Khurramite unrest in the city of Isfahan in 834.⁴²⁴ Since 3 June 835⁴²⁵ the Iranian general Khaydhar⁴²⁶ (also written as the Arabicized 'Ḥaidar') ibn Qāvūs, most often called the *afshīn*, the inherited title of the princes of Usrūshana, led the Muslims into the mountain massif in which Bābak had his strongholds. After his formal conversion (perhaps from Buddhism) to Islam, this important man had conquered Usrūshana in a battle against his father and his brother Faḍl in 822–23 with Ṭāhirid help, but he then relinquished the rule, with the approval of the caliph, to his father Kā(v)ōs, who had also converted, until the latter's death.⁴²⁷ Later it turned out that his conversion to Islam had been very superficial, if not a pretence.⁴²⁸ Up to this time the fighting had been conducted from a specially constructed line of bulwarks between Zangān and Ardabil and from Tabriz. The *afshīn* directed the first attack from Barzand in the Mughan steppe, i.e. from the north, and after a series of skirmishes established a connection from there to Ardabil. Scouts also played an important part in this war on both sides.⁴²⁹ The fighting increased in ferocity when Bābak, after an initial failed attempt near Arshaq, finally succeeded in intercepting two supply convoys coming from Maragha. | The provisioning of the troops was thus in serious danger, and only meagrely supplemented by the ruler of Shirvan.⁴³⁰ A double-fronted attack against Bābak's headquarters in al-Badhdh in the following year (836 = AH 221) eventually

422 Ḥamza Iṣf. 146; Athīr VI 142.

423 Ṭab. III 1102, 1104; Athīr VI 141f.; *K'art'lis ts'khovreba* 157f.; Brosset, *Add.* 51f.

424 Ṭab. III 1165.

425 2 Jum. II = 4 June was a Friday, not, as stated, a Thursday.

426 See the form 'Kaydar' for a man from Usrūshana in Ya'q., *Hist.* II 605.

427 Bal. 430f.; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 557; Ṭab. III 1065f. Barthold, *Turk.* 210f.

428 Mas. VII 138. See p. 203 below. The historical novel *Der Verrat des Afshin* by Julius Overhoff, Karlsruhe (Baden) 1950, is about this character (referencing the historical tradition but not mentioning Sadighi).

429 Ṭab. VI 1170–72; Mas. VII 123; Athīr VI 151.

430 Ṭab. III 1173–79; Athīr VI 151f. *EI* III 285 (s.v. Maragha); Kasravī II 29f.

failed due to a blizzard and General Bugha ‘the Elder’ was forced to attempt a dangerous breach of the Khurramite lines and a retreat to Maragha.⁴³¹

It was not until the year 837 (AH 222) that a decisive success could be achieved. Wearisome static trench warfare in the mountains increasingly restricted the area ruled by Bābak and his brother ‘Abd Allāh, and after daily battles between the enemy armies in mountain gorges and on mountain slopes an attack was finally made with specially trained troops and reckless ‘voluntary fighters for the faith’. It soon developed into a general battle which eventually enabled the *afshūn* and his soldiers to storm the castle of al-Badhdh on 27 August 837 (21 Ram. AH 222).⁴³² Bābak and his brother were initially able to hide in a valley and then in deep overgrown forest. Then, leaving behind Bābak’s wife and their mother, they escaped to Armenia, from where Bābak planned to move to Asia Minor (perhaps to seek aid from the Byzantines).⁴³³ However, soon one of his servants was recognized when he was attempting to buy some food. The Armenian ruler Sahl, son of Sunbāt (= Smpad or Sampād), then succeeded in arresting Bābak with the *afshūn*’s consent and ‘Abd Allāh was also arrested soon afterwards at the court of the ruler of Baylaqān. On 15 Sept. 837 (10 Shaw. AH 222) the brothers were handed over to the *afshūn* in Barzan,⁴³⁴ who brought them to the new capital of Samarra on the night of 3/4 Jan. 838 (3 Šafar | AH [64] 223).⁴³⁵ There they were paraded on elephants in a triumphal procession for the population⁴³⁶ and then executed in a most gruesome fashion.⁴³⁷

The defeat of the Khurramite revolt (the religious and social aims of which will be dealt with in another place)⁴³⁸ freed the caliphate from this dangerous

431 Ṭab. III 1186–93; Athīr VI 154. For the battles see also Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 138–42 and (geography) Schwarz VIII 1127–34, 1167f.

432 According to the sources, Friday; but 27 Aug. was a Monday. See Haq, ‘Historical Poems in the Diwan of Abū Tammām’, 17–29 (especially the victory over Bābak and the campaign of the caliph to Amorion in Asia Minor).

433 The eastern Roman Emperor Theophilos did indeed mount an attack on the caliph’s territory in 838 with the support of followers of Bābak: Ṭab. III 1235. See also Ostrogorsky 145.

434 Ṭab. III 1193–28; Ṭab./Zotenberg IV 525–45; Pseudo-Balkhī VI 114–18; Dīn. 398–401; Mas. VII 124–31; Mas., Tanb. 352f.; Ibn Qut., ‘Uyūn 383–89; Yāq. I 74; Athīr VI 155–61; Must. 318. For the name Sinbād see Tavadia, ‘Zoroastrians in the First Centuries of Islam’, 140. An Armenian source such as John Catholicos (pp. 102–6) did not write a single word concerning either this event or Bābak in general.

435 Šaf. AH 223 = 838 I 2/30.

436 See p. 203 below.

437 Ṭab. III 1229–33; Yā’q., Hist. II 577–79; Athīr VI 161f. See p. 203 below.

438 See pp. 201–3 below.

and persistent enemy and brought peace to the district of Azerbaijan for the time being. Indeed, Iran in general became more peaceful at this time. This was obviously a result of the fact that the populace was increasingly coming to terms with Islam, at least outwardly, even if pious circles often sought refuge in Shi'ite beliefs. Only once, in 834 in Ṭāliqan, was there a revolt that originated from these circles, under the leadership of a member of the 'house of 'Alī', Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim,⁴³⁹ and it was soon quelled. Other classes embraced the faith of 'Sunni' Islam, which had been matured by the increasingly numerous followers of mysticism, whose representatives were often of Persian nationality. Thanks to their preaching and public charity work Islam gained new strength, described in a number of hagiographies.⁴⁴⁰ These were the decades that permanently broke the strength of Zoroastrianism,⁴⁴¹ which could otherwise have become a danger for Iran's position in the Islamic world in the event of internal restoration attempts linked to re-emerging national awareness and the Shu'ūbīya.⁴⁴²

This religious transformation took the shape of mainly individual or group conversions to Islam, which had by now developed forms that were compatible with Persian culture. A confirmation of this religious pacification is the fact that individual upheavals, which still occurred in the ninth century, were now increasingly economically or socially or indeed politically motivated on a national scale, even in such a religious and pro-Shi'ite city as Qom (825–26 = AH 210).⁴⁴³ Turmoil of this kind and local unrest in Kirman in 823–24 (AH 208)⁴⁴⁴ and Sind in 826–27 (AH 211)⁴⁴⁵ temporarily cut off eastern Iran from the centre and would for centuries provide military challenges for the Abbasids. | This enabled the politically astute Ṭāhirids to finally realize their independence in practice, though they were formally still under the caliphate's control. What contributed to this was the fact that 'Abd Allāh, the brother of the Ṭāhirid Ṭalḥa, was active as the commanding general in Mesopotamia until 828 (and temporarily commander-in-chief against a restless Egypt in 825–26 = AH 210).⁴⁴⁶

439 Ṭab. III 1165f; Ya'q.; Hist. II 576; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 382; Athīr VI 149. See p. 172f. below, and regarding the local distribution of this creed see the maps at the end.

440 See e.g. in the Vita of Shaykh al-Kāzarūnī in Maḥmūd ibn 'Uthmān, *Firdaws*.

441 See p. 192f. below.

442 See p. 233f. below.

443 Ṭab. III 1092; Athīr VI 135 (refusal to pay *kharāj*, see p. 462 below).

444 Ṭab. III 1066; Athīr VI 131; Yāq. v 197f.

445 Ṭab. III 1100; Ya'q., Hist. II 556f.; Athīr VI 137.

446 Athīr VI 134f.; 'Awfī 163, no. 620; 175, no. 881 (appointment), 156, no. 434 (rewarded with Egyptian booty). For 'Abd Allāh see *EI* I 32f. and s. 4.

As the successor of his brother in Khurasan, after the latter's death on 16 June 828,⁴⁴⁷ he still had great influence in Baghdad, and indeed in Samarra.

In the light of these developments it came as no surprise that Māzyār (Mā(h) yazdyār)⁴⁴⁸ ibn Qārin ibn Vandādhormuz, the ruler of Mazandaran, who had the protection of his mountainous region, now also aspired to greater political independence. He had driven out and killed⁴⁴⁹ his co-ruler from a parallel dynasty (the Bāvandites), Shāhpūr ibn Shahriyār, soon after his accession in 825–26 (AH 210), and now proposed that he be allowed to pay taxes not to the nearby Ṭāhirids, but to the caliph, who was far away and not very influential in eastern Iran (in 839 = AH 224). But when the *afshūn* (as I would like to believe, despite the varying statements of the sources), in pursuit of his own interests, suggested to him that he might be able to take 'Abd Allāh's place, thereby inciting him against the caliph, he agreed very quickly. In the same way, his measures against the 'Arabs' and Muslim clients (*mawālī*) in his country were a clear sign of the fact that he, as a Zoroastrian, imagined a (at least local) restoration of Persian sovereignty based on social change, which would again be the aim of a Mazandarani ruler (Mardāvīj) one hundred years later.⁴⁵⁰ But in the face of Māzyār's coercive fiscal measures, his incitement of peasants to rebel against the landowners and his forced relocation policy via one of his agents,⁴⁵¹ 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, without doubt the most important member of his dynasty, managed to set up against him two consecutive pretenders from his | own house. These brought discontent to the population and in this way [66] ultimately forced Māzyār to enter into negotiations. The course of these negotiations and their interim results are reported in different ways, but in any case there was a clash with an uncle of 'Abd Allāh's, who refused to hand over his treasures, and a united front against him by the caliphal and Ṭāhirid troops. Eventually he fell into Ṭāhirid hands, was brought to Samarra and died there in 840 (AH 225) as a result of 450 lashes.⁴⁵²

447 Ṭab. III 1065; Ya'q., Hist. II 565; Ḥamza Iṣf. 145 (28 Rabī' I AH 213 = 16 June 828, stated to be a Sunday here and in TS 181, was in fact a Tuesday); Gard. 6; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 371; Ṭayfūr 78; Athīr VI 138.

448 Concerning him and his name see Justi, *Namb.* 201f.; EI III 505–7.

449 Ibn Isf. 148–52; Awl. 54f.; Athīr VI 136; Yāq. V 259, VI 21. Melgunof 56.

450 Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 144f. See p. 89 below.

451 If indeed these are not instances of tendentious exaggerations on the part of historiographers with an interest in hiding Māzyār's true motives.

452 Bal. 339; Ṭab. III 1268–1300, 1303; Ya'q., Hist. II 582f.; Mas. VII 137f.; Gard. 8; Ibn Isf. 152–56; B Ṭayfūr 251f., 268; Awl. 55f.; Ibn Qut., 'Uyūn 398–400; Athīr VI 168–71; Must. 320. Barthold, 'K istorii krest'janskich dviženiy v Persii', 57f.; Rehatsek 425–29; Rabino, *Maz.* 408f.; Mīnovī, *Māzjār*, 1–68; Sadighi 61f., 299f.

With him the *afshīn* disappeared as well. In Ustrūshana, his home, he had amassed rich treasures ‘from Azerbaijan and Armenia’ (from Armenian ‘gifts’ and booty from Bābak) and had distributed them amongst his trusted followers as a precaution. ‘Abd Allāh told the caliph about this and confiscated a shipment of these treasures, which he then distributed amongst his own army.⁴⁵³ He then had to ensure that no rival should emerge at his back who could endanger his position while at the same time he had to bring the soldiers onto his side by distributing money to them. The *afshīn* succeeded in having one of his own relatives, his brother-in-law Mank(a)jūr, arrested in Ardabil and sent to the caliph (in 839 = AH 225), since he, too, had tried to use a part of Bābak’s estate for his own interests.⁴⁵⁴

Nevertheless, the *afshīn* high-handed actions (which also included the appointment of the Bukhara-Khudāh as governor in Armenia)⁴⁵⁵ had become too overt, endangering his position considerably. He thought about fleeing to the Armenians or the Khazars, to stir up unrest among them and to return with their help to his hereditary principality of Ustrūshana. This did not succeed;⁴⁵⁶ for reasons which are not further explained he had to face the caliph and was arrested on the allegation that he had betrayed his Muslim faith.⁴⁵⁷ Proofs advanced in support were heretical (maybe Buddhist) writings found amongst his possessions, as well as a jewel-encrusted picture (this contradicts the often-
 [67] aired assumption that he was a Zoroastrian). | But it is impossible to determine whether this evidence was fabricated (which is also in our historical tradition), and whether it simply represented an attempt to denounce the celebrated conqueror of Bābak in order to be able to proceed against him (for his connection with Māzyār) without having to fear opposition from the population. In the same way, his alleged aim of ‘asserting the ancient Persian might against the Arabs and Turks once more’ could have been a semi-official claim. It might easily have been used to hide other facts, and aimed at neutralising his threatening political – military influence and confiscating his riches, even though Iranian aspirations of this kind undoubtedly did exist at that time. In any case the *afshīn* died suddenly after a long imprisonment and his death may have

453 Bal. 430f.; Pseudo-Balkhi VI 116; Athīr VI 173. Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 146.

454 Ṭab. III 1301f.; Athīr VI 171f.

455 Ya’q., *Hist.* II 580. For the title Bukhara-Khudāh see p. 357 below.

456 I cannot follow Sadighi 293 n. 4 in describing such plans merely as an invention of Ṭab. Why should the *afshīn* not have harboured such intentions?

457 Ṭab. III 1304; Aghāni/Būlaq VII 154; Tan. II 67f.; Athīr VI 173–75.

been due to poison in order to avoid creating unrest through an execution. His corpse was also crucified (841 V/26–VI/23 = Sha‘b. AH 226).⁴⁵⁸

With this, dreams of independence in Persia (also in Fergana), were extinguished for some time, at least insofar as they were directed simultaneously against Islam in general and its ‘Sunni’ persuasion.⁴⁵⁹ They do not appear to have had any echoes. Subsequent rebellions – namely the ‘Kurdish’ uprisings⁴⁶⁰ in Fars (simultaneous with the ‘Khārijite’ movements in Mesopotamia) in 845–46,⁴⁶¹ the rebellion of Muḥammad ibn al-Ba‘īth (a runaway state official) at Lake Urmia (at his residence on the Shāhī peninsula), in Marand in 849–50 (which could only be defeated eight months later after a siege of the castle there),⁴⁶² later uprisings under the leadership of a relative of Ibn al-Ba‘īth in Fars in 850–51,⁴⁶³ and finally the fight against a strong group of ‘beggars’, ‘vagabonds’ (*ṣa‘ālīk*, sg. *ṣu‘lūk*) or ‘soldiers of fortune’, who were really a gang of robbers, in Jibāl and Mazandaran on 29 July 867 (23 Rajab AH 253)⁴⁶⁴ – were all of a local nature and their causes were to be found in contemporary politics (in the case of the ‘Kurds’ there were apparently also economic reasons).

The independence of the Persians in the northeast, who retained their former social system while adhering to Sunni Islam, made good progress in the meantime. For the next decades, even centuries, a context was found here in which Persian culture could grow to new heights with a nominal | connection [68] with the caliphate. Here the Commander of the Faithful had (especially in view of the strife between the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim and ‘Abd Allāh)⁴⁶⁵ only a formal right to approve appointments.⁴⁶⁶ For instance, when the energetic ‘Abd Allāh, whose interests also included literature, died on 24 Dec. 844⁴⁶⁷ in the city of Nishapur (having just before his death rectified violations committed by one

458 Ṭab. III 1315–18; Ibn Qut., ‘Uyūn 392f., 404f.; Ya‘q., Hist. II 583f.; Athīr VI 176. See p. 203 below. Browne I 330–36; Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 146–53; Sadighi 287–305. The linguistic aspect of the trial is discussed in Smirnova, ‘Sogdiyskie monety’, 362f.

459 See *EI* II 66.

460 See p. 241f.

461 Ṭab. III 1351; Athīr VII 8.

462 Ṭab. III 1379–83, 1387; Athīr VII 14, 16.

463 Ṭab. III 1405; Ya‘q., Hist. II 596; Iṣṭ. 142f.

464 Ṭab. III 1686f.; Ya‘q., Hist. II 594. *EI* III 290; see p. 437 below.

465 Gard. 7; ‘Awfi 157, no. 463.

466 See p. 326 below.

467 Thus Ḥamza Iṣf.: 10 Rabī‘ II AH 230 = 25 Dec. 844, which was a Wednesday, not a Thursday (consequently the date has been changed). Athīr on the other hand speaks of 11 Rabī‘ I AH 230, which was not a Monday but a Wednesday; TS 190 has 2 Rabī‘ II, which was not a Saturday, but a Wednesday (17 Dec. 844). ‘Abd Allāh was deemed so just that later on people

of his agents who had erected a fortress against the city's population), his son Ṭāhir II received the approval from Samarra after only brief deliberation.⁴⁶⁸ The 'Ṭāhirids' had finally become a hereditary dynasty (now with Nishapur as their residence). In Sept. 862 Ṭāhir II, an equally sober and responsible ruler, was, with the consent of his brother Muḥammad who was commander in Baghdad,⁴⁶⁹ succeeded by his son who was also called Muḥammad.⁴⁷⁰ Despite being a hedonist and not as incorruptible as his predecessor, he was nevertheless able to force the Zaydi Alid al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd out of Mazandaran in 865 and compel him to flee to Daylam.⁴⁷¹ This strengthened the power of his house, despite local battles with the ruler of Mazandaran (from the house of the Sūkhriyān or Qārinvand), Qārin II (April 865 = Rabī' I AH 251 and late Nov. 868 = late Dhū 'l-q. AH 253),⁴⁷² until in 873 he had to yield to the Ṣaffarids.⁴⁷³

It is only in these decades that it becomes possible to give a relatively coherent picture of the economic and social circumstances of the now mostly Muslim Persian population, to enumerate the trading routes and the natural resources with the centres of their commercial exploitation, and to reckon the [69] agricultural produce | and its distribution. Now we also find coherent descriptions in geographical and administrative handbooks (developed out of postal route books) in addition to incidental remarks of the historians. At this time an independent political administration was developed in Iran that it is possible for us to understand and appraise. The Persians now step forward to an increasing degree in creating literature (albeit through the medium of Arabic). They express their desire for national self-assertion, which can also be found in the late blossoming of Zoroastrian literature where this creed had prevailed (especially in Fars and around Yazd, in the regions on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and in individual locations in Khurasan). There are also other subjects about which we find more detailed information during this time in the

undertook pilgrimages to his grave and claimed to have had their prayers answered there: *Siyāsat-nāma* 43.

468 Ṭāb. III 1338f.; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 586; Ḥamza Iṣf. 146; Gard. 9; Athīr VII 5; 'Awfī 211, no. 1515; 227, no. 1713; Ibn Khall./Wüst. IV 35–38 (no. 350). See *EI* IV 665.

469 See *EI* III 717f.

470 Ṭāb. III 1505f.; Ḥamza Iṣf. 147; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 604; Gard. 10; Athīr VII 37; Abū 'l-Fidā II 208. The date also varies here: 24 Rajab AH 248 = 23 Sept. 862 was a Wednesday, not a Monday; 26 Rajab (thus TS 205) was a Friday, not a Monday. For Muḥammad see *EI* III 727; Shābushtī/Rothstein 164f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 214.

471 Ṭāb. III 1583f.; Athīr VII 53.

472 Ṭāb. III 1643, 1693; Mas. VII 345; Ibn Iṣf., 164f., 170; Ḥamza 148. Rabino, *Maz.* 406f., 413f.; Wiet 169.

473 See p. 72 below.

works of historians and travel writers. Therefore, most information we have concerning the religious, cultural, economic and social circumstances refers to this and later periods, while we are left in the dark with regards to the two previous centuries. The Persians now also regained their old role as guardians of Near Eastern culture at the gates of Inner Asia. This did not express itself in military operations, but in extensive Islamic missionary activity among the Turks, with strong support from the Ṭāhirids. It was thus possible without coercive action to gradually force back Buddhism, Manichaeism, and (Nestorian) Christianity and to replace them with Islam.⁴⁷⁴ Thereby the Central Asian Turks, as also the east Iranian tribes, who were still very widespread in this region, were connected with Western Asian Islamic culture and civilization, a decision of world-historical proportions that has influenced the development of Asia up to the present day.

The Ṣaffārīds

It was not granted to the Ṭāhirids to take the new ascent of the Persian nation to its pinnacle, for very soon a serious opponent came out of those inaccessible mountain regions of central eastern Iran in which Khārijite views⁴⁷⁵ still persevered. In Sistan, Ya'qūb ibn Layth, previously a coppersmith (which is why he kept the surname 'al-Ṣaffār' throughout his life), operating from the castle of Qarnī(n)⁴⁷⁶ at Zarang, succeeded from 851–52 onwards in garnering troops and voluntary fighters for the faith (*mutaṭawwi'a*) around himself. | These soldiers had originally been stationed in Sistan to fight the Khārijites and Shūrāt (Khārijite extremists), who had now become a plague; they had been under the command of either Ṭāhir II or a certain Ṣāliḥ (ibn Naṣr) al-Mutaṭawwiī and his successor Dirham ibn (Naṣr)⁴⁷⁷ al-Ḥusayn.⁴⁷⁸ The troops may have hoped to achieve considerable successes, and especially booty, because Ya'qūb was known to be tough, and his military talent had been tested and proven in the past.⁴⁷⁹ Indeed, by joining forces with his brother 'Amr ibn Layth after

474 Barthold, *Vorl.* 59f.

475 See TS 180 and 183 (includes statements about Khārijite party leaders, fights and the like).

476 Yāq. VII 66f.

477 Thus Mas.

478 Ṭab. III 1500; Ḥamza Iṣf. 147f.; Mas. VIII 41f.; TS 192–200; Athīr VII 21; Must. 327, 330.

479 Regarding his personal characteristics see Mas. VIII 50–55; 'Awfī 167, no. 710f.; 197, no. 1281; 206, no. 1452; 224, no. 1687. On the Ṣaffārīds in general see Barthold, *Turk.* 216–25; Browne I 346–55; Krymśkiy I 46–65; Siddiqī II 97–102; Gafurov 168f.

Dirham's arrest, Ya'qūb was able to assert himself in Sistan (where he was paid homage on Saturday 12 April 861 = 26 Muḥ. AH 247) and to break the power of the Khārijites and other rivals until 867.⁴⁸⁰

Due to several palace revolts the strongly increasing power (since 833) of the Turkish guards and a series of uprisings and revolts in several locations in the empire, the position of the caliphs in Samarra was so weakened that they were glad that Ya'qūb submitted to them nominally and had them confer the administration of Sistan onto him.⁴⁸¹ In this way they not only maintained the appearance of sovereignty, but there also seemed to be a chance of having Ya'qūb attack the governor of Fars, who had fallen behind with his payment of taxes. The government on the banks of the Tigris hoped that the two men, who were simultaneously appointed governor of Kirman, would over time annihilate one another. But after the two opposing armies had sat facing each other for two months near the capital of Kirman, the coppersmith succeeded (in 869 = AH 225)⁴⁸² in overcoming the governor of Fars by stratagem and therefore without substantial losses. Now, however, it became apparent that Ya'qūb was not willing to be used as a blind tool by the Commander of the Faithful. On the contrary, he advanced into Fars, avoided a blocked pass by swimming across a river with parts of his army, and entered Shiraz on 19 April 869 (4 Jum. [71] 1 AH 255). He then left it again after having | plundered it,⁴⁸³ only to undertake a renewed advance into the province in 871,⁴⁸⁴ over which several claimants were fighting. Indeed, the regent al-Muwaffaq, who had taken over the government on behalf of his brother al-Mu'tamid (from 870 onwards), succeeded for now in preventing Ya'qūb from advancing further by granting him Tukharistan, Sistan and Sind in fief, and thereby convincing him to move to Balkh.⁴⁸⁵ This effectively saved the empire of the caliph, for his fights with the Zanj, the African slaves who had been employed on drainage works in the southernmost part of Mesopotamia, had demanded the utmost effort, since these slaves had gained access to Khuzistan and Fars with the conquest of Ahvaz on 13 Aug. 870 (12 Ram. AH 256).

Ya'qūb also gained certain advantages by the march eastwards without having to waive Fars altogether. The Ṭāhirids had fallen out of favour at the caliph's

480 Gard. 10f.; Ya'q., Hist. II 605; TS 202–8; 'Awfi 166, no. 699; 167, nos. 713–16.

481 Ṭab. III 1698, 1841; Athīr VII 60. That Ya'qūb was an Isma'ili, as claimed by the *Siyāsat-nāma* II, is surely incorrect.

482 Ṭab. III 1698–1702; Ya'q., Hist. II 608f., 616; TS 208–14; Athīr VII 62; Abū 'l-Fidā II 222.

483 Ṭab. III 1703–6; Athīr VII 63; 'Awfi 167, no. 701.

484 Ṭab. III 1839, 1859; Athīr VII 79.

485 Ṭab. III 1841; Athīr VII 82; Abū 'l-Fidā II 238.

court because in the late summer of 869⁴⁸⁶ a member of this house, Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd Allāh, who had been advancing from Khurasan, took Baghdad by force.⁴⁸⁷ Consequently it was in al-Muwaffaq’s interest to curb the growing independence of this dynasty, and Ya‘qūb seemed to be the most appropriate tool for this, since he was on hostile terms with the Ṭāhirids already after the invasion of Herat and Bushang. Their reputation was also endangered by the fact that a Zaydi Alid, al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd, had found it easy to start a revolt, due to the unpopularity of a Ṭāhirid prince who was governor and regional administrator in Mazandaran (Ṭabaristan) (Tuesday, 1 Nov. 864 = 25 Ram. AH 250). Thanks to his general recognition in Amul he was soon able to establish himself (29 Nov. = 23 Shaw).⁴⁸⁸ But while the Ṭāhirids, despite temporary successes,⁴⁸⁹ had not succeeded in driving him out, the caliph’s general Muflīḥ forced him to retreat to Daylam,⁴⁹⁰ thereby also reinstating the reputation of Samarra | there. This may be why al-Muwaffaq deemed the moment right to eliminate the Ṭāhirids. [72]

And indeed this was the case. Ya‘qūb saw it, too, but he wanted the success for himself and not for al-Muwaffaq. This explains why he had let himself be sent from Fars to the East. In the meantime the coppersmith had abandoned the siege of Balkh, but had instead conquered Kabul (probably in 871) and taken its ruler (the *zūnbīl*) captive. He then spent some time in Bust and finally besieged the Khārījite castle of Karūkh (northeast of Herat) for a year. When the time had come to proceed against the Ṭāhirids, with whom he was now on entirely hostile terms because of his refusal to free a Ṭāhirid prince,⁴⁹¹ he made an agreement with the commander of this castle, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (Raḥīm) (who called himself al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh). This secured him the possession of some mountain districts⁴⁹² and he then prepared for an advance

486 869 VIII/12–IX/10 = Ram. AH 255.

487 Ṭab. III 1787; Ya‘q., Hist. II 613; Athīr VII 66.

488 Ṭab. III 1523–35; Ḥamza Iṣf. 148, 152; Gard. 10; Mas. VII 342f.; Ibn Isf. 158f., 162–79; Awl. 64–69; Must. 327f.; Athīr VII 41. *EI* II 295; Barthold, *Krest.* 58 f.; Melgunof 56f.; Rehatsek 429–31. Rabino, ‘Les dynasties Alaouides du Mazandéran’, 253–77, has a list of the rulers for the years 864–928 on 253–63.

489 See Schwarz VI 757f. and p. 68 above.

490 Ṭab. III 1698; Athīr VII 66 (however, on orders from Samarra the caliph’s troops soon retreated and moved with the governor of Rayy, Mūsā ibn Bugha, to Mesopotamia in order to extort a considerable ‘reward’ from the treasury).

491 Gard. 12; Athīr VII 82. See *EI* I 171.

492 But ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was soon removed by his own men and replaced by Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥḍar according to TS 218.

against Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhīr, who had refused to hand over an opponent of the Ṣaffārīds and had thereby officially declared war on Ya‘qūb.

Tradition is vague about the actual events of this campaign. It is not clear whether Ya‘qūb turned immediately against Nishapur, the residence of the still glorious and magnificent Ṭāhīrīds, or whether he sent his troops first against the Alīds, who had now returned to Mazandaran, and only after a failure against the Shi‘ites there, who had even wrested Gurgan and Qumis from the Ṭāhīrīds, proceeded against the Ṭāhīrīds again in order to balance the loss of booty.⁴⁹³ In any case Ya‘qūb’s brother ‘Amr had little difficulty capturing the city of Nishapur, recently attacked by ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijizī (Sagzī), by surprise on 3 Aug. 873 (4 Shaw. AH 259).⁴⁹⁴ Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhīr was taken captive together with his whole entourage and taken to Sistan; the coppersmith incorporated the country itself into his own domain and immediately appointed his own governor⁴⁹⁵ and he did the same in Herat, Bushang and Badghis as well.⁴⁹⁶

[73] Despite the formal submission to the caliphate and despite sending rich gifts to Samarra, this really was the birth of a new independent | state in eastern Persia, albeit a polity which had no cultural aspirations and which therefore had no lasting importance within the framework of Persian history. Moreover, Ya‘qūb did not say that he would be satisfied with eastern Iran. On the contrary, he wanted to own the whole of Persia, an aim which, in the face of the caliphate’s pitiful situation due to the rebellion of the Zanj (who had taken Ahvaz again in May 873),⁴⁹⁷ seemed relatively easy to achieve. But Ya‘qūb refrained from realising his intention, although this could have been done if he had made a treaty with these rebelling slaves. Although the sources do not name any reasons for his decision against this action, we will not go wrong in assuming the coppersmith’s disgust towards heterodox trends and towards the ethical and social anarchy in southern Mesopotamia to be at the heart of his choice. Of course, this meant that Ya‘qūb abandoned a final triumph against the caliph, which he might otherwise ultimately have gained, but it might have cost him dear to bargain with the Zanj.

Under these circumstances the coppersmith was only able to assert himself as the heir of the Ṭāhīrid state, but even for that several further campaigns were necessary. Firstly he drove his opponent ‘Abd Allāh al-Sijizī out

493 Ṭab. III 1737f.; Athīr VII 82; Abū ‘l-Fidā II 238. See Krymskiy I 91–101; Melgunof 57.

494 According to Gard. 13: 1 Aug. (2 Shawwāl). ‘Awfī 205, no. 1428; 206, no. 1443.

495 Ṭab. III 1880–82; Ibn Isf. 181–83; Awl. 70; Gard. 10; TS 218–23; Athīr VII 86; Abū ‘l-Fidā II 249; ‘Awfī 205, no. 1428; 206, no. 1443.

496 Ṭab. III 1875; Athīr VII 87f.

497 Ṭab. III 1860, 1876; Athīr VII 85.

of Sistan and pursued him to Mazandaran. However, due to the climate he was unable to achieve long-term conquest, despite a victory over al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd.⁴⁹⁸ Nevertheless, ‘Abd Allāh fell into his hands in Ray and was executed. Then Ya‘qūb turned towards Fars again, which Muḥammad ibn Wāṣif had taken in battle from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muflīḥ against the caliph’s will, and conquered the country. At this time the capital of Khuzistan, Ahvaz, had yet again fallen into the hands of the Zanj.⁴⁹⁹ The coppersmith was not content simply to wrest the city from the oppressors in Oct. 875,⁵⁰⁰ but moved into Mesopotamia, refusing the caliph’s offers of mediation, and took Wāṣif at the end of March 876 (late Jum. II AH 262). In this, the gravest hour of danger to the existence of the caliphate, al-Muwaffaq succeeded in decisively defeating the Iranian invader (who was injured by arrows three times) at Sib Banī Kūmā in the vicinity of Dayr al-Āqūl on Sunday, 1 April 876 (2 Rajab AH 262) after a fierce battle and to force him to retreat to Gondēshāpūr on 8 April.⁵⁰¹ In the end he had to | abandon the district of Fars, which was now again given to Ibn [74] Wāṣif.⁵⁰²

Of course, the danger had not been eradicated for good. The copper-smith managed to invade Fars again and to advance as far as Nawbandagān (northwest of Shiraz), to force the caliph’s troops to give up the district of Gondēshāpūr (northern Khuzistan) and to drive the Zanj out of al-Ahvāz. The most worrying factor in all this was that the Zanj now agreed to an armistice with him, which, while it did not necessarily signify a united advance of these rival groups against the caliphate, still made the threat posed by each of the two powers seem much greater because of their neutrality towards each other.⁵⁰³ Under these circumstances Ya‘qūb’s death in Gondēshāpūr on 4 June 879 (9 Shaw. AH 265)⁵⁰⁴ was a great relief to the government in Samarra, which was also strained by the recurrent frontier battles with the Byzantines and weakened by the Ṭūlūnids in Egypt gaining independence in 868, even though

498 Ṭab. III 1875, 1883–86, Gard. 13, TS 222f., and Athīr VII 88 all have a different date.

499 Ṭab. III 1877, 1888; TS 225–28; Athīr VII 91.

500 Muḥ. AH 262 = 875 x/6–xI/4.

501 Ṭab. III 1893; Ibn Khall./Wüst. II 470 and TS 232.

502 Ṭab. III 1889–96; Ḥamza Iṣf. 148f.; Siyāsat-nāma 12–14; Gard. 14; Mas. VIII 41, 43f.; TS 232f.; Must. 333f.; Athīr VII 95f.; ‘Awfī 168, no. 721; 187, no. 1103. See Hellige, *Die Regentschaft al-Muwaffaqs, passim*; Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 264f.

503 Ṭab. III 1912–14; Athīr VII 101.

504 According to Mas. VIII 46: Tuesday 23 Shaw. AH 265 = 18 June 879, which, however, was a Thursday; according to TS: Monday 20 Shaw. AH 265 = 15 June 879; according to Gard. 14: Saturday 14 Shawwāl = 9 June, which was a Tuesday.

the caliph had just sent a formal appointment document assigning Fars to Ya'qūb, possibly hoping to make him feel more conciliatory.⁵⁰⁵

Although Ya'qūb's brother and successor, the one-eyed 'Amr, kept the troops under control, proved capable as a commander and organised a satisfactory network of spies,⁵⁰⁶ he did not compare to the deceased in terms of importance. The authority concentrated in his hand with the incorporation of Khuzistan⁵⁰⁷ was restricted by developments in Iran. Despite the fact that Ya'qūb had given political weight to the southeastern and southern territories of Persia (Sistan and Fars) for the first time since the Islamic conquest, and despite the fact that he achieved the spread of Islam to the east through the conquest of the territories of al-Rukhkhaj, Khalajiya and Zābulistān,⁵⁰⁸ he had [75] not remained the only usurper in his homeland. In other | regions, too, independence movements arose, or at least – as in Azerbaijan and Fars⁵⁰⁹ – power struggles became noticeable, even if it was not initially clear at all which contender would finally claim victory.

The efforts of Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khujistānī (i.e. from Khujistān in the mountain region of Badhghis)⁵¹⁰ were especially remarkable. He was a follower of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir, who, after the latter was toppled, had been freed from captivity at Dayr al-'Aqūl.⁵¹¹ He had been trying to acquire a share in the inheritance of the Ṭāhirid state since 875–76, which was all the more justified because Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir had convinced the caliph (with whom he was now collaborating against Ya'qūb) to repeatedly issue al-Khujistānī with charters for Khurasan. Yet he would not return there until his death (which was not until 30 June 910), for he had to fight not only the Ṣaffārids but also three influential brothers, the so-called Banū Sharkab, who now ruled in Nishapur since Ya'qūb had vacated it. Al-Khujistānī (who was initially supported by the Ṣaffārids) did succeed in eliminating two of them quite quickly; the third, however, Manṣūr, could not be eliminated, despite the fact that he suffered a grave defeat in his advance into Gurgan in the spring of 877.⁵¹² There he only narrowly managed to escape utter ruin and had to evacuate Nishapur in the summer of

505 Ṭab. III 1931; Ḥamza Iṣf. 149; TS 232f.; Yāq. III 150; Athīr VII 107; Abū 'l-Fidā II 253. Ibn Khall's biography (Wüst. XI 53–76, no. 838) consists of extracts from Athīr, Ṭab. and al-Sūlamī, without providing anything new.

506 Athīr VII 165f.

507 Ṭab. III 1937; Mas. VIII 46–50; TS 234f.

508 Athīr VII 107. Regarding the Khalaj see Ḥud. 347.

509 Ṭab. III 1886; Athīr VII 89, 95 (873–75). See p. 70 above.

510 See Yāq. III 402 (here unlikely to be correct vocalized as Khujistān).

511 See p. 73 above.

512 Rajab AH 263 = 877 III/20–IV/18.

877 in the face of al-Khujistānī's advance from Herat. Despite the support of al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd, who had risen once more in Mazandaran,⁵¹³ he could not retake the city; but he was strong enough to undertake a siege of the city of Balkh (878 or 880 = AH 265 or 266). At the same time al-Khujistānī re-asserted himself in Khurasan through a victory over al-Ḥasan and the Gurganians (May 879)⁵¹⁴ by repelling an attack by 'Amr ibn Layth (who was forced to retreat to Herat) and finally by dividing the troops of the latter's follower Kikān, although his siege of 'Amr in Herat failed. Maṣṣūr's interference, supported by 'Amr, and a revolt of the inhabitants of Nishapur during al-Khujistānī's absence in Tukharistan were suppressed. Shortly afterwards al-Khujistānī occupied Marv and Isfahan.⁵¹⁵ Now it seemed as though there was a new Iranian state in the making in Khurasan that could become a danger to the | power of the Ṣaffārids [76] from the rear.

Meanwhile the Ṣaffārids had once more become a threat to the caliphate, after pushing through the appointment of 'Amr as police commander in Baghdad and Samarra⁵¹⁶ (in 879 IX/22–X/20 = Ṣafar AH 266). Thus it appeared that al-Khujistānī alleviated the situation in Mesopotamia (even if immediate contacts do not seem to have existed), which had settled due to the final defeat of the Zanj⁵¹⁷ (completed in August 883) and whose capital was now moved back from Samarra to Baghdad, which had until then been rather a dangerous place. At that point al-Khujistānī, who had been about to free his mother who had been imprisoned by rebels, was killed by his own pages at Nishapur (882 VI/21–VII/20 = Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 268).⁵¹⁸ His elected successor Rāfi' ibn Harthama, also originally a follower of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir and initially in the service of Ya'qūb, had to fight long battles with Maṣṣūr, 'Amr and the Samanids (who will be discussed shortly) before he could finally (in 885–86 = AH 272) take Nishapur⁵¹⁹ and make this city the base for further campaigns in Mazandaran, which will have to be discussed below.⁵²⁰ He was therefore for a time a counterweight to the Ṣaffārids from the point of view of the caliphate, all the more so as in the east a new dynasty was establishing itself at this time, which,

513 Ṭab. III 1886, 1931; Athīr VII 95. Browne I 355.

514 Ram. AH 265 = 879 IV/27–V/26.

515 Ṭab. III 1940f., 1947, 2008f.; Ḥamza Iṣf. 149; TS 236–38; Athīr VII 97–101, 108, 111, 120.

516 Ṭab. III 1936; Athīr VII 110.

517 In 879–80 they stormed Rāmhormizd once more: Ṭab. III 1944; Athīr VII 109.

518 Ṭab. III 2017, 2015; Athīr VII 100.

519 Ṭab. III 2135, 2141; Athīr VII 122, 132.

520 See p. 78f. below.

judging from its behaviour, must have appeared as a much more suitable ally for the Commander of the Faithful.

Šaffārids and Samanids in the Battle for Power in East Persia

The long-standing disturbances in Khurasan made it impossible to assail the position of power of Rāfi‘ ibn Harthama, but allowed a third claimant to authority in northeast Persia to assert himself: the Samanid Naṣr I ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad ibn Sāmān-Khudāh (after the castle of Sāmān near Balkh). He traced his ancestry (not undisputedly) to the late Sasanid nobleman and general Bahrām Chōbēn and a margrave (*marzbān*) of Azerbaijan appointed by him,⁵²¹ and thereby consciously referred to his Persian descent, which attracted more interest at this time, and the importance of which was more and more fervently defended (by the Shu‘ūbīs) in the field of literature.⁵²² Naṣr had the great advantage that he was removed from the immediate power struggles in Iran at the time when he was establishing his power, which he built up from [77] Transoxania, which was – from an Islamic point of view – relatively virgin | soil on which the old differences between parties and sects had not yet solidified themselves.

The influence of the Samanids had been increasing steadily since 819–20 (AH 204). Four brothers from this family, who had until then been Zoroastrian, had been appointed by the caliphs and the Ṭāhirids to the administration of the regions of Samarkand, Shāsh, Fergana and Usrūshana as well as Herat,⁵²³ and had passed their position on to their sons and grandsons. When the Ṭāhirid power south of the Oxus collapsed in 873, Naṣr suddenly found himself as the virtually independent ruler over Samarkand and the rest of Transoxania. In 874–75 (AH 261) he transferred the administration of Bukhara, which had been suffering due to the fights between the Ṭāhirids and Šaffārids,⁵²⁴ and the protection of the Oxus frontier against attacks from Ya‘qūb, to his brother Ismā‘īl, who entered Bukhara at the beginning of Aug. 874.⁵²⁵ Ya‘qūb’s battles in southern Iran and in Mesopotamia as well as the turmoil caused by his death allowed the Samanid brothers to gradually extend their influence to Khurasan, but

521 See Iṣṭ. 143f.; Yāq. v 12. Concerning these relations see Krymśkiy I 65–67.

522 See p. 233f. below.

523 Narsh. 74f.; Gard. 19. Concerning the Samanids see Krymśkiy I 65–88; Barthold, *Turk.* 209–68; Siddiqi II 103–8; Gafurov 169–94, 206–17.

524 Narsh. 76f. Barthold, *Turk.* 222.

525 12 Ram. AH 260 (1 July 874) which is given as Tuesday but was in fact a Thursday.

without giving up their stable base in Transoxania.⁵²⁶ From here they repeatedly drew on new forces and gradually acquired a leading role in northeast Iran. They would become the ancestors of the ruling dynasty that created not only a new national state (like the Ṭāhirids, but less like the Ṣaffārīds) for the Persian people, but also a home for a lively flowering of science and literature.

The unimpeded rise of the Samanid dynasty was aided by the repeated power struggles still raging in other parts of Persia. While ‘Amr ibn Layth conquered Fars in 881–82 after the expulsion of a rebellious relative and took up residence in Shiraz (from where he duly sent tribute⁵²⁷ to the caliph),⁵²⁸ new characters appeared on the political stage of this country in the person of Asātigin⁵²⁹ and his son Edgü⁵³⁰ Tigin. These two were not Iranians but Turks and the first signs of a development that would be completed 100–150 years later. In 879 IX/22–X/20 (Ṣafar AH 266) these two conquered Ray and temporarily also Qazvin,⁵³¹ defeated one of the caliph’s generals⁵³² at Qom in 881–82 and | drove Muḥammad ibn Zayd, the Zaydi emir of Mazandaran, out of Ray [78] at the end of Oct. 885 (mid-Jum. I AH 272). Edgü Tigin now established himself in Ray, squeezed one million dinars out of the population and captured Qazvin again.⁵³³

In the meantime relations between ‘Amr ibn Layth and the Commander of the Faithful had deteriorated despite occasional gifts. Ultimately, this contributed to ‘Amr’s speedy overthrow. However, his official dismissal by the caliph, which he announced to pilgrims passing through on their way to Mecca (16 April 885 = 26 Shaw. AH 271),⁵³⁴ had no immediate effect in favour of the Samanids, who were united again after a war between the brothers Naṣr and Ismā‘il in 885–86,⁵³⁵ or their recently installed (through mediation) governor of Khurasan, Rāfi‘ ibn Harthama,⁵³⁶ all of whom were now officially trusted allies of the Baghdad government. Thus the caliph’s troops under the general Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abī Dulaf (who had just recently been defeated near Qom by Edgü Tigin) could, after a bloody battle, force ‘Amr back to the

526 Ṭab. III 1889; Narsh. 77f.; Athīr VII 91–93; Abū ‘l-Fidā II 244f.; Must. 379.

527 See p. 478 below.

528 Ṭab. III 2010; TS 238–41; Athīr VII 123.

529 Athīr: ‘Astātigin’.

530 Ṭab.: ‘Yadgu’.

531 Ṭab. III 1936; Athīr VII 110.

532 Ṭab. III 2024; Athīr VII 123.

533 Ḥamza Iṣf. 152; Iṣf. 189f.; Mas. VII 343; Athīr VII 139f.

534 See p. 329 below.

535 Narsh. 79–82; Gard. 20. EI II 583; Oliver, 92–94.

536 Ṭab. III 2106; Narsh. 82f.; Athīr VII 138.

East and seize rich booty (5 Sept. 884 = 10 Rabīʿ I AH 271).⁵³⁷ This shows the relief of the government in Baghdad at the annihilation of the Zanj. The purge of southern Mesopotamia allowed the regent al-Muwaffaq to advance into Fars from 13 Aug. 887 (19 Rabīʿ I AH 274) onwards and to occupy the district. Abū Ṭalha Maṣṣūr ibn Sharkab's defection from his Ṣaffārid overlord aided al-Muwaffaq in his enterprise, although Ṭalha Maṣṣūr himself was soon arrested.⁵³⁸ However, the regent was not able to pursue 'Amr to Kirman and the Ṣaffārids' heartland in Sistan. Yet at the same time the Ṣaffārid leader was dealt a heavy blow by the death of his son Muḥammad, who died during the return march in the desert⁵³⁹ on Friday 14 Oct. 887.⁵⁴⁰

'Amr was so weakened by this development that he had to seek reconciliation with the caliph⁵⁴¹ in 889 v/6–VI/4 (Muḥ. AH 276). Nevertheless, the new governor of Khurasan, Rāfiʿ ibn Harthama, managed not only to assert himself in this district, but also to invade Mazandaran, where internal struggles had broken out between Zaydi family members⁵⁴² in 880, and where al-Ḥasan ibn [79] Zayd had died⁵⁴³ on Wednesday 6 Jan. 884 | (3 Rajab AH 270).⁵⁴⁴ His brother and successor Muḥammad ibn Zayd, called al-Qā'im bi'l-ḥaqq ('he who upholds the truth'), had, after initial successes against a rival claimant,⁵⁴⁵ to flee Astarābād and Mazandaran altogether and seek refuge in Daylam (890 VI/23 until VII/22 = Rabīʿ I AH 277). The native ruler (*ispāhbadh*) Rustam ibn Qārīn II, of the Bāvand dynasty, then regained control. Rāfiʿ later succeeded in capturing Rayy and Qazvin,⁵⁴⁶ thus eliminating the Turkish ruler Edgü Tigin, who was consequently not able to establish a permanent state in Iran.

537 TS 241–44; Athīr VII 139.

538 He died in 894–95 (AH 281) while he was the caliph's prisoner according to Athīr VII 156.

539 Ṭab. III 2113, 2115; TS 244f.; Athīr VII 142.

540 20 Jum. I AH 274 was a Thursday.

541 Ṭab. 2115. For the decline of Khurasan under the Ṣaffārids see 'Awfī 224, no. 1677.

542 Ṭab. III 1940.

543 Ṭab. III 2104; Ibn Isf. 187; Awl. 72; Athīr VII 136. The register of the Alids of Mazandaran (Ṭabaristan) in Zambaur 192 is unreliable and incomplete; see Kasravī I 29–31.

544 Thus Ibn Isf. 187. The statement in Dorn/Khōnd. naming 15 Jan. (Monday 23 Rajab) is clearly wrong: the corresponding 26 Jan. 884 was a Sunday. Elias 114 erroneously gives the year as 893/4.

545 Ibn Isf. 187–89; Dorn/Khōnd. 16 (here 294 and 309 as well as in Juv. III 308 he is only called 'al-Dā'i', without other epithets).

546 Ṭab. III 2039; Mas. VII 343; TS 246–49; Athīr VII 144. Melgunof 57; Rehatsek 431–35; Rabino, *Maz.* 414f.

After the death of the imperial regent al-Muwaffaq (Saturday 22 May 891 = 8 Šafar_{AH} 278),⁵⁴⁷ who had fought ‘Amr to his last breath, and his son al-Mu‘taḍid’s accession to the caliph’s throne (after the death of his uncle al-Mu‘tamid on 15 Oct. 892),⁵⁴⁸ it soon became apparent that Rāfi‘’s successes in Khurasan and north Persia only seemed to benefit the government in Baghdad. By refusing to hand over government goods that he had confiscated in Rayy, Rāfi‘ showed that he wished for independence in this region, exactly like the Šaffārids. The campaign of the caliph’s general Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who had pushed Rāfi‘ back to Gurgan, was interrupted by the general’s death in the field (893 = _{AH} 280). His son ‘Alī suffered a decisive defeat near Rayy in mid-summer of 893⁵⁴⁹ and had to return to Isfahan, but then defected to the victor when ‘Amr took advantage of the quarrel between Rāfi‘ and the caliph to occupy Nishapur and the whole of Khurasan.⁵⁵⁰ In Oct. 894⁵⁵¹ Rāfi‘ managed to secure the help of Muḥammad ibn Zayd in Mazandaran as well, who had regained dominance here by this time. He now received the right to have the *khutba*⁵⁵² read in his name (despite his Zaydi creed) here and in Gurgan, | which was [80] the confirmation of his independence (June 895).⁵⁵³ However, Rāfi‘ could not permanently assert himself against ‘Amr. He managed to take Nishapur when it was left unguarded (after a failed first attempt in the spring of 896)⁵⁵⁴ but was soon besieged there by ‘Amr. When some of his troops deserted, he was forced to give up the city and to flee to Khwarazm (6 Nov. 896 = 26 Ram. _{AH} 283). Muḥammad ibn Zayd, with whom ‘Amr had begun negotiations, deserted him as well. In Khwarazm Rāfi‘ was then treacherously attacked by an envoy of the Khwarazm-Shāh, who had invited him to the region, and he was killed on 17 Nov. 896 (7 Shaw. _{AH} 283). His head was sent to ‘Amr who then sent it to the caliph,⁵⁵⁵ an apposite sign of devotion on the part of the Šaffārid, but at the same time also a hint at the fact that he was now the ruler once again, not a governor appointed for Khurasan from Baghdad. With a campaign to Dēnavar in Kurdistan the Commander of the Faithful did try to show that he still had a say in things, despite the restrictions imposed on him by the Khārijite

547 Athīr VII 146f.

548 TS 249; Athīr VII 151.

549 Jum. I _{AH} 280 = 893 VII/19–VIII/17. Mas. VIII 140: 24 Dhū ‘l-q. _{AH} 279 = 15 Feb. 893.

550 Ṭab. III 2137f.; Mas. VIII 139f.; Ibn Isf. 190–92; TS 249–51; Athīr VII 151. Wiet 169.

551 Sha‘b. _{AH} 281 = 894 x/8–x1/3.

552 See p. 328 below.

553 Rabī‘ II _{AH} 282 = 895 v/30–v1/27.

554 Rabī‘ I _{AH} 283 = 896 iv/18–v/17.

555 Ṭab. III 2151f.; Ibn Isf. 192f.; TS 252f.; Athīr VII 151f.; Dorn/Khönd. 16.

insurrections, the unrest among some Bedouin tribes in northern Mesopotamia and the fights on the eastern Roman frontier.⁵⁵⁶ He also proudly conferred the whole of western Iran as far as Qazvin, Rayy and Qom onto his son ‘Alī (the later caliph al-Muktafi). But ‘Alī could only show himself briefly in Rayy before returning immediately to Baghdad.⁵⁵⁷ In the end the whole adventure only demonstrated that Persia had indeed been torn away from Baghdad’s sphere of influence.

Under these circumstances it was a great success for the caliph that at least the insubordinate Ṣaffārid had submitted to him, for the Ṣaffārid’s nominal reconciliation with the ruler in 889⁵⁵⁸ had remained without practical consequences. The revolt of the Qarmaṭis in southern Mesopotamia and neighbouring regions (from 899 onwards) was already casting its shadow⁵⁵⁹ and threatened the caliphate on that side yet again. Meanwhile ‘Amr’s star fell and this must be attributed to his own presumption. He demanded to be granted Transoxania in fief from the caliph and, just as his brother had once been distracted from an attack on Mesopotamia by having such a proposal accepted, al-Mu‘taḍid acceded to this demand. After the advance of one of his officers had failed, the Samanid Ismā‘īl offered him a settlement, emphasizing his vast territory in Iran and his own importance as ‘protector of the Islamic borders’.

[81] ‘Amr proudly refused, | marched on Balkh and there clashed with Ismā‘īl’s troops, who had crossed the Oxus. The Ṣaffārid’s army was defeated and ‘Amr himself was captured as a result of his horse failing him (Saturday 19 April 900 = 15 Rabī‘ II AH 287).⁵⁶⁰ At his own request he was taken to Baghdad (instead of being held captive in Samarkand), where he was incarcerated and executed a year later after a change of ruler (20 April 902 = 8 Jum. I AH 289).⁵⁶¹ Finally the situation in eastern Persia was such that Baghdad dared breathe freely again.

556 Athīr VII 153f.

557 Ṭab. III 2140; Athīr VII 154f.

558 See p. 78 above.

559 Ṭab. III 2183; TS 255; Athīr VII 163.

560 Thus Narsh. and Gard. According to Athīr: Rabī‘ I AH 287 = 900 III/6 IV/4; according to TS 256: Tuesday 28 Rabī‘ I AH 287, but the corresponding 3 May 900 was a Saturday. See Krymśkiy I 70; Barthold, *Turk.* 224f.

561 Ṭab. III 2203, 2208, Narsh. 75, 85–91; Gard. 18f.; Muq. 337; Mas. VIII 193, 208; Siyāsāt-nāma 14–16; TS 260–62 (here his execution is set in the year 901 and said to have been ordered by the old caliph); Athīr VII 165, 170; Abū ‘l-Fidā II 284; ‘Awfi 153, no. 331 (here referred to as ‘murder’); 159, no. 517 (account same as that in TS); 227, no. 1716.

The Height of Samanid Power

The occupation of Khurasan by the Samanids and the concomitant formation of a new, great state defined by Iranian national consciousness could not be prevented by Baghdad anymore. It was, however, a relief to the caliph that the Zaydi ruler of Mazandaran, Muḥammad ibn Zayd, who had invaded Gurgan and was striving to conquer Khurasan as well, had finally and after unheeded warnings been defeated by Ismā'īl at the 'Gate of Gurgan' 'in the bloodiest battle of the century'.⁵⁶² He died a few days later (Friday, 3 Oct. 900 = 5 Shaw. AH 287). His son and heir Zayd ibn Muḥammad then acknowledged the suzerainty of the Samanids,⁵⁶³ who asserted themselves here against some resistance and began to regularly appoint governors.⁵⁶⁴ The orthodox Sunni Samanids did everything to display the caliph's nominal sovereignty in this larger state, as they had done previously in Transoxania. They also paid their tribute and did not create any political problems for the Commander of the Faithful. Although they were practically independent | rulers of northeast Iran, [82] they respected the interests of the Islamic commonwealth and refrained from attacking Mesopotamia altogether, thus giving the caliph peace at least in this region. They also allowed the population of their own realm to develop in comparative calm for a century, despite local quarrels. In this way they created the prerequisites for the renaissance of Persian scholarship. Iranian culture is forever indebted to them and their role as patrons of science and art, as will be discussed below.⁵⁶⁵

In general, the Samanids created order in eastern Persia. When Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad, a nephew of 'Amr's, attempted to invade Fars from Sistan, the old home and present refuge of the Ṣaffārīds, Ismā'īl forced him, via a series of adroit manoeuvres, to give up this district and to retreat to Sistan so that the caliph's general Badr could move into Shiraz and arrange matters there according to Baghdad's wishes (901).⁵⁶⁶ Relations between Ṭāhir and the caliph

562 Thus Mas. and Aghānī. Al-Isfahānī (the author of al-Aghānī) has another description (*Maqātil at-Ṭālibīyyīn*, Tehran AH 1307, 229) according to which Muḥammad was just fatally wounded on the battlefield and only died after reaching Gurgan. In Ibn Isf. 194 and Juv. III 307 he dies in battle. TS gives the date as Friday, 10 Oct. 900 (12 Shaw. AH 287).

563 Ṭab. III 2201; Mas. VIII 194–96; Ibn Isf. 193f.; TS 257; Athīr VII 166; 'Awfī 206, no. 1447. Melgunof 57f.

564 Ibn Isf. 195–98.

565 See p. 262f below.

566 Ṭab. III 2202–4; TS 258f., 273f.; Athīr VII 168. A register of the later (Sistan) Ṣaffārīds (up to 1186) may be found in Zambaur 200f. (including a family tree) and in Raverty, 'The kings of the Ṣaffārīdūn dynasty', 139–43.

naturally remained strained⁵⁶⁷ and eventually he was captured in 909–10 and handed over to the caliph by a previous slave of ‘Amr’s, Subkarī, who had gained influence.⁵⁶⁸ In 902 Ismā‘īl forced the usurper Muḥammad ibn Hārūn (originally a tailor and later a highwayman) out of Rayy, where the latter had eliminated the caliph’s local governor, the unpopular Turk Iltutmysh⁵⁶⁹ and three of his relatives before establishing himself in the city.⁵⁷⁰ In the following year Ismā‘īl lured him out of his refuge in Mazandaran to Marv and arrested him, which was followed by his death two months later.⁵⁷¹ In March 901 (Rabī‘ I AH 208) Abū ‘Ubayd (Allāh) Muḥammad Afshīn ibn Abī ‘l-Sāj,⁵⁷² the governor appointed to Armenia (in 889 and again 898), died from the plague that raged⁵⁷³ there, whereupon fights broke out in Azerbaijan between | his brother Yūsuf and his son Dēvdādh and the latter eventually had to flee to Mosul in 901.⁵⁷⁴ Thus any danger to Mesopotamia from this direction was avoided for the time being.

Now conditions in northeast Iran were on the whole stable when the energetic and insightful Samanid Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad (who had been reconciled with his brother Naṣr in 888 and become his successor on 23 Aug. 892),⁵⁷⁵ the conqueror of Khurasan and spearhead against the western Qarakhanids,⁵⁷⁶ died on 25 Nov. 907 (15 Ṣaf. AH 295) in a village near Bukhara. After a short quarrel with the brother of the deceased, who was arrested in Bukhara, the succession passed to Ismā‘īl’s son Aḥmad II. The caliph did not have any say in the issue of this succession, but no difficulties arose for him out of it either. However, the Commander of the Faithful maintained sufficient control in his dealings

567 Athīr VII 180 (906 = AH 293).

568 Ṭab. III 2283; ‘Arīb 32; Misk. I 16; TS 275–89; Athīr VIII 18.

569 In Ṭab. ‘Ögretmiş’.

570 Ṭab. III 2209; Iṣṭ. 143; Athīr VII 170, 172.

571 Ṭab. III 2255; ‘Arīb 6; Gard. 21; Athīr VII 174.

572 Ṭab. III 2185; John Catholicos 133–73 *passim* (here simply called Afshin [Ap‘šin with ‘ī’]); Thomas Arc. 187–89, 193–95 (which has a considerably different portrayal of the details pertaining to Armenia); Mas. VIII 144f., 196–200; Athīr VII 162. See Zambaur 179; Barthold, *Turk.* 169 and *EI* III 721.

573 Ṭab. III 2202; Elias 119. Schwarz VIII 119of.; Kasravī I 55f.

574 Ṭab. III 2203–5; Misk. I 16; John Catholicos 176f.; Thomas Arc. 195–98; Athīr VII 168. See *EI* IV 53 (s.v. Sādjidien) and 816 (s.v. Tiflis). John Catholicos 178 actually uses the Armenian form ‘Dievdat’ with ‘e’ for Dēvdādh; for this distinction between ‘ī’ and ‘e’ in early New Persian in Armenian contexts see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 14.

575 Narsh. 84; Athīr VII 151; Sam. 30; Must. 380.

576 Athīr/Tornberg VII 378 (893, 904, 906). See Pritsak, ‘Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden’, 270–300.

with the new lord of Khurasan to resist handing over the Samanid governor of Gurgan to Aḥmad II when this man fled to him, instead employing the former governor in his own service in northern Mesopotamia until his death.⁵⁷⁷

The situation in western Persia was far more unsettled. The Qarmaṭi movement did not cast its shadow there directly, but Baghdad's demands for the direct submission of this region were repeatedly disputed. The Ḥamdānids' appointment in Mosul on 2 Nov. 905 (1 Muḥ. AH 293) and their subsequent fight against the Kurds, led to a Kurdish revolt in Isfahan, which, however,⁵⁷⁸ soon collapsed because of the capitulation of the leading officer (908).⁵⁷⁹ The new⁵⁸⁰ Ṣaffārid ruler of Sistan, al-Layth ibn 'Alī ibn al-Layth, tried again to take the region of Fars and thus take up the tradition of his line. But it was possible for al-Subkarī, who had already distinguished himself by arresting the Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir,⁵⁸¹ to throw the intruders back to Sistan with the help of al-Ḥusayn, the brother of the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mosul, | who had hastened to his side from his new fiefdoms in Qom and Qāshān (909–10 = AH 297).⁵⁸² However, immediately afterwards, the Baghdadi vizier 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Furāt sent troops against his former lord on the instigation of al-Subkarī's deposed secretary. Al-Subkarī was forced to flee and soon ended up caught in the crossfire, so that the caliph's army could easily occupy Fars and re-incorporate it into Baghdad's sphere of power.⁵⁸³ In the end al-Subkarī was captured by Aḥmad II and surrendered to Baghdad (910 I/24–II/21 = Shaw. AH 298).⁵⁸⁴

In the face of this repeated threat to southern Iran from Sistan, the caliph approved when Aḥmad II informed him that he had occupied Fars in early autumn⁵⁸⁵ 910 and taken prisoner the Ṣaffārid al-Mu'addal ibn 'Alī, who ruled over parts of this district, together with his brother (spring 911).⁵⁸⁶ However, only two years later a rebellion broke out: a local Khārijite, Muḥammad ibn Hōrmiz(d), called al-Mawlā al-Ṣandalī,⁵⁸⁷ who had acquired religious

577 Ṭab. III 2279; 'Arib 18 (with the date of 24 Nov. = 14 Ṣafar); Narsh. 91; Gard. 22; Athīr VIII 2f.; Must. 381. Oliver 94.

578 Athīr VIII 4.

579 'Arib 18.

580 Athīr VII 177f.

581 See p. 82 above.

582 Ṭab. III 2285; 'Arib 32; Elias 122, Misk. I 16, 18; Athīr VIII 18f.

583 Ṭab. III 2286; 'Arib 32f.; Misk. I 18f.; Athīr VIII 19.

584 Misk. I 19; 'Arib 34f.; TS 295f. (here the date is given as Jum. II AH 299 = 912 I/24–II/21; which is surely too late); Athīr VIII 20.

585 Muḥ. AH 298 = 910 IX/9–X/8.

586 Ṭab. III 2287; 'Arib 36; TS 289–94; Gard. 23; Athīr VIII 20.

587 A client of Muḥammad ibn 'Amr's.

knowledge in Bukhara, assembled the followers of his creed who were still present in the country and gave political support to the Šaffārids.⁵⁸⁸ Although they had originated from a union that had been clearly opposed to this alliance, things had changed, presumably due to the aspirations for independence in Sistan. It took a nine-month siege of the city of Zarang, where the fighters had eventually been cornered, to subject the country to the Samanids once more (Thursday 22 July 913 = 14 Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 300).⁵⁸⁹

This success was not to last. Only a few months later, on the night of Thursday 13 Jan. 914,⁵⁹⁰ soon after a victory over the Transoxanian Turks, the Samanid ruler [85] Aḥmad II, an efficient regent and good judge of character, was killed | on a campaign against Mazandaran by some of his pages.⁵⁹¹ We would be justified in assuming that the nobles and the generals, who were weary of this ruler's close surveillance of the administration, were also involved.⁵⁹² These groups and even the members of their own household troubled the Samanids during their whole reign and contributed in no small way to their demise. After the formal accession to power of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Naṣr II, the eight-year-old son of the murdered man, his great-grandfather Iṣḥāq with his son Ilyās began to cause trouble. In view of the new emir's tender age, Iṣḥāq had originally been considered a suitable regent. However, this senior member of the dynasty, with whom Ismā'īl had also had quarrels, was clearly hoping to win power for himself. Conflict was inevitable; in battle Iṣḥāq was defeated (17 March 914 = 16 Sha'b. AH 301)⁵⁹³ and had to flee to Samarkand, where he was defeated again and kept prisoner in Bukhara until the end of his life. His son Ilyās hid in Fergana, at least for a time.⁵⁹⁴

This unrest was used by the Samanids' neighbours for their own machinations and introduced an epoch of almost uninterrupted conflicts in northeast Persia, the description of which, even when restricted to the most important events, seems confused and tedious. The troops of the caliph now entered

588 In particular the 10-year-old Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amr II ibn Ya'qūb, a great-grandson of the well-known 'Amr ibn Layth.

589 TS 297–302; Gard. 23f.

590 The corresponding 11 Jum. II AH 301 was a Wednesday (according to Narsh.). Gard. 25 has Thursday 21 Jum. II AH 301; Athīr has 23 Jum. II AH 301, which was a Monday and not a Thursday as claimed. TS speaks of 23 Jan. 914 = 22 Jum. II AH 301.

591 Ṭab. III 2289; 'Arīb 44–46, Elias 123; Misk. I 33; Narsh. 91f.; TS 302; Must. 381; Athīr VIII 25. Barthold, *Turk.* 240.

592 See *EI* IV 131.

593 Thus Ṭab., Athīr has: Ram. AH 301 = 914 III/31–IV/29. Regarding Naṣr II see *EI* III 941–43; Browne I 359f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 240–44; Oliver 95f.

594 Ṭab. III 2290; 'Arīb 51; Narsh. 92f.; Gard. 26; Athīr VIII 25f.

Sistan, which the Samanids had just subjugated, and occupied the country as far as Ghazna and Bust. However, as early as May 917 the country had to be left to the rebel Kathīr ibn Aḥmad ibn Shahfūr (Shāhpuhr) by agreement,⁵⁹⁵ who was later murdered by his pages (Friday 2 April 919 = 17 Shaw. AH 306).⁵⁹⁶ In the turmoil of the following years, the Ṣaffārid Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad could finally assert himself, in May 923, and he also succeeded in gaining influence in Bust and (temporarily) in Kirman.⁵⁹⁷ He was blessed with political wisdom, was on friendly terms with poets like Rūdagī and was a significant player, even if of secondary importance, in eastern Iran until his murder on Tuesday 31 March 963 (2 Rabīʿ I AH 352).⁵⁹⁸

[86]

The Alid al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (called ‘Sayyid Nāṣir-i kabīr’), who had stayed in Daylam after the death of Muḥammad ibn Zayd, now took steps to establish himself in Mazandaran, which had suffered Russian (Varangian) incursions in 910 and 911.⁵⁹⁹ In January 914 (Jum. II AH 301) he drove the Jastānid ruler as well as the governor of the Samanids out in a victory at Nourūz (on the shore of the Caspian Sea, a day’s journey from Chālūs) and reinforced the Zaydi regime here. He also distinguished himself as a poet and a jurist.⁶⁰⁰

At the same time Khurasan became unsettled due to the insurrection of the prince Manṣūr ibn Ishāq, who was supported by the former commander during the last Samanid campaign against Sistan (since 914–15 = AH 302). The fight that the Samanid army waged from Bukhara centred on the cities of Herat and Nishapur and with the conquest of the latter (summer 918)⁶⁰¹ and the capture of the former’s commander-in-chief, the war was ended.⁶⁰² But the Samanids already had new worries. The nearly independent governor of Azerbaijan and Armenia, Yūsuf ibn Abī ʿl-Sāj,⁶⁰³ who for years had only delivered part of the taxes imposed by Baghdad, advanced against Rayy in 916–17, under the pretext of having been granted the city in fief from the caliph, despite the fact that

595 ʿArīb 75; TS 303–6; Athīr VIII 33.

596 TS 307f.

597 Ibid. 308–15; Gard. 29.

598 TS 316–27.

599 Ibn Isf. 199. See also the geographical comments in Melgunof 62f., as well as the discussion and literature references in Krymskiy I 97f., also Dorn, Schirw. 546f.

600 Ṭab. III 2292; ʿArīb 47; Ḥamza Iṣf. 153; Misk. I 36 (different from Ibn Isf. 109); Bīr. 224; Mas. IX 4f.; Athīr VIII 26–28. Barthold, Krest. 59f.; Rehatsek 436f.; Rabino, *Maz.* 447. For al-Uṭrūsh’s descendants in Lāhigān and the dynasty of Nāṣirvand, see EI III 8 and IV 1147–49; Kasravī I 34f.

601 Rabīʿ I AH 306 = 918 VIII/12–IX/10.

602 Gard. 27; ʿArīb 60; Athīr VIII 28.

603 See p. 83 above.

a Samanid garrison was stationed there. They had to vacate the fortress and Yūsuf was able to occupy Qazvin, Abhar and Zangān as well. This threatened the interests of the Commander of the Faithful, who had just re-established order in Isfahan by appointing a governor favourable to him.⁶⁰⁴ He, as well as the vizier (who had by now been deposed), denied having granted Yūsuf the fief. There was protracted fighting, which was only partially successful for the rebellious governor who had to vacate Rayy (where the caliph himself now appointed a Turkish commander) but still managed to hold out in Ardabil [87] until June 919.⁶⁰⁵ Then he was captured and taken to Baghdad.⁶⁰⁶

However, Rayy could not be kept under the immediate control of the caliph. After recurrent attacks from Qom, the city was soon left to the Samanids again,⁶⁰⁷ who were able to reassert their temporarily disputed sovereignty in Marv as well (919 XI/27–XII/26 = Rajab AH 307).⁶⁰⁸ Defeating the general Laylā ibn al-Nu‘mān al-Daylamī, on the other hand, required enormous exertion. As Zaydi governor in Gurgan he had forced the opposing Turkish general Qaratigin to join his cause and he then attacked Dāmghān for a limited time before finally taking Nishapur (921 IV/13–V/11 = Dhū ‘l-ḥ. AH 308), which he put under Zaydi control for three months. Only then was he defeated by a Samanid army with Qarakhanid support (921 VII/10–VIII/8 = Rabī‘ I AH 309).⁶⁰⁹ However, this was not the end of the fighting in Gurgan. While Qaratigin had left the territory to the Zaydi Abū ‘l-Ḥasan, called al-Nāṣir, of Mazandaran, without contesting his right to the area (since 20 April 923 = end Dhū ‘l-ḥ. AH 310), he soon had to deal with the attacks of the Samanid nobleman al-Sa‘īd Naṣr ibn Aḥmad Sīmjūr al-Dawātī, who, after initial failures, managed to force him to flee across the sea to Astarābād, where he died on 13 Nov. 923 (29 Rajab AH 311). It then took some time before the Zaydi governor of this city could assert himself against Sīmjūr as the potentate of the whole of Gurgan.⁶¹⁰

The parts of Iran under direct control of the caliph were also troubled by unrest at that time. In Azerbaijan Sübük, a slave of the captured Yūsuf, established himself as temporary ruler against the wishes of the Baghdad

604 Misk. I 38f.; ‘Arīb 19, 31, 57; John Catholicos 181–88, 192–94, 203–5, 216f., 231 f., 241f., 301f.; Athīr VIII 31.

605 Muḥ. AH 307 = 919 VI/3 VII/2.

606 Misk. I 47–50; ‘Arīb 67, 70f., 77, 133; John Catholicos 319; Thomas Arc. 232f.; Athīr VIII 32. See Defrémery, ‘Mémoires sur la famille des Sadjides’, 409–16; x 396–436; Wiet 170f.

607 Athīr VIII 33.

608 Ibid. 37f. See EI I 201f. (s.v. Aḥmad ibn Sahl).

609 Athīr VIII 39. Schwarz VI 815 (includes information about the form of the name Laylā); Pritsak, *Karach.* 292.

610 Ibn Isf. 209; Mas. VIII 279f., IX 4f.; Athīr VIII 41; Dorn/Khönd. 20.

government.⁶¹¹ The governor of Kirman attempted to appropriate the district of Fars in a war with the caliph and his revolt only ended when he died in battle.⁶¹² All these were just temporary phenomena, episodes that were characteristic of the fate of Iran in those centuries but not significant for its future. However, at the same time that these incidents were taking place, as well as for sometime afterwards, other events began to take shape that would lead Iran, and its neighbours, in new directions.

Although it had become increasingly common to employ Turks as soldiers, and then later as officers, in the Islamic regions, importing Turks from outside of the country into Iran (after experiments in the previous centuries) had been avoided in recent times. Now, however, | even the Samanid prince Ilyās⁶¹³ [88] began to invade Transoxania, a country which at that point was still mainly Iranian, with large armies of Turkish cavalry. His attack on Samarkand from Fergana failed, however, and collaboration with the Turkish ruler of Shāsh and the ruler of Kashgar did not lead to any greater success.⁶¹⁴ But even though the campaign itself came to nothing and Ilyās was later reconciled with the Samanid ruler, the result of this action was that the Turks had now been shown the way into the Iranian settlement area. Soon they could no longer be held back and became an ever greater threat, as these were the same decades during which they were converted peacefully to Islam by missionaries (who were morally and materially supported by the Samanid state), and thus lost the stigma of being 'unbelievers', which so far had been the determining factor in their relations with the Iranians. This development would soon make itself felt among the Muslim dynasties of Iran.

Almost as threatening was the fact that a number of tribes who had previously stayed in the shadows now ventured onto the political stage, the precondition for which was, once again, their Islamization. In the districts south of the Caspian Sea, however, where the origins of this development lay, Islamization had only taken place at the hands of the Zaydi Alids, and although this form of the Shi'ite creed did not fully establish itself here, it was also not 'Sunni' Islam that prevailed, but rather various forms of the Shi'ite confession. Thus this creed, which had repeatedly been driven back, experienced a strong boost, which enabled it to expand its position. This would become even more pronounced in the sixteenth century and would lead to a permanent religious division of the Iranian/Transoxanian peoples.

611 Athīr VIII 33.

612 Ibid. 34.

613 See p. 85 above.

614 Athīr VIII 41f.

The ground for the expansion of the Daylami⁶¹⁵ element was prepared by the continuous turmoil in the neighbouring regions. In 924 III/11–VI/8⁶¹⁶ Yūsuf ibn Abī 'l-Sāj,⁶¹⁷ whom the caliph had freed in 922, occupied Rayy, which had been granted to him by the Commander of the Faithful in addition to Azerbaijan, and in spring 925 also Hamadan⁶¹⁸ for a short time. He then had to go on campaign against the Qarmaṭis in Wāsiṭ in 926–27 (AH 314), however, and fell in battle against them.⁶¹⁹ Rayy was soon occupied (in 926 VIII/14–IX/11 = Jum. II AH 314) by the Samanid Naṣr and Sīmjūr was appointed governor. [89] Soon afterwards it was lost to an emir, who shortly before his death gave the city to al-Ḥasan II (al-Dā'ī al-ṣaghīr), the ruler of Mazandaran (late Sept. 928 = early Sha'b. AH 316).⁶²⁰ Al-Ḥasan had recently been driven out of his homeland by the officer Aspār (Asfār) the Daylami, son of Shērōē (to whom the Samanids had granted Mazandaran and Gurgan in fief),⁶²¹ and Mardāvīj, the son of Ziyār, the ruler of Gilan. Meanwhile, al-Uṭrūsh met his death during this unrest (31 Jan. 917 = 5 Sha'b. AH 304)⁶²² and Zaydi rule in Mazandaran therefore came to an end.

Al-Ḥasan was happy to be able to take possession of the territory from Rayy to Zangān and Qom (928 = AH 316), but by banning the consumption of wine and taking the side of the people against the emirs and their abuses of power he provoked a conspiracy of the local nobles. Although he was able to suppress any plot brutally before it came to fruition, a number of his supporters deserted him, making it easy for Aspār to defeat him at Sāriya. Al-Ḥasan II fell in battle (Tuesday 11 Nov. 928 = 25 Ram. AH 316), and the Zaydi dynasty also ended with him, since the other Alids were taken captive and conveyed to Baghdad. Aspār became heir to all of al-Ḥasan's lands after a series of battles and Gurgan came to be under his control as well. After some hesitation, however, he submitted to the Samanids,⁶²³ who were relieved to be rid of the Zaydi troublemaker.

615 Concerning the internal struggles of the ruling houses there see Ibn Hassūl 253–55; Minorsky, *Dom.* 23, n. 24.

616 Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 311.

617 See p. 75 above.

618 Misk. I 83, 148; John Catholicos 332f.; Athīr VIII 45.

619 Athīr VIII 50. Kasravī I 57f.

620 Ibn Isf. 200–15; Juv. III 308 and n. 4; Zāhīr al-Dīn 309; Dorn/Khōnd. 187; Awl. 80; Athīr VIII 33f., 52; Abū 'l-Fidā II 328.

621 Mas. IX 5–8.

622 Ibn Isf. 214–16; Misk. I 151f.; Athīr VIII 55. Juv. III 306–9 (note by the editor Qazvīnī); Krymśkiy I 101–10; Justi, *Namb.* 46, 194; *EI* III 296f.

623 Ḥamza Iṣf. 153; 'Arib 154; Mas. IX 8–15; Athīr VIII 59f. Schwarz VI 714 f.; Rehatsek 437f.; Wiet 171f.

Despite this, Aspār's offences had earned him hatred in many places, and the majority of his officers went over to his trusted ally Mardāvīj when he changed sides during a campaign. Aspār was then captured during his attempt to flee to the fortress of Alamūt (later made famous by the Assassins) and executed after initial reluctance on Mardāvīj's part (931).⁶²⁴ Mardāvīj then occupied the territories which had until that point been held by Aspār and aimed to extend his sphere of influence even further, as far as Hamadan, Isfahan and Dinavar, and soon, in a battle with his former ally Mākān, the son of Kākī, he also reached towards Mazandaran and Gurgan. All this was done despite the Samanids' intervention.⁶²⁵

[90]

All of this demonstrated that the Samanids' instruments of power were not without limitations, even though the dynasty was at the peak of its power under Naṣr II, despite his temporary Isma'ili tendencies.⁶²⁶ Their powers were strained by the protracted rebellion of the ruler's three brothers, who had escaped from prison and who were now allying themselves with the general Qaratigin and a string of Daylamis and 'yobs' (*'ayyārūn*) who had been freed from prison. After their expulsion from Transoxania (in 929 = AH 317) they still caused unrest in the mountain regions around Herat and al-Rukhkhaj for years until they finally surrendered and were soon disposed of in 932.⁶²⁷ Furthermore, the Samanids' governor in al-Khuttal⁶²⁸ temporarily defected. All of these events taken together meant that they could not prevent the consolidation of Mardāvīj's power. He pursued fantastical plans for reinstating an openly Zoroastrian Persian state in opposition to the caliph⁶²⁹ and, in a logical development of this train of thought, subjected the Muslims to the same taxes that were imposed upon the *dhimmīs*.⁶³⁰ Mardāvīj repelled an attack on Hamadan by the armies of the caliph, who at that time was still able to appoint his son as governor of Fars, Kirman, Sistan and Makran,⁶³¹ and conquered the

624 Ibn Isf. 216; Mas. IX 15–19; Athīr VIII 60f. The account in Misk. I 162 deviates from this in some details. Schwarz VI 735; Ross, Dyn. 212.

625 'Arīb 154; Mas. IX 19–28; Gard. 31; Šūlī 20; Athīr VIII 62, 83; Abū 'l-Fidā II 352. Justi, *Namb.* 188, 152; *EI* III 177f. Regarding the Ziyārīds see Zambaur 210f.

626 See p. 173 below.

627 Narsh. 93; Gard. 29f.; Athīr VIII 65–67.

628 Athīr VIII 69.

629 See p. 192f. below and Barthold, *K istorii orošenīya Turkestana*; Pachomov, *O derbentskom knjažestve XII–XIII v.*

630 Šūlī/Canard 73; see Mas. IX 14f.

631 Misk. I 200f.; see 'Arīb 113f., 127; Athīr VIII 70. A Khārijite foray from Sistan into Fars in 928 soon failed: *ibid.* 62.

city as well as the whole of Jibāl, before moving temporarily to Hulwan.⁶³² After removing the defected general Lashkarī,⁶³³ he advanced as far as Isfahan and Ahvaz and forced the caliph to acknowledge his power.⁶³⁴ He then also finally asked his brother Vashmgīr, who had allegedly been living in Gilan as a farmer, to participate in his rule.⁶³⁵ Yet it was not to this energetic, versatile and politically imaginative condottiere that the task of reshaping of Iran was granted.

[91] **The Buyids and Ziyārids and their Fight for Power in Persia**

Mardāvij had three brothers among his followers, sons of the Daylami Abū Shujāʿ Būya⁶³⁶ ibn Panākhosrou, who (later on) claimed that they were descendants of the Sasanid king Bahram Gōr,⁶³⁷ a claim which Oriental historiography, however, rejects as fictitious. They and their descendants were named 'Buyids' after their father. The three brothers, ('Imād al-Dawla) Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī,⁶³⁸ (Rukn al-Dawla) Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan and (Mu'izz al-Dawla)⁶³⁹ Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad, had moved from Mākān ibn Kākī's service into that of Mardāvij. The eldest of them, the imposing, brave and generous ('Imād al-Dawla) 'Alī, established himself in Rayy, despite his feudal overlord's growing distrust, and then took the risk of ignoring an order from Mardāvij to give up the city. With the help of the Daylami chieftain Shērzhādh (Shīrzhādh) he even succeeded in taking possession of Isfahan. Despite his Shi'ite creed, he nominally submitted to the caliph in order to gain support against Mardāvij, but he still had to retreat in the face of an advance by the latter's brother Vashmgīr⁶⁴⁰ to Arraghān and Rāmhōrmīzd, which he had conquered in 933 XI/22–XII/21 (Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 321).⁶⁴¹

632 'Arīb 138f., 145; Athīr VIII 70; Abū 'l-Fidā II 362.

633 Athīr VIII 71. 'Arīb 161 always writes (see 161^a) al-Ashkarī.

634 Misk. I 213f., 228f.; 'Arīb 161–63; Athīr VIII 72.

635 Athīr VIII 77. Huart, 'Les Ziyārides', 377–84.

636 Regarding the name see Justi, *Namb.* 70; the Arabic (fictitious?) form is 'Buwayh'. See Zambaur 212f. and genealogical table Q.

637 See Zarkūb 30f. His fictitious genealogy can be found in the genealogical table Q in Zambaur.

638 See *EI* II 502f.

639 The names in square brackets are the honorary titles that were awarded to them later, and under which they became famous. For Mu'izz al-Dawla see *EI* III 761f.

640 After Mas. IX 30 'the quail-catcher'. For this and the not transmitted form 'Vushmgīr' see Justi, *Namb.* 298.

641 Athīr VIII 85f. Regarding the Buyids see Krymskiy I 119–31; Browne I 364.

Despite Vashmgīr's successes, 'Alī was in no way eliminated, and although he avoided attacking the caliph's reinstated governor in Isfahan for the time being, he nevertheless made an effort to prevent a coalition between Mardāvīj and his other enemies. He marched to al-Bayḍā in Fars via Nawbandagān and Iṣṭakhr, while in the meantime his brother (Rukn al-Dawla) al-Ḥasan⁶⁴² occupied the region around Kāzerūn. After a bitter battle (Tuesday-Thursday, 2–4 June 934 = 13–15 Jum. II AH 322) in which 'Alī defeated the caliph's governor of the province, Yāqūt, who had pursued him, he managed to occupy Shiraz and to appropriate a great sum of money as well as substantial treasure. | After this he declared his loyalty to the caliph and the latter acknowledged him as governor. In the meantime Mardāvīj had occupied Isfahan once again and sent his brother Vashmgīr as governor to Rayy. At the same time Kirman was taken on behalf of the Samanid Naṣr,⁶⁴³ but he was soon forced to leave it to Mākān once again.⁶⁴⁴ [92]

Due to these developments in the years 932–34 the caliph lost actual control over the western Iranian districts, which he had had more or less regained after the fall of the Ṣaffārīds. This may not have seemed too great a threat for the time being, since he could hope that the different feuding parties would eventually wear one another down and relinquish the country again. Moreover, Yāqūt, the former governor of Fars, who was under similar pressure, was able to assert himself at least in Ahvaz.⁶⁴⁵ Now a clash between Mardāvīj and the Buyīds seemed to be imminent, although they had submitted to him after he had occupied eastern Khuzistan and renounced their allegiance to the caliph (14 Sept. 934 = 1 Shaw. AH 322: capture of Rāmhōrmīzd).⁶⁴⁶ Then catastrophe befell Mardāvīj. His strong Iranian national consciousness, which culminated in plans for the conquest of Mesopotamia and the rebuilding of a Persian state, included a strong dislike of Turkish slaves, although they were numerous in his army as soldiers and officers. After the ruler experienced repeated fits of anger, they began to fear the worst and murdered him in the bath in Isfahan on 19 Jan. 935 (11 Ṣafar AH 323).⁶⁴⁷ Thus his proud plans were dashed and the regions which he had brought together soon disintegrated as some of his Turkish

642 See *EI* III 1266f.

643 Ḥamza Iṣf. 154; *Athīr* VIII 86–88.

644 *Misk.* I 275–84, 295f.; *Athīr* VIII 97.

645 *Misk.* I 301f.; *Athīr* VIII 93; *Tanūkhī* I 55.

646 *Athīr* VIII 90f.

647 *Misk.* I 302f., 310–18; *Ibn Isf.* 217; *Mas.* IX 28–30; Ṣūlī 20f., 62; (= Ṣūlī/Canard 71–73, 108f.); *Elias* 128; *Athīr* VIII 94–96; *Abū 'l-Fidā* II 388f. See *EI* III 296f.; *Wiet* 115, 172f.

troops began to serve the Buyids and some the caliph. His brother Vashmgīr⁶⁴⁸ was forced back from Rayy by Mākān, who rejected an alliance with him at this time, to Nishapur (late 935 = late 323/early AH 324) and took some time to regain influence, which he then only retained to a limited degree. Mākān on the other hand was able to occupy Kirman⁶⁴⁹ and, in 930 VII/23–VIII/21 (Ram. AH 324), also Gurgan.⁶⁵⁰

[93] However, the murder of Mardāvīj was not the prelude to a significant role for Mākān either. Rather, it became clear that the Buyids gained the most from it. | Rukn al-Dawla al-Ḥasan returned from the court of Vashmgīr in Rayy to his brother ‘Ali, who dispatched him to occupy Isfahan and he soon succeeded in taking nearly the whole district of Jibāl.⁶⁵¹ Thus the sons of Daylam, with their military prowess, proved themselves masters of the situation. In western and southern Persia there was no worthy opponent left for them, nor was there anyone who would have prevented them from marching against the caliph’s state in Mesopotamia, which had been weakened by the war with the Qarmāṭis, the continual rebellions and the persistent provincial campaigns. The decision about the future of Baghdad had been made. The caliphs were lucky that it was the Buyids, who, although Shi‘ite, were nevertheless uneducated and therefore malleable, who conquered Mesopotamia, and not the fanatic Persian nationalist Mardāvīj with his preconceived and consequently rigid agenda. As oppressive as the weight of the Buyid rule was to become for the Commanders of the Faithful, it did not cause the collapse of the Abbasid state.

The continuous growth of Buyid power was to be the precondition for development in the next ten years. In the meantime the third, so far landless brother, (Mu‘izz al-Dawla) Aḥmad, had conquered Kirman with the support of his other two siblings, driven out the local troops of Mākān along with the Samanids and also accepted the submission of the mountain dwellers (Qufṣ and Baluch). After a failed attempt at rebellion, in which he lost his left hand, he reconciled himself with his brothers (936 = AH 324).⁶⁵² With their rear protected, the Buyids could now dare to advance into Khuzistan at the instigation of a vizier who had fled from Mesopotamia. However, while Aḥmad, who remained in Iṣṭakhr for a substantial period, was fighting alone, there were no decisive successes. On the contrary, Bejkem, the Turkish ruler of the province,⁶⁵³

648 Regarding him see Krymśkiy I 111–14.

649 Mas. IX 30f.; Athīr VIII 96.

650 Ibn Isf. 217f.; Athīr VIII 105.

651 Athīr VIII 96f.; see ‘Awfi 153, no. 344.

652 Misk. I 352f.; Athīr VIII 104.

653 Misk. I 339–49; Athīr VIII 108; Abū ‘l-Fidā II 402. *EI* I 716f.

maintained his tight control over the northwest of the region and for a long time prevented the Buyids from moving beyond 'Askar Mukram. Consequently Aḥmad decided to ask his brother 'Alī for help. The result was a resounding victory: the capital of the region, Ahvaz, fell into his hands and Bejkem was only able to collect his troops in Wāsiṭ for renewed resistance (938 = AH 326).⁶⁵⁴ The gate to Lower Mesopotamia had been opened for the Buyids.

But now the flanks of the advancing army had to be secured | as well as its [94] rear. For in the meantime Lashkarī, an officer from Vashmgīr's circle, had been successful in conquering Azerbaijan from the Kurdish Khārijite Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm Shadhilōē (who had served Yūsuf ibn Abī 'l-Sāj) due to the support he received from Vashmgīr, but this only led to the invader's death in Armenia.⁶⁵⁵ Vashmgīr had grown strong thanks to the elimination of his rival and thus he could risk an advance against the Buyid (Rūkn al-Dawla) al-Ḥasan in Isfahan and managed to drive him out of the city. The important fortress of Alamūt fell to him as well.⁶⁵⁶ While this was happening, the new Samanid governor of Khurasan, Abū 'Alī ibn Muḥtāj, advanced undetected on minor roads to the immediate vicinity of the city of Gurgan. There he forced Mākān ibn Kākī, who had withdrawn his allegiance to the Samanids, to retreat to Mazandaran (late summer of 940 = end of AH 328). It was there as well that he was incited to fight against the Buyids by Vashmgīr and he was killed three months later (24 Dec. 940 = 21 Rabī' I AH 329) at Ishāqābād near Dāmghān.⁶⁵⁷

Both events, Vashmgīr's conquest of Isfahan and the Samanids' expansion westwards, prevented the Buyids, who were repeatedly attacked near Ahvaz by troops that the caliph had sent from Mesopotamia,⁶⁵⁸ from advancing rapidly in the north. Al-Ḥasan could regain only Isfahan, while Vashmgīr and Abū 'Alī together fought Mākān.⁶⁵⁹ Hamadan, on the other hand, was, along with nearly all of Jibāl and Kurdistan, in the hands of Abū 'Alī and consequently practically within the sphere of Samanid power, but the Buyids still stopped short of an attack on this dynasty. When al-Ḥasan ibn al-Pērōzān, a nephew⁶⁶⁰ of the fallen Mākān, occupied Gurgan and the district of Qumis, which had

654 Misk. I 353, 378–382, 410f.; Šūli 89, 134f.; (= Šūli/Canard 77); 'Awfī 165, no. 675; Elias 129; Athīr VIII 109f.

655 Misk. I 398–404; Thomas Arc. 243; Athīr VIII 113. Ross, Dyn. 212.

656 Misk. I 411; Athīr VIII 115.

657 Misk. II 3–6; Ibn Isf. 219; Gard. 31; Šūli/Canard II 17 and n. 4; Elias 130; Athīr VIII 116, 119.

658 Athīr VIII 116f.

659 Athīr VIII 16.

660 In Misk.: brother-in-law.

been gained in battle with Vashmgīr, who also lost Rayy,⁶⁶¹ Vashmgīr was compelled to submit⁶⁶² to the Samanids at Sāriya. After Naṣr II relinquished the rule (probably on 31 May 942 = 12 Ram. AH 330) and died of pulmonary consumption (on 10 April 943 = 1 Sha'b. AH 331),⁶⁶³ the succession of his son Nūh I took place naturally and without any significant disruption of the state in the following months, | although the caliph was not consulted.⁶⁶⁴ The theologian [95] Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sulamī was made the chief minister, though he lacked the title of vizier for a long time. From this time onwards, Vashmgīr grew more dependable, and in him this dynasty gained a welcome champion against the Buyids.

The occupation of Rayy triggered the first direct Buyid attack on the Samanid sphere of power. (Rukn al-Dawla) al-Ḥasan soon conquered the city and forced Vashmgīr, who had now become the Samanids' feudal retainer, to retreat to Khurasan (early June 943 = early Ram. AH 331).⁶⁶⁵ After a failed attempt at reconquering Rayy on Samanid orders in 944–45 (AH 333)⁶⁶⁶ from here, he occupied Gurgan for the Samanids with the help of Abū 'Alī.⁶⁶⁷ Simultaneously, a power shift took place in Azerbaijan when the Shi'ite commander of the fortress of Shamīrān (in the district of Ṭārom in Gilan), Marzbān ibn Muḥammad ibn Musāfir, forced the local ruler Daysam⁶⁶⁸ to flee to Armenia and to Ardabil. Since the Daylamis in his army as well as some of the Kurds went over to the enemy, who were also fighting with the help of Daylami soldiers, Daysam eventually had to surrender and was detained.⁶⁶⁹ Thus a new victory was won for the Daylami and Shi'ite cause, which, while it did not immediately benefit the

661 Athīr VIII 127; Šūlī 231 (see Šūlī/Canard II 62⁴).

662 Misk. II 7f.; Šūlī 197; Athīr VIII 126.

663 Thus Narsh. 94. Gard. 32 has Jum. II. Šūlī 237 (without date); Siyāsāt-nāma 190–92. Alleged relations between him and the Uighur *qaghan* in Kan-chou, as constructed by Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 84ff.), are unhistorical, see *EI* IV 158 (s.v. Sandābil).

664 Gard. 32; Šūlī 237, 284; Athīr VIII 130f.; Must. 383. The revolt of a nobleman in Khwarazm was soon suppressed with Turkish help: Athīr VIII 135; Narsh. 94. *EI* III 1025f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 246–49; Oliver 96f.

665 Ibn Isf. 219–22; Athīr VIII 127; Ibn Khall./Wüst. II 110f., no. 175.

666 Athīr VIII 146.

667 Ibid. 146.

668 Kasravī I 58–63. See p. 94 above.

669 Misk. II 31–37; Šūlī 232 (appointment of a Ḥamdānid as the caliph's governor for Armenia and Azerbaijan); Athīr VIII 125f. Amedroz, 'Notes', 174; Huart, 'Les Mosafirides de l'Adherbaïdjan', 228; Zambaur 180; *EI* III 803 (s.v. Musāfirides); Šūlī/Canard II 62¹; Kasravī I 41–43, 63–70; II 36f.

Buyids, still contributed considerably to the containment of further Samanid forays westwards. In 944 it was Marz(u)bān who halted a Russian (Varangian) raid which came from across the Caspian Sea and the Kura river as far as Barda'a by ship, despite the Ḥamdānids attempt to intervene.⁶⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the Russians, among whom | an epidemic was raging, were able to escape to [96] their ships with considerable booty at the last minute.⁶⁷¹

The Buyids at the Peak of their Power

As a result of the new consolidation of the Samanids' position of power, Abū 'Alī ibn Muḥtāj was able to retake Rayy from the Buyids on the orders of the Samanids at this time. Buyid power might soon have come to an end because of this, even despite the outbreak of quarrels between Abū 'Alī and Nuḥ I, which ended with the rebels occupying Hamadan, Nahavand and Dinavar. However, (Mu'izz al-Dawla) Aḥmad was able in 945 to advance from southwest Persia, so far his uncontested area of power, to Wāsiṭ (5 March 945 = 30 Rajab AH 333) and then to march to Baghdad, which he reached in the middle of December 945.⁶⁷² For the first time an Islamic dynasty that had risen in Iran had succeeded in also taking Mesopotamia. The fact that it was a Shi'ite dynasty made the situation less comfortable for the Commander of the Faithful, and only when the caliph al-Mustakfī (29 January 946 = 22 Jum. II AH 334) was replaced with his enemy, the prince al-Muṭī', was Abbasid approval forthcoming.⁶⁷³ The three Daylami brothers had taken only about twelve years to establish themselves in this way. And even if it was not possible for them to gain their own position of power in the north of Iran amidst the turmoil of power struggles and even if they had not been able to assert themselves against the Samanids, the southwest of Persia (Fars and Khuzistan) was nevertheless firmly in their hands. In addition, the supervision of the caliphate secured for them new, so far unknown possibilities of at least indirect influence in areas they did not

670 That this happened at Maragha (thus Misk. and others) is probably only a scribal error, perhaps for Barda'a (see D.S. Margoliouth, *GMS* VI 100, for the corresponding passage); Dorn, *Schirw.* 547f.; Kasravī I 70–83.

671 Misk. II 62–67 (explained by Jakobovskiy in *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* XXXIV, 1926, 63–92); Ibn Ḥawq.² 336; Athīr VIII 134f.; Abū 'l-Fidā II 426. Melgunof 63, n. 2–4 (with further bibliography).

672 The stated II Jum. I AH 334 = 19 Dec. was a Friday, not a Sunday. For an index of the Buyid emirs in Mesopotamia see Zambaur 9.

673 Misk. II 84–86; Šūlī 262 f.; Elias 131; Athīr VIII 146–48; Must. 351; Ibn Khall./Wüst. I 98f. (no. 71).

control but which maintained (albeit, like the Samanids, only reluctantly) connections with the caliphate.

The position of the Buyids in Mesopotamia, the political dispute with the Ḥamdānids in Syria and north Mesopotamia⁶⁷⁴ and the internal fights here and on the Arabian border cannot be discussed here. However, it was highly [97] significant for the development of Iran that | Iran now encroached upon the Arabized settlement area on the Euphrates and Tigris, just as in the past Baghdad had done upon the Persian uplands. Then, as now, such a coexistence in one realm also left traces in other fields: cultural, administrative and economic; now, however, the west – east direction was, even more so than in the past 150 years, replaced by an east – west one.

Militarily the advance of the Buyids into Mesopotamia was offset by a very dangerous rebellion of Abū ‘Alī against Nūḥ I.⁶⁷⁵ Relations between them had deteriorated because of mutual distrust. Now Abū ‘Alī allied himself with Nūḥ’s uncle Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad who lived in Mosul. In an energetic foray between April 946 and January 947 they managed to advance via Hamadan, Rayy, Nishapur and Marv as far as Bukhara. Only a rift between the two former allies, which prompted the Samanid prince to join his nephew, compelled Abū ‘Alī to give up Bukhara (947 III/26–IV/24 = Ram. AH 334). Meanwhile his brother Faḍl had to surrender to the Samanid troops and took up service with them.⁶⁷⁶ Now Nūḥ could breathe again and consider the arrangement of affairs in Khurasan and force Abū ‘Alī to surrender in 948 XII/6–949 I/3 (Jum. II AH 337) after extended fighting between Balkh, Tirmidh and Chaghāniyān. In return for giving one of his sons as hostage he was granted mercy, but his power was broken, even though in spring 952 the supreme command over Nishapur was granted to him once again for the period of two years.⁶⁷⁷ The opportunity to confront the Buyids in the decisive years of this conflict, when ‘Imād al-Dawla was able to take Rayy from them,⁶⁷⁸ passed during all this peripheral fighting. On the other hand, despite repeated campaigns (autumn 947,⁶⁷⁹ 952/53, 953/54, 954/55 and 962 II/9–III/10)⁶⁸⁰ the Buyids could not drive Vashmgīr ibn Ziyār, the loyal ally of the Samanids, out of his home districts of Mazandaran

674 See ‘Awfī 243, no. 1918.

675 See p. 96 above.

676 Misk. II 100–3; Gard. 33–36. For general information about the Buyids see Siddiqi II 109–26; for the Samanids in this period: *ibid.* 260–68.

677 Gard. 36f.; Athīr VIII 163, 167.

678 Misk. II 115, 117f; Gard. 38; Athīr VIII 151–53, 154.

679 Rabī I AH 336 = 947 IX/20–X/19.

680 Misk. II 120, 190f.; Gard. 40; Athīr VIII 157f., 163, 167, 169, 179.

and Gorgan.⁶⁸¹ While he had to flee every single time, he could always evade them and disappear into the neighbouring regions (Khurasan or also Gilan) and then return after the withdrawal of the Buyid troops. He was not deposed until 966 (AH 355) when the Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir II from Sistan invaded during preparations for a Samanid campaign against the Buyids. | After he had been topped, [98] Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad (ibn) al-Dā‘ī drove him away⁶⁸² and Vashmgīr died soon afterwards after falling off his horse or after having been wounded by a wild boar during a hunt on 7 Dec. 967 (1 Muḥ. AH 357).⁶⁸³ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad asserted himself here successfully against other Alid contestants for the time being.⁶⁸⁴

All these events, along with the quelling of a revolt under Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq in Ṭus (947–48 = AH 336),⁶⁸⁵ during which the Buyids were unable to intervene, showed that the Samanid state was limited to Transoxania and Khurasan with suzerainty over Gorgan and Mazandaran. Excursions by the Khurasanians against Hamadan and Isfahan in 950–51, against Isfahan and Rayy in 955 and against Rayy in 966 remained unsuccessful.⁶⁸⁶ Muḥammad, who had remained in Ṭus after his defeat, tried in vain to stand his ground with a Buyid army in 948–49 and 949–50 against the relatives of the ruler of Azerbaijan, Marz(u)bān I, of the house of the Sālārīds, who himself had been arrested, along with the Kurdish chieftain Daysam.⁶⁸⁷ In 953–54, however, it was Daysam who had to retreat from Marz(u)bān, who had by that time escaped from his imprisonment. But Marz(u)bān did not receive any effective help from Armenia or the Iraqī Buyid Mu‘izz al-Dawla, so that in an attempt at restitution he was taken captive, blinded and later executed (957 XI/26–XII/25 = Ram. AH 346).⁶⁸⁸ The succession then passed to his brother Vehsūdḥān I and his son Jastān I (or Justān).⁶⁸⁹ When he clashed with the ruler of Armenia in 960 (AH 349) and another Alid attempted to intervene, Vahsūdḥān established

681 TS 329–32 and 329 n.6. Other sources do not mention this campaign, which was unfavourable for the Samanids; it may have been deliberately hushed up.

682 Athīr VIII 189.

683 Misk. II 222f.; Ibn Isf. 125; Gard. 45 (wild boar); Athīr VIII 190f.

684 Athīr VIII 198f.

685 Ibid. 155.

686 Misk. II 132f., 137–43, 154f., 159–61, 222–28; Athīr VIII 161–63, 169, 188. Wiet 173f.

687 Misk. II 133–35; Athīr VIII 158f. Kasravī III 8.

688 Athīr VIII 165–67. *EI* III 803f.; Schwarz VI 700; Kasravī I 83–110.

689 Misk. II 166f.; Ibn Ḥawq. 251–55; Athīr VIII 172. See Justi, *Namb.* 341 (no. 4) and 114 (no. 4); Ross, *Dyn.* 342 and genealogical table II.

himself as the ruler of this region⁶⁹⁰ and defended it in 966 (AH 355) against a nephew.⁶⁹¹

[99] The position of the Buyids remained untouched by all this strife in north-west Persia. Just as they owed past successes mainly to their solidarity, this was also their strength in the future. After the death of ‘Imād al-Dawla on 11 Nov. 946 (16 Jum. I AH 338)⁶⁹² in Shiraz, his nephew ‘Aḍud al-Dawla Panā(h) Khosrau came into his inheritance in Fars according to the wishes of the deceased.⁶⁹³ He was the most efficient, versatile and farsighted of all the Buyids and soon became the revered head of the family, if this can be said without downplaying his relatives too much, especially his father Rukn al-Dawla, who died in 976 VIII/30–IX/28 (Muh. AH 366).⁶⁹⁴ The Buyid state owed its final consolidation⁶⁹⁵ as well as its systematic internal reconstruction to this ruler, and with him it reached its greatest extent.

This soon had a negative effect on the situation of the Samanid state after the death of Nūḥ I, the ‘praised emir’ (Monday 28 Aug. 954 = 26 Rabī‘ I AH 343),⁶⁹⁶ and that of his son and successor ‘Abd al-Malik I (20 Nov. 961),⁶⁹⁷ despite the younger Bal‘amī being the vizier (961–74).⁶⁹⁸ This was due not only to the Buyids’ increasing power and their refusal to pay tribute,⁶⁹⁹ but also to increasingly intense Isma‘ili propaganda⁷⁰⁰ and a devastating epidemic.⁷⁰¹ Furthermore, the *dēhkāns*, who were still the leading class in Khurasan and Transoxania, became more obstinate in their demands for independence from the state and the less efficient rulers of the Samanid bloodline (beginning with

690 Athīr VIII 174f. Kasravī I 44–48, II 37, 39.

691 Misk. II 136, 143–54, 156f.; Athīr VIII 187. The defeated Ibrāhīm ibn al-Marz(u)bān fled to Rukn al-Dawla in Rayy. His attempt to return failed according to Athīr VIII 188f. See Ross, *Dyn.* 212–15 (see *JRAS* 1924, 617–19); Huart, ‘Les Mosāfrides de l’Ādhaerbaīdjan’, 229–56; Vasmer, ‘Zur Chronologie der Ġastāniden und Sallāriden’, 168–86; Rabino, *Dyn. Loc.* 308–13.

692 According to Athīr VIII 159f. he died in 949 XI/26–XII/24 = Jum. II AH 338.

693 Nikbī 123f.; Elias 132; Ibn Khall./Wüst. v 80; Zark. 31 (wrong date). *EI* I 151f. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla was born on 24 Sept. 936 = 5 Dhū ‘l-q. AH 324.

694 Browne, *Isf.* 665; Athīr VIII 221.

695 Smaller revolts (e. g. 956–57 = AH 345) in Ahvaz and Wāsiṭ were easily suppressed: Athīr VIII 170.

696 Gard. 39 states it was Rabī‘ II = 954 IX/2 30.

697 Narsh. 95f.; Misk. II 157, 161, 189; Sam. 90 r; Gard. 39–42; Must. 384f.; Siyāsāt-nāma 98–108; Athīr VIII 176.

698 Gard. 46; ‘Awfī 206, no. 1450. See *EI* I 638f.

699 ‘Awfī 171, no. 787.

700 Fih. 188.

701 Athīr VIII 168f.

al-Manṣūr I, 961–76) were no longer a match for them. The year 965 (AH 354) also saw the dangerous rebellion of a governor in Sistan as internal party divisions appeared here, too, and the battles for this region dragged on over many years.⁷⁰² The nobles and the *dēhkāns* did not suspect at that time that they were digging their own graves | by weakening the Samanid state. That it was [100] weakening had already become very much apparent when Bal‘amī’s rival, the restless Turkish general Alptigin, defeated the Samanid army in 962.⁷⁰³ The power of the members of the Turkish dynasty grew continuously and, since after the conversion to Islam of large numbers of their people they were no longer regarded as religious enemies,⁷⁰⁴ fighters for the faith were actually withdrawn from the borders of Khurasan,⁷⁰⁵ which soon made this country as well as Transoxania the prey of new Turkish rulers.

The Samanids were not able to engage in any real international politics and consequently it was possible for the Buyids, after strengthening their rule in northwest Persia and arranging matters in Mesopotamia in 968 (AH 357), to expand their power and thus ‘Aḍud al-Dawla conquered Kirman.⁷⁰⁶ Ibn Abī Ilyās al-Yasa‘ had consolidated his power there in several battles against his brother and his father, Abū Muḥammad ibn Ilyās, who had eventually been forced to abdicate and go into exile to Rayy, dying there in 967 = AH 356.⁷⁰⁷ He then took in some deserters from the ranks of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, but some of his own chiefs defected to ‘Aḍud al-Dawla. Then, in 967 XII/7–968 I/5 (Ram. AH 357), the Buyids attacked the country from Fars while al-Yasa‘ was absent for military reasons, and annexed it for himself after repelling a Samanid intervention in 970.⁷⁰⁸ At this time Sistan also submitted to Buyid suzerainty. This was yet another heavy blow to the reputation of the Samanid state⁷⁰⁹ and all the more so as they were not able to re-conquer the region despite the support

702 Ibn Ḥawq. II 348; Muq. 337f.; Narsh. 96f.; Nikbī 117f.; Gard. 43–47; Athīr VIII 185 f. See EI III 278f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 249–52; Oliver 97f; Jakubovskiy, Mach. 72f.

703 Nikbī 120–23; Gard. 42f.; Athīr VIII 179.

704 In 965 a ‘Turkish’ division accepted Islam during an attack on the Khazars when asked to do so by the Khwarazmians, in order to receive their support: Athīr VIII 186. See p. 88 above, p. 143 below and Barthold, *Vorl.* 62–67.

705 Athīr VIII 182: 5,000 fighters for the faith from Khurasan were used in the Jazīra against Byzantines and Armenians.

706 Misk. II 249–53.

707 Athīr VIII 168, 170. On Abū ‘Alī, who is not to be confused with the Samanid general mentioned above on p. 96f., see EI I 81f.

708 Al-Yasa‘ went to the Samanids and soon after died in Khwarazm from a stomach complaint: Athīr VIII, 217.

709 Misk. II 232–37; Athīr VIII 193f.

shown by the Qufş and the Baluch, who turned against ‘Aḏud al-Dawla and his general Kōrgōz in open rebellion.⁷¹⁰ The Qufş (Wednesday 13 Dec. 970 = 10 Şaf. AH 360) and the Baluch were defeated (Monday 1 Jan. 972 = 11 Rabī‘ I AH 361)⁷¹¹ and forced to | convert to Islam in what is one of the rare cases – aside from India – where such an event is reported from the east. A part of the population also had to leave their ancestral home in the mountains and settle in the lowlands.⁷¹² After the failure of a local leader’s revolt in Kirman (974–75 = AH 364) during ‘Aḏud al-Dawla’s conquest of the region (973–74),⁷¹³ the country remained securely in Buyid possession, at least for the time being.

Buyid power in Mesopotamia was greatly weakened, not only by the advances of the Byzantines under John Tzimiskes into Syria and Palestine (especially in 975),⁷¹⁴ frequent clashes with the Byzantines at the border of Asia Minor, conflicts with rebellious Turks⁷¹⁵ and also with the Ḥamdānids⁷¹⁶ in northern Mesopotamia, but also by the Fatimids establishing themselves in Egypt (969). The Buyids were also financially constrained by the tribute they had paid to the Samanids for some years (which had consisted of 150,000 dinars a year)⁷¹⁷ in order for them to remain inactive, and a new centre of power could now develop in western Iran, which did not threaten them directly but which made itself uncomfortably felt. The Kurds had already gained a rather independent position in Azerbaijan. Now one of their chieftains, Ḥasanōē (Ḥasanwayh) ibn al-Ḥusayn, managed to establish a power base for himself in the region between Dinavar and Ahvaz (comprising Khuzistan, Burūgird, Asadābād, Nahavand and some fortresses in Jibāl). Initially the Buyids had supported him, as his early activities had been hostile to the Samanids, but by the end of 969 they were already fighting him.⁷¹⁸ Nevertheless, he held his

710 Athīr VIII 201. Kōrgōz was arrested soon afterwards by ‘Aḏud al-Dawla; *ibid.* 203.

711 Thus Misk.; Athīr speaks of 19 Rabī‘ I = 9 Jan. 972.

712 Misk. II 298–301; Athīr VIII 202f.

713 Misk. II 359–61; Athīr VIII 213.

714 Ostrogorsky 210.

715 Athīr VIII 212 (for the clash between Bakhtiyār and Sübüktigin in Khuzistan see p. 107f. below).

716 Athīr VIII 230f. (in 977–78 = AH 367, after having established himself in Mesopotamia, ‘Aḏud al-Dawla also temporarily occupied the Ḥamdānid territory there).

717 Athīr VIII 207.

718 Misk. II 270–74; Athīr VIII 199f. See Bergmann, ‘Beiträge zur muhammedanischen Münzkunde’, 145–58 (this gives a general overview of the history of this dynasty, with a genealogical table); *EI* II 300.

own against them until his death (Saturday 27 Sept. 979 = 3 Rabī' I AH 369)⁷¹⁹ and also stood firm against his relatives. However, the diverse political aims of his sons then led to a crisis. 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who in the meantime had conquered the Ḥamdānid and Shaybānid territories in northern Mesopotamia,| [102] was temporarily able to occupy Kurdistan and the land of the Hakkārī Kurds in the mountains of Mosul. Only after Ḥasanwayh's son Badr had removed his brothers because of a 'conspiracy' was he able to take up the inheritance of his father, assert himself against Buyids and Samanids,⁷²⁰ and protect the neighbouring peasants from having their lands devastated by keeping a firm rein on his Kurds.⁷²¹

Yet the real danger for the Buyids was not Ḥasanwayh or his son, and even less so, due to an armistice,⁷²² the 13 year-old Samanid Abū 'l-Qāsim Nūḥ II (al-Manṣūr or al-Rāḍī),⁷²³ who had reigned since the middle of June 976 (middle of Shaw. AH 365) and was to have the vizier 'Utbi at his side in 977–982, but rather the Turkish general Sübüktigin. The latter had risen in the service of the Samanid commander of Ghazna (Ghaznī) in eastern Iran, Abū Ishāq ibn Alptigin,⁷²⁴ and had been appointed after his death as his successor and commander by the officers around him. He had distinguished himself with several successes in the Indian frontier region⁷²⁵ and thus from the start indicated the path in which his descendants would follow in the interest of Islam. However, after a breach of trust on the part of the ruler of Bust he extended his sphere of influence northwards⁷²⁶ and displayed his might through interventions in the internal Ṣaffārid power struggles in Sistan.⁷²⁷

Despite these threatening signs the two main opponents, the Buyids and Samanids, did not end their quarrels. When Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs,⁷²⁸ the

719 Misk. II 415; Sharaf-nāma 39. 3 Rabī', given by both, was, however, a Sunday, not Saturday. For this dynasty see Zambaur 211.

720 Misk. II 415f.; Rud. 9–12; Athīr VIII 234–36, IX 2; Sharaf-nāma 39–41 (here also the later history of this Kurdish tribe). *EI* I 582 (Badr).

721 Rud. 287–91.

722 Gard. 47.

723 Athīr VIII 223. Gard. 47 has II Shaw. AH 365 = 12 June 978. The date given by Nikbī 112 does not correspond to the day of the week he names. For Nūḥ II see *EI* III 1026f.; Browne I 371f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 252–54, 262–65; Oliver 98–102.

724 See *EI* I 337. 'Awfī 154, no. 388; Must. 385.

725 Athīr VIII 227f.; 'Awfī 153, no. 349.

726 Athīr VIII 227; 'Awfī 222, no. 1648.

727 'Utbi 23–34, 53–61; TS 336–45.

728 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VI 45–47 (no. 550). See Justi, *Namb.* 335 (no. 14); *EI* II 637f.; Melgunof 58; Rabino, *Maz.* 418. For his literary activities see *GAL* S I 154.

ruler of Mazandaran, who had reigned since 976–77 (AH 366) as the successor of his brother Ṣāḥir al-Dawla Bīsūtūn ibn Vashmgīr,⁷²⁹ refused to hand over the Buyid's defected brother, Fakhr al-Dawla,⁷³⁰ 'Aḍud al-Dawla had an army march into Gurgan under his other brother Mu'ayyad al-Dawla and forced Qābūs to flee to Khurasan | (981 XI/2–XII/1 = Jum. I AH 371). Despite [103] the fact that Qābūs was supported by the Samanids and had some initial successes against Buyid troops (982 II/28–III/29 = Ram. AH 371) he was not able to establish himself again.⁷³¹ At the instigation of Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-'Utbi, Nūḥ II had recently deposed Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sīmjūr, the leader of the most influential noble clan in his realm,⁷³² who was the ruler of the fief of Kohistan and governor of Khurasan since 962 and had also been so in 958–60. Shortly afterwards Sīmjūr attempted to have 'Utbi killed, but in the end 'Utbi recovered from the attack.⁷³³ The increasing despotism and the concomitant internal decay of the Samanid state can be seen clearly in these deeds. After Sīmjūr's return in 968 this led to Khurasan, which was by now nearly completely beyond Samanid influence, being virtually divided into three between him, together with his son Abū 'Alī (in Herat), his helper Fā'iq (in Balkh) and the former vizier Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās Ṭash (in Nishapur and also a military governor).⁷³⁴ As a natural consequence there was a resurgence of conflict between the three, which raged from 982–83 (AH 373) and in which the Samanids and Buyids intervened as well.⁷³⁵

But the Buyid state also fell to pieces, when after the death of the powerful and imposing 'Aḍud al-Dawla (Monday 26 March 983 = 8 Shaw. AH 372)⁷³⁶ chaotic quarrels broke out between his sons. Abū Kālījār,⁷³⁷ who bore the honorific name (*laqab*) Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, assigned the district of Fars to his two brothers (Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad) Tāj al-Dawla and (Abū Ṭāhir Pērōzshāh) Diyā'

729 Gard. 45f.; Athīr VIII 228. See Justi, *Namb.* 69 (no. 1).

730 See *EI* II 46.

731 Rud. 15–17, 24, 28; Nikbī 125–29; Ibn Isf. 226.; Athīr IX 4f.; 'Awfī 168, no. 736.

732 List of the members in Sam. 323 r and v as well as in Justi, *Namb.* 301; see 'Awfī 200, no. 1342.

733 So Nikbī 129f.; Gard. 49f.; 'Awfī 213, no. 1534.

734 'Utbi 61–71, 72–83 = Nikbī 131–34; Gard. 48f.; Athīr IX 9. See *EI* I 96.

735 'Utbi 83/93, 95/106 = Nikbī 134/6, 138/43; Gard. 50f.; Athīr IX 10f. Abū 'l-'Abbās Ṭash fled to Fakhr al-Dawla, who let him have Gurgan with Astarābād. From there he undertook vain restitution attempts and died in 986–87 (AH 377) or in 989–90 (AH 379) from an epidemic; he may have been poisoned (Nikbī 143–49).

736 Rud. 39–77 (detailed); Nikbī 136; Athīr IX 7f.; Ibn Khall./Wüst. VI 30–33; Zark. 32 (wrong date).

737 See Justi, *Namb.* 153 (no. 2); *EI* IV 148.

al-Dawla, while the excluded fourth brother (Abū 'l-Fawāris Shērzil; Persian: Shērdil) Sharaf al-Dawla⁷³⁸ succeeded in taking the city of Shiraz from Kirman and afterwards naturally dispensed with any collaboration with his brother in Baghdad. His brother had his father's experienced Christian vizier, Naṣr ibn | [104] Hārūn, executed,⁷³⁹ and after the death of Mu'ayyad al-Dawla (983 1/8–11/5 = Sha'b. AH 373) the previously ousted Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla, who had also fallen out with Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, could assert himself in Gurgan, which he did in the following month.⁷⁴⁰ He retained his father's minister Abū 'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abbād al-Ṭāliqānī⁷⁴¹ until his death in March 995, but soon he had to fight revolts in Qom and Dāmghān (987–88 = AH 378).⁷⁴² These events, which were furthermore accompanied by clashes between Kurds and Daylamis in Mesopotamia,⁷⁴³ soon destroyed the stability of the Buyid regime.

They also enabled Sharaf al-Dawla to actively proceed from Fars against his brother (Abū 'l-Ḥusayn) Tāj al-Dawla, who refused to acknowledge him and to collaborate with him. Sharaf al-Dawla compelled him to flee to their uncle Fakhr al-Dawla, who soon quarrelled with him and ordered his execution. In the meantime Sharaf al-Dawla occupied Ahvaz and Basra and forced his other brother Ṣamṣām al-Dawla to have him named first in the *khuṭba*.⁷⁴⁴ But this arrangement did not remain in place for long as Sharaf al-Dawla pushed his brother completely out of Mesopotamia and then took him captive (985–86 = AH 376).⁷⁴⁵ The result was that now quarrels broke out between Daylamis and Turks in Baghdad.⁷⁴⁶ Sharaf al-Dawla's attempt to proceed against the Kurdish ruler Badr, because of the latter's favouring of Fakhr al-Dawla, failed, however, and cost him the loss of Qirmīsīn (Kirmānshāh). Badr now extended his area of influence into the southern Kurdish territory,⁷⁴⁷ while the influence of the Buyids continuously decreased (986–87 = AH 377). Sharaf al-Dawla died young in 988–89 (AH 379) and his successor, another brother (Abū Naṣr Pērōz Khārshādh) Bahā' al-Dawla, began to quarrel with the former's son Abū 'Ali. The latter temporarily asserted himself in Fars, but, weakened by fratricidal fighting between his Turkish and Daylami troops, he was then arrested

738 Justī, *Namb.* 298 (no. 7).

739 Rud. 80, 90; Athīr IX 8. Wiet 93f.

740 Rud. 91–100; Athīr IX 9.

741 See Yāq., *Irsh.* II 273–343; Ibn Khall./Wüst. no. 95. *EI* II 374; *GAL* S I 198f.

742 Qommī 8; Athīr IX 11, 20.

743 Rud. 97; Athīr IX 14.

744 Athīr IX 15.

745 Rud. 120–133; Athīr IX 16; Yāq. VIII 465.

746 Athīr IX 17, 19.

747 *Ibid.* 18.

by Bahā' al-Dawla after an apparent reconciliation in Wāsiṭ (around 9 August 900 = middle of Jum. II AH 380) and executed on his orders.⁷⁴⁸ When renewed Turkish–Daylami clashes broke out in Baghdad, and Fakhr al-Dawla advanced from Rayy via Hamadan into Mesopotamia,⁷⁴⁹ the Buyid state largely | succumbed to internal disintegration. The Ḥamdānids were able to return to Mosul again,⁷⁵⁰ the Marwānids established themselves in Diyarbakir (989–90 = AH 380),⁷⁵¹ and out of greed Bahā' al-Dawla brought al-Ṭā'i's caliphate to a violent end in 991 X/13–XI/10 (Sha'b. AH 381).⁷⁵² In 989–90 (AH 380), after ultimately unsuccessful battles, Bahā' al-Dawla had to give Fars and Arraghān to his brother Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, who had been blinded after Sharaf al-Dawla's death and then released. He himself remained chief emir (*amīr al-umarā'*) in Mesopotamia, but despite mutual promises of help,⁷⁵³ the Buyids' position in Iran was crumbling; so much so that a new ruler in Sistan, Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, the son of a Ṣaffārid princess, and his son 'Amr, could take control of Kirman at least temporarily (991–92), an undertaking in which he had failed in 982.⁷⁵⁴

The power of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was consolidated when he re-conquered Kirman and suppressed the revolt of the sons of Abū Manṣūr Bakhtiyār 'Izz al-Dawla (son of Mu'izz al-Dawla)⁷⁵⁵ in Shiraz,⁷⁵⁶ so that he also briefly had control of Khuzistan.⁷⁵⁷ However, it fell back into Bahā' al-Dawla's hands the following year, while Ṣamṣām al-Dawla ended up in a Turkish ambush at Shushtar and had to retreat.⁷⁵⁸ After his return to Fars he took revenge on the Turkish troops in the army there (995 = AH 386), some of whom then escaped to Kirman and Sind, but were not able to avoid their fate.⁷⁵⁹ The fights against Bahā' al-Dawla's garrison in Ahvaz in the same year and then the advance to Basra in 996 (AH 386) were also mainly part of a jostling for position between

748 Rud. 147f.; Athīr IX 21. For Bahā' al-Dawla see *EI* I 595f.

749 Athīr IX 22.

750 Ibid. 23, 30.

751 Ibid. 23–26.

752 Ibid. 29, 32. See *EI* IV 671f.

753 Rud. 163–71, 182–84; Athīr IX 26.

754 Rud. 189–191; Athīr IX 28f. Regarding the government of Khalaf in Sistan, his fights with relatives and his relations with the Ghaznavids see p. 111 below and Nikbī 117–20.

755 See p. 93 above. Bakhtiyār had played an inglorious role in Persia under 'Aḍud al-Dawla and, after an attack on the Ḥamdānids, had been taken captive by 'Aḍud al-Dawla and executed on his orders; see *EI* I 626f.

756 'Utbi 310/4; Rud. 191/8; Athīr IX 33.

757 Athīr IX 33.

758 Rud. 257–60; Athīr IX 35f.

759 Rud. 264f.; Athīr IX 38. See *EI* 88 (s.v. Abū Dja'far).

the Turks and Daylamis.⁷⁶⁰ Consequently, Şamsām al-Dawla excluded all those troops from his army who were not really Daylami (and Shi'ite) with the result that the dismissed troops united with other dissatisfied elements. These rebels repelled an army that was sent against them and finally drained the Buyid emir's resources to the extent that | the mayor of the small town of Dūdman, [106] two days from Shiraz, was able to take the emir captive and to deliver him to Abū Naşr ibn Bakhtiyār, one of the leaders of the rebels, who had him executed after nine years of ruling at the age of 35 and a half lunar years (998 XI/24–XII/22 = Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 388).⁷⁶¹

Thus Bahā' al-Dawla's rule in Iraq was completely secured, for in the meantime (997 VIII/9–IX/6 = Sha'b. AH 387) Fakhr al-Dawla had also died in Rayy from a stomach illness.⁷⁶² His sphere of influence (Jibāl) had been divided between his two very young sons (Abū Ṭālib Rustam) Majd al-Dawla, who was four years old, and (Abū Ṭāhir) Shams al-Dawla, who had Hamadan and Qirmīsīn as far as the borders of Mesopotamia. Their mother, Lady (*sayyida*) Shīrīn (d. 1028 = AH 419), became the regent. She was the daughter of Rustam, the *ispāhbadh* of Mazandaran, who had ruled in Firīm at least temporarily (966, 977–8) with his brother Shahriyār (948–84).⁷⁶³ Under these circumstances, and based on a treaty with the leaders of the rebellious troops, in 999 (AH 389) Bahā' al-Dawla was able to occupy Khuzistan, Fars and then also Kirman after overcoming the local resistance. The two leading officers had to flee after a time⁷⁶⁴ and Abū Naşr's attempt to regain Kirman, advancing from Daylam, ended in 1000 V/9–VI/6 (Jum. II AH 390) with his defeat and subsequent death during the pursuit.⁷⁶⁵ Thus the Buyid territory in Mesopotamia and in southern Persia was concentrated in the hands of Bahā' al-Dawla. The emir tried to win the favour of the population by recalling all the governors who were too self-seeking.⁷⁶⁶ This was so successful that the advance of Ṭāhir ibn Khalaf,

760 Athīr IX 39, 43.

761 Rud. 311–14; Athīr IX 49. Wiet 94f.

762 Rud. 296f.; Nikbī 204. Wiet 176.

763 Athīr IX 45. The complete decline of economic circumstances in Rayy since this regency is shown in the high degree of copper alloy in the silver dirhams, making them look like *fals*, see Miles, *Numismatic History*, 8–21, no. 14–39. This situation prevailed until 1016, when the Buyid minting activity in Rayy stopped completely, to be taken up again only in 1029 by Maḥmūd of Ghazna (see the notice of the abovementioned work by Minorsky in *BSOAS* X, 1942, 1023f.). *EI* III 101f.; Rabino, *Maz.* 420; Casanova, *Les Ispehbeds de Firim* (about Rustam).

764 Rud. 315–32; Athīr IX 52. See *EI* IV 29f. (s.v. Sābūr).

765 Athīr IX 56.

766 *Ibid.* 56; 'Utbi 387/91.

who was on hostile terms with his father, from Sistan to Kirman (1001 = AH 391) failed because of the resistance of the population.⁷⁶⁷ Bahā' al-Dawla's position of power therefore proved to be unshakeable, making the Buyids still a factor to be reckoned with in Iran.

[107]

The End of the Samanids

The position of the Buyids counted for little, however, vis-à-vis the far-reaching changes that had taken place in previous years in the east of the Persian settlement area and in Transoxania, in the wake of which the political picture of these countries had been completely changed. Through the population shifts of the eighth century the Turkish Qarluqs (Persian 'Khallukh', Tibetan 'Garlog') had moved into the 'land of seven rivers' around Lake Balkhash and into parts of the Tarim basin, where large numbers of them would be Islamized in the tenth century. At the same time one dynasty (Āl Afrāsiyāb) asserted itself among them, who were called the Ilig-Khāns ('country lords') or Qarakhanids ('black lords') and who had their residence in the city of Balāsāghūn on the upper Chu (west of Lake Issyk Kul) at that time.⁷⁶⁸ With the growing weakness of the Samanid state, they directed their attention to the agriculturally rich oases in Transoxania. Their first attack, under Boghra Khān⁷⁶⁹ Shihāb al-Dawla Hārūn (al-Ḥasan) ibn Sulaymān, against Bukhara, was repelled by Nūḥ II personally.⁷⁷⁰ But then a quarrel broke out between the feudal lord of Kohistan, Abū 'Alī ibn Sīmjūr,⁷⁷¹ who had been appointed his father's successor (in 989 III/12–IV/10 = Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 378) in Khurasan and had been a secret supporter of the Ilig Khans thus far, and his ally Fā'iq. When it degenerated into bloody battles, Boghra Khān saw a new chance to attack, especially as both parties called on him for help against the Samanid emir. The emir was forced to flee to Amul because of the renewed attack of Boghra Khān against his residence in Bukhara. Although the city was vacated by the Qarluqs once more, despite the fact that Abū 'Alī refused to help his feudal lord, it was only because the Qarakhanid died at that time.⁷⁷²

767 Athīr IX 58.

768 See the map in Pritsak, *Karach.*, in Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, no. 45 and 46–47, as well as in Spuler, 'Mittelasiien', 328–29.

769 *Boghra* = 'male camel'. For this totem (*ongun*) title see Pritsak, *Karach.* 52, 59.

770 Bayh. 196; Gard. 53f.; according to Athīr IX 33: 992 (AH 382).

771 See EI I 82.

772 Bayh. 196f.; 'Utbī 106/13 = Nikbī 152/61; Must. 386f.; Athīr IX 34; 'Awfī 199, no. 1325. Tolstov, *Civ.* 266. A genealogical table of this family is in Zambaur 205.

Now Abū ‘Alī and Fā’iq became reconciled and advanced together against Nūḥ II (May 992), leaving him no choice but to ask the effectively independent ruler in Herat, the former Turkish slave Sübüktigin (Sübeğtigin), for help and to confer upon him the administration of Khurasan in the name of the Samanids. Sübüktigin, together with his son Maḥmud, followed the call most eagerly. During the course of several confrontations the rebellious former governors were pushed to Gurgan and had to seek shelter with the Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla, and in one of these encounters Dārā ibn | Qābūs⁷⁷³ (Kā[v]ōs) of [108] Mazandaran defected to them. Khurasan came under Maḥmud’s administration, who had been left in Nishapur by his father when the latter moved to Herat, and Nuḥ II was able to return to Bukhara (Wednesday 17 Aug. 992 = 14 Jum. II AH 382).⁷⁷⁴ It also became possible once again for the two friends Abū ‘Alī and Fā’iq to invade Khurasan (995 IV/5–V/4 = Rabī’ I AH 385). However, due to quarrels concerning the details of warfare they were defeated in July⁷⁷⁵ at Tus by Nūḥ’s and Sübüktigin’s armies and then divided by the Samanid’s offer to grant Abū ‘Alī forgiveness if he agreed to abandon Fā’iq. The latter was soon arrested by the Khwarazm-Shāh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (mid-Sept. 996),⁷⁷⁶ but soon freed by Gurganjan troops, who in turn arrested and executed the Khwarazm-Shāh. In this way the Āfrīghid dynasty was eliminated. The former emir of Gurganjan, Ma’mūn ibn Muḥammad, united the two regions, which had been divided since 712, and now adopted the title ‘Khwarazm-Shāh.’⁷⁷⁷ Abū ‘Alī was also soon arrested treacherously by Nūḥ II and handed over to Sübüktigin, who had him incarcerated until his violent death (997 = AH 387). At the behest of the Qarakhanid Arslan Ilig (Naṣr ibn ‘Alī), who ruled in the west, Fā’iq, who had sought refuge with him, was granted the administration of Samarkand.⁷⁷⁸

Conditions seemed reasonably settled when Nūḥ II died on 23 July 997 (14 Rajab AH 387) and the Samanid realm effectively collapsed. His son and successor Abū ‘l-Ḥārith Maṣṣūr II ibn Nūḥ and his Turkish general Begtuzun were not able to withstand an attack of the Qarakhanid ruler, even though Maṣṣūr held out in Bukhara for some time.⁷⁷⁹ Immediately before his death, Sübüktigin (died 997 VIII/9–IX/6 = Sha‘b. AH 387 on a journey from

773 = Qābūs. Gard. 55. Justi, *Namb.* 79 (no. 25).

774 Bayh. 197, 201f.; Rud. 297–99; Gard. 54f.; ‘Utbī 113–29 = Nikbī 162–73; Jūzjānī 7f.; Athīr IX 35. Regarding Sübüktigin see Nāzīm 28–33.

775 Jum. II AH 385 = 995 VII/3–31.

776 1 Ram. AH 386 = 19 Sept. 996 was a Thursday, not, as stated, a Saturday. For the development of Khwarazm see p. 30f. above.

777 ‘Utbī 130f., 161f.; Gard. 57. See Tolstov, *Civ.* 234.

778 Bayh. 203–6; ‘Utbī 131–72 = Nikbī 173/96; Gard. 55–58; Athīr IX 37. See *EI* Turk. v 243.

779 Bayh. 638–41; Nikbī 197–204; Gard. 58–60. Must. 389f.; Athīr IX 44f. Barthold, *Turk.* 264–68; *EI* III 279; Oliver 102f.

Balkh to Ghazna) had, contrary to an earlier agreement, made Ismā'īl his successor.⁷⁸⁰ However, as soon as sultan⁷⁸¹ Maḥmūd had asserted himself [109] against his brother Ismā'īl after a fight lasting seven months, | the fate of Maṣṣūr II was sealed. Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who had received the honorary title Yamīn al-Dawla⁷⁸² from the Samanids,⁷⁸³ forged kinship ties with the Samanids' neighbours to the northwest⁷⁸⁴ by marrying his daughter to the son and successor of the ruler of Khwarazm (since the liberation of Abū 'Alī ibn Sīmjūr), namely 'Alī ibn Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad, and later to his brother and successor Abū 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn. At the same time he entered into alliance negotiations with the Qarakhanids. He consequently believed it to be his right to claim possession of the whole of Khurasan, a district in which shortly before (998 III/3–IV/1 = Rabī' I AH 388) Begtuzun had warded off a renewed attack of Fā'iq and Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Sīmjūr (the brother of Abū 'Alī). Maṣṣūr II tried in vain to satisfy Maḥmūd by leaving Tirmidh, Balkh and the region beyond Bust to him. The Ghaznavid quickly occupied Nishapur and then retreated before the approaching Samanid troops to Marv al-Rōdh, where he settled down to wait.⁷⁸⁵ There he made a treaty with Qābūs, who had returned to Gurgan after a long exile (Aug. 998) and had expelled the Buyid army from there. He succeeded in gradually taking control of the whole region with Astarābād and as far as Rūyān and Chālūs and in forcing the *ispāhbadh* into submission.⁷⁸⁶ After a brutal reign he was deposed in 1012–13 (AH 403) and eventually executed.⁷⁸⁷

An aristocratic conspiracy under the leadership of Begtuzun and Fā'iq resulted in the arrest and blinding of Maṣṣūr II on Wednesday 1 Feb. 999 (11 Ṣaf. AH 389), as well as his replacement by his brother 'Abd al-Malik II, who was a young child (Wednesday 8 Feb. 999 = 18 Ṣafar AH 389).⁷⁸⁸ This palace revolution in Bukhara gave Maḥmūd the opportunity to renew military operations. He defeated the two leaders of the aristocratic party on 19 May 999 (10 Jum. I AH 389) near Marv, and after some further skirmishes occupied

780 Gard. 58f.; 'Utbī 187/95; Athīr IX 45. For details on Maḥmūd's adolescence and the question of succession, see Nāzīm 34–41, further in general see *EI S* 101.

781 He had received this title shortly before, see p. 358 below.

782 'Utbī 214 = Nikbī 171 (also regarding his father).

783 See p. 359 below. He was born on 13 Nov. 970 (10 Muḥ. AH 360): Athīr IX 138 (see Nāzīm 34, n. 3).

784 Bīr., Togan 59. For the older Khwarazm-Shāhs see Zambaur 208.

785 'Utbī 172–77, 195–200; Athīr IX 47f. Maḥmūd's gradual disengagement from the Samanids is clearly expressed in the coinage; see p. 422 below.

786 'Utbī 251–75; Athīr IX 48f.

787 Ibid. 82; Ibn Isf. 229–32; 'Utbī 369–79.

788 Gard. 60 has Wednesday 12 Ṣafar (which was a Thursday, though). Oliver 103f.

the whole of Khurasan including Nishapur. There his brother Naṣr moved into the same position | that had previously been held by the Banū Sīmjūr with respect to the Samanids. While the local rulers (i.e. those in Gurgan and in Gharshistan)⁷⁸⁹ submitted to his suzerainty, Fā'iq managed to escape with the young emir directly to Bukhara, where Begtuzun, who had fled via Nishapur, joined them.⁷⁹⁰ [110]

Only now did the Qarakhanid Arslan Ilig Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Shams al-Dawla move. Since Fā'iq had died shortly before (999 VII/18–VIII/15 = Sha'b. AH 384) and a number of emirs had defected to the invader, and since the Muslim clergy in general had declared resistance against the equally Muslim Qarakhanids as pointless and contrary to religion,⁷⁹¹ it was not difficult for Arslan Ilig to enter Bukhara on Monday, 23 Oct. 999 (10 Dhū 'l-q. AH 389),⁷⁹² arrest the young 'Abd al-Malik II (who died soon afterwards) and to incarcerate his brother Maṣṣūr II as well as his other relatives.⁷⁹³

The following spring it was possible for the Samanid prince Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl to escape from prison and to flee to Khwarazm (where he took the name of al-Muntaṣir). After a clash with Maḥmūd of Ghazna's brother Naṣr (late Feb. 1001),⁷⁹⁴ he occupied Nishapur, where the population received him warmly. But this success did not last and he suffered repeated defeats when he fought Maḥmūd. In 1003 (VIII/3–31 = Shaw. AH 393) he was able, with the help of the Oghuz (Ghuzz), with whom he had allied himself, to force the Ilig Khan out of Samarkand and to defeat him once more near this city in 1004 V/23–VI/20 (Sha'b. AH 394). Finally, however, he was defeated in Ustrūshana when the Oghuz were absent and pushed back to Gōzḡān. From there he had to evade Maḥmūd again and went to the north across the Oxus and then via Bisṭām further to Abīvard and Nisa. At this point he was betrayed, surrounded by the troops of Arslan Ilig and Maḥmūd and then killed just as the battle commenced (1004 XII/16–1005 I/14 = Rabī' I AH 395).⁷⁹⁵

789 However, its ruler was later violently removed because of resistance against Maḥmūd's Indian campaigns: Athīr IX 51.

790 Nikbī 207–12; 'Utbi 205–14; Gard. 60; Must. 391 f.; Rud. 352; Athīr IX 51; Dawl. 40.

791 See p. 152 below.

792 Thus, correctly, Gard.

793 Hil. 372–76; 'Utbi 216f. (Saturday!) = Nikbī 213–16; Gard. 61; Athīr IX 51; Dawl. 40.

794 Gard. 63 states Wednesday, 30 Rabī' I AH 391 = 27 Feb. 1001 which, however, was a Thursday.

795 Hil. 402; 'Utbi 217–35 = Nikbī 216–28 (according to this Muntaṣir, also called Mustanṣir, did not die in the battle but was attacked by Arabs and killed in the following night); Gard. 63–65 (says nothing about his death [this is the result of a lacuna], but assumes his demise to have taken place during Rabī' II AH 395 (1005 I/15 II/12); Athīr IX 54f.; Must.

[111] As a consequence of this heroic-romantic epilogue, which recalls the fate of many a scion of the Iranian ruling houses (including some of those of the Sasanids and the Khwarazm-Shāhs in Mongolian times), the basis for forming a national government under indigenous rulers, such as eastern Iran had witnessed over the previous two centuries, had collapsed. The result of the age-old struggle between Iran and Tūrān, between arable land and steppe – which Firdawsī was describing at this time in his ‘Book of Kings’ with obvious dislike of the Turks⁷⁹⁶ and with obvious nostalgia (presumably due to these developments) – was that the Turks had won as far as governmental-military life was concerned. Regarding culture, the Turks, or at least their upper classes, admittedly showed themselves very open to Iranicization and consequently the rule of foreign dynasties did not significantly slow cultural development. Maḥmūd of Ghazna in particular, and later the Seljuks, proved themselves in many respects to be patrons of Iranian talent and open to Persian culture to such a degree that some of them might well be regarded as culturally Iranicized.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna

After the conclusion of these developments, Maḥmūd of Ghazna was the dominant figure in Iranian politics. While the Transoxanian part of the Samanid state fell into Qarakhanid hands, he began to unite the territories situated south of the Oxus, most of which he already held as ‘governor’, into one single state. An incursion of Tāhir, the son of Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Sistan, into Kohistan and Bushang and his subsequent occupation of Kirman, from which he was then expelled by the Buyid Bahā’ al-Dawla,⁷⁹⁷ resulted in open battle between father and son. Tāhir – an only son – was eventually either [112] executed by his own father or possibly forced | to commit suicide in prison (21 March 1002).⁷⁹⁸ As a result of this action Khalaf’s⁷⁹⁹ position became untenable. Maḥmūd was able to occupy and annex the country with the consent

392f. *EI* II 583; Barthold, *Turk.* 269; Oliver 104–6; Nāzīm 42–47; Rosen, *Hil.* 275; Gafurov 218–21.

796 See p. 237 below.

797 See p. 106 above. See in general Nāzīm; Jakubovskiy, *Mach.*, 51–96 as well as *EI* III 143–45 (s.v. ‘Maḥmūd ibn Subuktigīn’) and *EI* II 163–67 (s.v. ‘Ghaznaviden’). Shafī, ‘Fresh Light on the Ghaznavids’, 189–234.

798 The corresponding 4 Jum. 1 AH 392 was a Saturday, not, as stated, a Monday. Jūzjānī 8–11.

799 After his arrest he was sent to Gōzgān, there arrested four years later because of alleged correspondence with the Qarakhanids and died in 1009 III/1–30 (Rajab AH 399).

of the population and without any major effort. A revolt against his governor, which broke out soon afterwards, was quashed (1003 IX/30–X/29 = Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 393) and the country was put under the administration of the brother of the victor, Naṣr, in Nishapur.⁸⁰⁰

Maḥmūd, considering his alliance with the Ilig Khan, might have believed that he would have peace in the north henceforth. He therefore concentrated on his military campaigns in India (starting in 1002),⁸⁰¹ which taxed his powers to the utmost, but also made his name immortal after the conquest and (mostly forced) conversion of large parts of the Punjab. The final consolidation of Islam in India and the creation of a base for the continued increase of followers of the prophet in that country is Maḥmūd's greatest historical feat, the one that has endured until the present day, but with which we need not concern ourselves in detail here.

Although the sultan of Ghazna consequently was now regarded as the most outstanding fighter for the faith in his time, and therefore should have been untouchable according to Muslim thinking, the Qarluqs under their Ilig Khan, who had only recently converted, did not allow this to impede their forays across the Oxus. Theory and practice were clearly at odds even among the religiously zealous Turks. While the continued internal Muslim fighting may have been painful for devout contemporary believers, it was important for the development of Iran that the fraternal strife did not spare the Turkish nation, which was consequently prevented from overrunning Persia altogether. It is in no small part due to this circumstance that, unlike Transoxania and Turkestan, Iran remained what it had been before: an 'Aryan country'.

In the face of the Qarluq advance the Ghaznavid troops, as ordered, fell back to Ghazna and left Herat to the enemy, until Maḥmūd had returned from Multan. From Ghazna he attacked the Qarakhanid | garrison of Balkh, with [113] the result that those manning it ran from him across the Oxus to Tirmidh. By now Arslan Ilig had returned as well and, weakened by the attack of an army of 'Turkish Oghuz' on the way, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Ghaznavid troops. Thus, the possession of Khurasan was now secured for Maḥmūd.⁸⁰² This verdict⁸⁰³ was confirmed when he repelled a second attack of Arslan Ilig

800 Hil. 379–93, 397, 404–14, 426, 440; Gard. 63, 66f.; 'Utbī 237–57; TS 345–57; Athīr IX 55f., 58–60 (partially following 'Utbī); 'Awfī 164, no. 634. Browne II 91–96, 118f.; Nāzīm 67–70; Gafurov 229–34.

801 Gard. 65–67, 69f.; Athīr IX 59, 64 etc. Regarding Maḥmūd's military campaigns in India see generally Nāzīm 86–122.

802 Gard. 68; Athīr IX 65; 'Awfī 213, no. 1539. Barthold, *Turk.* 272f.

803 Gard. 68; 'Utbī 297; Athīr IX 66.

and the Qarakhanid ruler of Khotan⁸⁰⁴ Qadyr Khān (ibn Boghra Khān)⁸⁰⁵ on the Oxus (Sunday 4 Jan. 1008)⁸⁰⁶ and when fraternal strife broke out in the Qarakhanid state as well,⁸⁰⁷ only coming to an end with a change of ruler in 1012–13 (AH 403).⁸⁰⁸

While Maḥmūd of Ghazna now turned to India once more⁸⁰⁹ and the development of eastern Iran continued peacefully for several years, the quarrels in the western part of the plateau continued, exacerbated by the fact that the Kurdish ruler Badr, son of Ḥasanōē (Ḥasanwayh), had developed into a powerful player who could not be ignored.⁸¹⁰ In 1005–6 (AH 396) he defeated Bahā' al-Dawla's Daylami army⁸¹¹ at al-Bandanijīn (east of Baghdad at the border of Jibāl),⁸¹² and in the following year he advanced as far as the Tigris, where he took the fortress of al-Baradān not very far north of Baghdad.⁸¹³ Now the Buyid ruler had to take military countermeasures; however, his leading general let himself be intimidated in Gondēshāpūr and made a pact with Badr,⁸¹⁴ which soon afterwards enabled the powerful Kurd to interfere in Buyid family affairs, such as the intrigues of the regent *sayyida* Shīrīn of Rayy, who installed her two sons Majd al-Dawla and Shams al-Dawla alternately as rulers and then incarcerated them. Badr provided the necessary troops, but he was not able to take Hamadan (where Shams al-Dawla had eventually fled) and he could not hold Qom.⁸¹⁵

At this point a significant weakening of Kurdish power occurred as Badr quarrelled with his son Hilāl, whose mother he had cast out and whom he had passed over in favour of his second son Abū 'Īsā. Arrested by Hilāl, Badr had to give his consent to a division of the responsibilities. When he tried to renege on this agreement after his release, renewed quarrels ensued, in the course of [114] which Abū 'Īsā was | killed by his brother and Hilāl was taken captive by the intervening Buyid Bahā' al-Dawla but then pardoned. His territories, of course,

804 Gard. 68. See Pritsak, *Karach.* 295.

805 See p. 107, n. 2 above.

806 Gard. 69 has Sunday, 22 Rabī' II AH 398 = 5 Jan. 1008 (Monday).

807 Athīr IX 76.

808 'Utbi 275/8, 292/301, 331/5, 391/6; Athīr IX 82, 102–4.

809 Athīr IX 66, 71, 73.

810 See Hil. 474f.

811 Athīr IX 65.

812 LeStrange 63.

813 Ibid. 67. Schwarz VI 701.

814 Athīr IX 67f.

815 Ibid. 70. See *EI* IV 333 and above p. 106.

fell to the victor,⁸¹⁶ who was now in a more favourable position towards his father.

Bahā' al-Dawla died from dropsy on 22 (or 27) Dec. 1012⁸¹⁷ after a 24-year-long reign at the age of almost 43 years in Arraghān and left his inheritance to three sons: Abū Shujā' Sultān al-Dawla received Fars; Abū Ṭāhir Jalāl al-Dawla, Basra (meanwhile Kufa and Mosul had just recently submitted to the Isma'ili Fatimids in Egypt);⁸¹⁸ and Abū 'l-Fawāris Qiwām al-Dawla received Kirman.⁸¹⁹ The weakening of Buyid power, which was inevitably linked to such a partitioning, was not as significant at first because Badr's grandson Ṭāhir ibn Hilāl rose up against his own relatives in the battle for the city of Shahrazur (1014 I/6–II/4 = Rajab AH 404), in the course of which he died. Badr himself was killed soon afterwards (1014–15 = AH 405) by his own emirs during the siege of a Kurdish fortress, as he had wanted to fight in winter against their advice. The murderers joined the Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla, and several other members of the family were reduced to fighting over Badr's inheritance. Hilāl was now released but then died in battle (1015 IV/25–V/22 = Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 405).⁸²⁰ The impending danger of a strong Kurdish state emerging was thus prevented.

In the meantime Maḥmūd of Ghazna had extended his reach, not only in India⁸²¹ but also in Iran. In 1010–11 (AH 401) his armies started from Ghazna in a pincer movement and, after long battles, occupied the mountain region of the 'unbelievers', the Ghōr, who were feared as bandits (southeast of Herat). The region was fought over by two clans⁸²² and Maḥmūd took the leading chieftain, Aḥangsār, son of Sūrī, captive, at which point the chieftain took poison in captivity.⁸²³ The following year saw the submission of the ruler of Quṣḍār (also Quzdār), in the district of Tūrān in eastern Makran, who had tried to attack Herat together with the Qarakhanids (apparently through Sistan).⁸²⁴ In 1018–19 Maḥmūd of Ghazna finally conducted | a campaign against the 'unbelieving' Afghans'.⁸²⁵ Thanks to these enterprises, the most dangerous and still

816 Athīr IX 73f.

817 5, after other manuscripts 10 Jum. II AH 403.

818 Athīr IX 76.

819 Ibid. 83.

820 Ibid. 84f., 90. Schwarz VII 862. For the extent of Badr's territories see p. 311 below.

821 'Utbi 285/92, 301/5, 320/2, 347/56; Athīr IX 71, 73.

822 Ḥud. 102; see also commentary on 333, 342f. with further references.

823 Gard. 71; 'Utbi 322/4; Athīr IX 76. Nāẓim 70–73. For Sūrī see Justi, *Namb.* 317 (no. 3); for Ghōr see EI II 170.

824 'Utbi 335/7 (see Nāẓim 74, n. 21); Athīr IX 78. Regarding the region of Quṣḍār see LeStrange 331–33.

825 'Utbi 423/7; Bayh. 110–15; Athīr IX 107. Nāẓim 74–76.

independent territories had fallen into the hands of the Turkish ruler and simultaneously prepared the way for Islam to come into the mountain region. Only from this time onwards were the eastern Iranian mountain regions won for Islam through a very slow process, which continued into the early days of 'modernity' farther to the east (e.g. in Nūristān, previously Kāfiristān in the southern Hindu Kush).

Now Maḥmūd of Ghazna had the time once more for several campaigns into India (1013–17 = AH 404–7).⁸²⁶ When the Khwarazm-Shāh Abū 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn II ibn Ma'mūn, a son-in-law of Maḥmūd's, wanted to have his father-in-law mentioned in the *khutba*, he was killed by the Khwarazmians at the instigation of a mob. In Maḥmūd's revenge attack the Khwarazmians were defeated after several preliminary conflicts in a fiercely fought battle and all but a few were killed (Wednesday, 20 March 1017 = 12 Shaw. AH 407). The country now finally lost its independence and was assigned to Altuntash, a *beg* of the powerful Ghaznavid ruler, as chamberlain (Khwarazm and Gurganj) on 3 July 1017 (= 5 Šafar AH 408).⁸²⁷ All of its subsequent attempts at independence were suppressed.⁸²⁸

While Maḥmūd's reputation was increasing so much that even the Chinese and Uighurs (in 1024 and 1027) sent embassies to him,⁸²⁹ a feud between the Buyids began in the west of the country, as was predictable after the division of 1012. It was not possible for Shams al-Dawla (the son of Fakhr al-Dawla) after Badr's death to take possession of the seat of the dynasty in Rayy from his brother Majd al-Dawla by force permanently (1015).⁸³⁰ His brother, however, was so weak that, despite the help of the *ispāhbadh*, he and his mother were besieged in Rayy by an upstart of low origin: Pōlād (Fūlād), to whom he had denied Qazvin as a fief, and who was supported by Manūchihir ibn Kā(v)ōs. Majd had to promise him Isfahan, where up until now (since 1007–8 = AH 398)⁸³¹ 'Alā' al-Dawla Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanz(i)yār, called 'Son of Kākūr' [116] (Daylami: of the uncle; | Ibn Kāk[a]wayh in Arabic pronunciation), had been ruling, who was a cousin of the Rayy-based ruler's mother and grandson of

826 Gard. 72f.; 'Utbi 407/19; Athīr IX 83f., 89, 91.

827 'Utbi 403–6; Bayh. 669–78; Gard. 73f., Athīr IX 90; 'Awfī 204, no. 1241. Barthold, *Turk.* 275–79; Nāzīm 56–60. Regarding this second line of rulers of Khwarazm see Zambaur 208; Nāzīm 184f.; Tolstov in the collection edited by him: *Bīrūnī*, 17–21.

828 Siyāsat-nāma 206.

829 Gard. 87; Marvazī 19–22, 76–80.

830 'Utbi 382/7; Athīr IX 86.

831 See p. 95 above.

Marzbān al-Daylamī.⁸³² After the departure of his ally Manūchihr, however, Pōlād had to submit to Majd al-Dawla,⁸³³ so that the 'Son of Kākūī' (as he is consistently called in the sources) was able to remain in Isfahan.

In the same year of 1016–17 (AH 497) the Buyid Abū 'l-Fawāris (which is the usual name in the sources) from Kirman was driven out of his home territory after his brother Sulṭān al-Dawla's surprise advance against Shiraz. This finally provided Maḥmūd with the grounds that he had long hoped for to interfere in Buyid western and southern Persia by supporting Abū 'l-Fawāris, who had fled to him. Although the exile was not able to assert himself even at the head of a Ghaznavid army in 1017–18 (AH 408) in Kirman and Fars, the influence of the great Turkish sultan was such that Sulṭān al-Dawla eventually had to accept his reinstatement in Kirman (although apparently under his suzerainty).⁸³⁴ His quarrel with another brother, Abū 'Alī Ḥasan Musharrif al-Dawla, in Mesopotamia, on the other hand, continued until 1022–23 (AH 413).⁸³⁵

The undermining of Buyid rule was further fuelled by continuous internal unrest, which occasionally developed into ethnic strife, such as that in 1020–21 (AH 411) in Hamadan between Kurds and Turks,⁸³⁶ which was probably a reflection of the dislike that the Iranians felt towards Turkish rule. But the Kurds also turned against the Daylamis, as they did in the contest between the ruler of Hamadan, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Samā' al-Dawla (since 1021–22 = AH 412 successor of his father Shams al-Dawla), and his relative and protector, the son of Kākūī, in which they went over to the latter, even though he was allied with Frahādih ibn Mardāvīj al-Daylamī,⁸³⁷ Samā' al-Dawla's former vassal in Burūgird. After the victory the Kurds expelled the Daylamis as well as the Turks, and the son of Kākūī took Dinavar and Shāpūrkhvāst for himself.⁸³⁸ He was not, however, able to subdue the Kurds of al-Jūzqān (1026 = AH 417),⁸³⁹ and there were clashes between Buyids and Turks in Mesopotamia as well.⁸⁴⁰

832 See p. 113 above. Miles, *Kākw.* 89–104; here and in Zambaur 217 is information on further, and in particular numismatic, literature. Dushmanziyār is called Dushman-zār on the coins, see Stickel in *ZDMG* XVIII (1864), 298; Justi, *Namb.* 88. For Kākūī see Justi, *Namb.* 152 and *EI* II 714f. (with further literature).

833 *Athīr* IX 71, 92. Rabino, *Dyn. Loc.* 313f.

834 *Gard.* 71; *Athīr* IX 101f. See *EI* IV 950f.

835 *Athīr* IX 109, 112f.

836 *Ibid.* 110f.

837 See Justi, *Namb.* 102 (no. 34).

838 *Athīr* IX 114.

839 *Athīr* IX 121.

840 *Athīr* IX 115, 126 (1028 in Baghdad and Basra).

[117] In addition to these extremely alarming events in the relations between individual military and ethnic groups there were quarrels over the succession to the throne when Sulṭān al-Dawla died in 1024 or 1025 (AH 415 or 416) at the age of only 22 years and 5 months. The Turks in his army declared themselves in favour of the succession of his brother Abū 'l-Fawāris (in Kirman), while his minister championed his son Abū Kālījār Marz(u)bān 'Imād al-Dīn. Despite his attempts at reconciliation with the ruler of Kirman, the vizier was finally executed. Nevertheless, his son Abū 'l-Qāsim joined ranks with the young Abū Kālījār against his uncle and drove him out of Fars, although the latter was able to hold out in Kirman.⁸⁴¹ The reality that the sultan's guards were the decisive force became clear to the whole world when a call from the Daylamis in Fasā and Shiraz, who were dissatisfied with Abū Kālījār, was sufficient to bring Abū 'l-Fawāris back into the country. A treaty that gave him Fars and Abū Kālījār only Khuzistan did not last long. Despite a reinforcement of around 10,000 Kurds, Abū 'l-Fawāris was defeated between al-Bayḏā and Iṣṭakhr and forced back to Kirman. Abū Kālījār then asserted himself in Fars from 1026 (AH 417) onwards despite opposition in Shiraz.⁸⁴² However, his attempt to conquer Kirman at this point (1027 = AH 418) failed, as his army could not tolerate the heat of the country and a revolt had broken out at his back in the marshlands of the lower Euphrates. Under these circumstances he was forced to agree to the payment of 20,000 dinars to his uncle Abū 'l-Fawāris.⁸⁴³ But this ruler, hated for his cruelty, died, possibly by poison, only a year later (1028 XI/21–XII/20 = Dhū 'l-q. AH 419). His possessions in Kirman now fell into the hands of his nephew Abū Kālījār without any difficulties.⁸⁴⁴

Things were no better in Isfahan and Hamadan. Here Majd al-Dawla and the son of Kākūī ('Alā' al-Dawla) had to defend themselves against the *ispāhbadh* of Mazandaran, who had been called in by a former officer turned traitor, and against Manūchīhr ibn Qābūs, whom they forced back after prolonged fighting (1027 IV/11–V/10 = Rabī' I AH 418).⁸⁴⁵ These conflicts had the consequence that Majd al-Dawla foolishly called on Maḥmūd of Ghazna for protection. Maḥmūd did not hesitate, since he was clearly also interested in removing Buyid control over the caliphate, and with the support of Manūchīhr moved into Jibāl and occupied Hamadan in 1029 IV/19–V/17 (Rabī' II AH 420), where he faithlessly had the surprised Buyid arrested.

[118]

841 Athīr IX 116.

842 Athīr IX 116f.

843 Athīr IX 124; Browne, Iṣf. 675f.

844 Athīr IX 127; Zark. 34f. (with wrong date).

845 Athīr IX 123f.

Here, in Qazvin, Sāva, Āba and Rayy, cities which he also occupied, rich booty fell into the hands of the Turkish ruler; from Rayy he even carried off the library. He then forced Manūchihr and, when the latter died soon afterwards,⁸⁴⁶ his son and successor Abū Kālījār Anōshirvān to pay 500,000 dinars before confirming him in his inheritance. He also had his own son Mas‘ūd occupy Zangān and Abhar, as well as later Isfahan, despite a treaty concluded with ‘Alā’ al-Dawla (ibn Kākū). In all Jibāl the *khutba* was now said for the great Turk. Mas‘ūd led the administration on his father’s behalf and suppressed revolts in Isfahan as well as in Qazvin and the surrounding regions with bloodthirsty rigour (1029).⁸⁴⁷ With the exception of Hamadan, where ‘Alā’ al-Dawla was able to assert himself eventually (1030 = AH 421)⁸⁴⁸ after only a temporary retreat to Shushtar, Jibāl had thus gone over into the hands of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. The rule of the Buyids in central Persia had reached its end, and the Ghaznavid seemed to be on the way to uniting the Iranian plateau (including north-west India) under his strong sceptre, when he died on Thursday 30 April 1030 (23 Rabīʿ II AH 421) in Ghazna.⁸⁴⁹

Mas‘ūd of Ghazna

At the time of Maḥmūd’s death, an event came to pass which had been expected for several long decades, but for which there had been no preparation due to the continuous internal struggles on Persian soil. On the contrary, what was to happen was made considerably easier by the constant bloodletting. For centuries new Turkish peoples had continuously advanced from eastern Central Asia,⁸⁵⁰ but so far their movement had been directed north of the Aral Sea and past the Caspian Sea into the Volga region and further west. Persia had lost only | Transoxania to the Qarluq, and the Oxus⁸⁵¹ and the Ustyurt [119]

846 Athīr IX 137. According to Ibn Isf. 233–35 he only died in 1033. See Ross, *Dyn.* 210.

847 Gard. 90f.; Vartan the Great (Armenian) in Brosset, *Add.* 221f.; Athīr IX 128f.; ‘Awfī 230, no. 1745. Schwarz VI 718; Wiet 177f.

848 Athīr IX 137. Nāzīm 80–85.

849 Bayh. 12; Gard. 92; TS 362; Must. 394–401; Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 84–88 (no. 723); Athīr IX 138; Nāzīm 123–25 (even *IC* V/3, 1931, 496–98, describes the overall evaluation of Maḥmūd attempted here, pp. 151–70, as a ‘basically unsatisfying “defence” of his actions’). According to other information (ibid. and Ibn Khall.) he already died on 18 Feb. 1030 (11 Šaf. AH 421).

850 See Barthold, *Vorl.* 41ff., 100ff.; briefly also Spuler, ‘Mittelasiens’, 335ff.

851 Tolstov’s examinations on location (‘Die archäologische ethnographische Expedition’, 100–13) appear to disprove that it was flowing through the Uzboy into the Caspian Sea, as Barthold (*EI* I 356–59, see also *EI* Turk. I 419–26) attempts to show contra Goeje (*Das alte*

Plateau formed for a long period the border which the Turks crossed only as prisoners of war or as individual mercenary groups or leaders (as was the case with Maḥmūd's father Sübüktigin). This was to change now as great numbers of Oghuz (Arabic: Ghuzz) under the four sons of the chieftain Seljūk⁸⁵² (or Saljuq; Arabic: Seljūq) coalesced into a political entity. Seljūk's ancestors had probably been in contact with the Khazars and had maybe, like the ruling class among the Khazars, initially belonged to the Jewish (or the Nestorian-Christian) faith⁸⁵³ (this might be indicated by the Old Testament names of the first four *begs*).

In the last years of his life (since 1024), after the conclusion of a treaty with the Qarakhanid Khān Qadyr (in Kashgar),⁸⁵⁴ Maḥmūd of Ghazna was forced to fight the Oghuz at the Transoxanian border, again with his army being led by his son Mas'ūd.⁸⁵⁵ He could not, however, prevent the advance of this Turkish federation of nomads into Gurgan and partially into Azerbaijan and Armenia (Vaspurakan) (already by ca. 1021).⁸⁵⁶ Judging by the names of most of the chieftains these nomads had at that point not yet converted to Islam, as only one Muslim name (Manšūr) is found in the sources. Initially, 'Alā' al-Dawla [120] ibn Kākūī (Kākawayh) believed | that he would be able to win some of these invaders over to his cause. The quarrels that soon broke out with Khurasanian officers,⁸⁵⁷ however, showed that the differences between Turks and Iranians continued to be problematic. In fact, the Oghuz in Azerbaijan simply acted completely independently and without regard for the existing powers, with the result that they soon began to make their own conquests.

Bett des Oxus, references in the above-named articles). Tolstov, after examination from an airplane (109), points out that along the whole of the Uzboy there are no traces of irrigation or fixed settlement and that only from the late medieval period (presumably the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries) are there 'primitive fields' visible in the actual riverbed of the Uzboy.

852 For the pronunciation see Kāshgharī I 397 (= Brockelmann/*Kāshgh.* 248); Barthold, *Vorl.* 101; Lájos, 'Selçük adinin menseine dair', 377–84 (with historical information and the analysis of probable etymologies). The information about the father of Seljūk varies, see Rav. 88^f; Ḥus., 'Urāḍa 274f.

853 See Dunlop, *Beiträge zum Chararenproblem*, 22–26; Cahen 57 (for doubts that one can reach such conclusions merely on the basis of the names, see p. 42 of this work).

854 Gard. 82f.; Nāẓim 53–55.

855 Rav. 86–91; Ḥus., 'Urāḍa 275–82; Gard. 81, 85f., 89; Ḥus. 1–3; Bund. 5f.; Athīr IX 130–32. Barthold, *Turk.* 282–86; Gafurov 234–37.

856 Kasravī II 61–67.

857 Athīr IX 132. Miles, *Kakw.* 101.

For Azerbaijan and northwest Persia in general, the time of peace had not come in other respects either. 'Alā' al-Dawla believed that with the death of Maḥmūd of Ghazna his star had once again risen. He might have expected long fights over the succession in Ghazna, where the conqueror of India had shortly before his death appointed his son (Abū Aḥmad) Muḥammad⁸⁵⁸ (Jalāl al-Dawla) as his successor. Previously the 32-year-old⁸⁵⁹ brave and vigorous Mas'ūd had been considered, who, while not his father's equal in wisdom, matched him in ambition.⁸⁶⁰ However, events followed the pattern seen so often in history when a father (in the case of an undecided order of succession) for personal reasons passes over a capable son in favour of another. Mas'ūd, who was in Isfahan at the time of his father's death, quickly put things in order in Khurasan and Rayy, advised by the Khwarazmian chamberlain⁸⁶¹ Altuntash,⁸⁶² and then offered his brother a partition which was supposed to secure for him in particular the regions in north Persia that he had conquered himself. Despite the advice from his entourage Muḥammad did not accept these terms and went on campaign, but was attacked at Tiginābādh (in Tukharistan) on 4 Oct. 1030 (3 Shaw. AH 421) and taken captive. His brother spared his life but blinded him, thus robbing him of his political influence. Mas'ūd settled relations with the Qarakhanids,⁸⁶³ occupied Balkh (mid-Dec. 1030),⁸⁶⁴ freed the vizier Abū 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maymandī⁸⁶⁵ from prison, where he had been held by Mas'ūd's father since 1021–22 (AH 412), and put him in the place of Ḥasanak (actually Abū 'Alī Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad) (from 1024).⁸⁶⁶ He then moved to Ghazna on 2 June 1031 (8 Jum. II AH 422) and accepted the submission of the | vassals from the surrounding area.⁸⁶⁷ At Tīz [121] in Makran Mas'ūd was able to settle a quarrel between brothers by intervening in his own favour.⁸⁶⁸ Soon the caliph awarded him the title of Nāṣir al-Dīn and pledged that he would communicate with the Qarakhanids only through him.

858 See *EI* III 724.

859 Born 998.

860 Mas'ūd was supposed to receive Khurasan, Iraq, Gurgan 'and appendages': Dawl. 46. Regarding his adolescence and the question of succession see Bayh. 106–32, 213–18. *EI* III 461f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 293–303.

861 See p. 115 above and *EI* Turk. v 250.

862 Bayh. 58, 79–85, 86, 332–44; Gard. 99; Must. 401f.

863 Bayh. 71–76, 85, 193f., 218, 432f.; Jūzjāni 11f.

864 Bayh. 87–89, 133f.

865 See *EI* III 157 as well as 'Awfī 163, no. 622; 'Utbi 362/8.

866 *EI* s 87.

867 Bayh. 11–71, 245f., 287f.; Gard. 93–97; Dawl. 46f.; Athīr IX 138f.

868 Bayh. 209–18, 241–44; Gard. 97; Athīr IX 143 (1031 = AH 422).

The sciences had an eager sponsor in him; for instance, al-Birūnī, who lived at his court, dedicated several of his works to this ruler.

Now Mas‘ūd had free rein to proceed against ‘Alā’ al-Dawla, who in the meantime had taken Isfahan, Hamadan and Rayy as well as some of Abū Kālījār⁸⁶⁹ Anōshirvān ibn Manūchihr’s districts into his hands. The latter’s call for help gave Mas‘ūd a welcome excuse for interfering, with the result that ‘Alā’ al-Dawla was injured in the battle for Rayy and had to go into hiding for some time afterwards.⁸⁷⁰ Admittedly, however, Mas‘ūd was unable to capture him and his ally Frahādh ibn Mardāvij in the mountains at Burūgird (southeast of Hamadan). Furthermore, an attempt to re-conquer Hamadan failed after fast moving fights with (mostly Kurdish) Ghaznavid troops from Khurasan. Isfahan remained in ‘Alā’ al-Dawla’s hands⁸⁷¹ until Mas‘ūd’s second advance in 1034 (AH 425), which forced him to flee to Ēdhaj. Farhād, however, was killed.⁸⁷²

In the meantime, a revolt in India in 1033 (AH 424) threatened the Ghaznavid position of power in Jibāl once again: in Gurgan and Mazandaran Qābūs ibn Vashmgīr asserted himself, but was soon replaced with Dārā ibn Manūchihr by Mas‘ūd. After a revolt in 1035 (AH 426) against tribute payments, Qābūs was forced into submission.⁸⁷³ Mas‘ūd also had to fight for Rayy against a local ruler from Sāva.⁸⁷⁴ In 1034 (AH 425) an uprising of a dissatisfied group of people, the so-called ‘yobs’ (*‘ayyārūn*),⁸⁷⁵ who had perhaps been robbed of their economic livelihood by the Turks, broke out in Nishapur. The ‘Emir of Kirman’, who was present at the time, joined the uprising and considerable effort was required to suppress it. Peace was only restored by taking the mayor’s relatives from the area surrounding Ṭus as hostages.⁸⁷⁶

Again it seemed as if the Ghaznavids would be successful in occupying the part of Iran which was not in the hands of the Buyids. With Abū Kālījār⁸⁷⁷ there [122] had always been only negligible clashes (Oct. 1030 = Shaw. AH 421;⁸⁷⁸ | 1031 and 1034 in Kirman;⁸⁷⁹ and finally 1035 in Mazandaran in the fight against Dārā).⁸⁸⁰

869 The sources also write ‘Kālīnjār’. See Justi, *Namb.* 17 (no. 4b).

870 Gard. 98; Athīr IX 139f.

871 Athīr IX 147.

872 Athīr IX 150f.

873 Gard. 99; Athīr IX 153.

874 Athīr IX 148.

875 See p. 437 below.

876 Bayh. 435–39; Athīr IX 150.

877 Krymśkiy I 115f. has special dates for the last of the Ziyārids.

878 Athīr IX 140.

879 Bayh. 437–39; Athīr IX 143.

880 Athīr IX 153.

In 1034 the Seljuk emir Rukn al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Tughril Beg Muḥammad ibn Mikā'il and his brother Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd had taken Sarakhs and Nishapur⁸⁸¹ and forced the Khurasanian governor Abū Sahl al-Ḥamdūnī, who had warded off an attack by 'Alā' al-Dawla in 1036 = AH 427,⁸⁸² to give up Isfahan. Through skilful manoeuvring in both mountainous territory (since 1036) and during winter campaigns, Mas'ūd was able to drive the Seljuks out of Khurasan, especially the mountains around Ṭus, once more in order to occupy Gurgan and to free Isfahan.⁸⁸³ The Seljuks had to retreat into the steppe between Marv and Khwarazm and the chamberlain Ismā'il ibn Altuntash was driven into their arms through clumsy Ghaznavid policy.⁸⁸⁴ This Ismā'il was the successor of his recently (18 April 1035) murdered brother Hārūn, who had declared himself independent from Mas'ūd on 18 July 1034 = 28 Sha'b. AH 425.⁸⁸⁵ After these successes Mas'ūd took up winter quarters in Nishapur in 1040 I/19–II/17 (Jum. I AH 431)⁸⁸⁶ and his troops occupied Khwarazm, which was harried at the same time by the ruler of Jand (located on the lower Syr Darya), Shāh Malik.⁸⁸⁷

In the meantime the Seljuk brothers under the leadership of Tughril had united the battered Oghuz formations⁸⁸⁸ and through effective leadership developed them into powerful troops. In 1037–38 (AH 429) some of their units took Maragha and forced the Buyid Abū Kālijār of Hamadan to make a treaty, which was followed soon after by the surrender of the city | and its looting. They [123] also forced 'Alā' al-Dawla in 1038 IV/9–V/8 (Rajab AH 429) to give up Rayy, which was then pillaged quite horribly for five days, and to flee to Isfahan. Qazvin fell into Seljuk hands soon afterwards; the Armenians and especially the Hadhbānī Kurds, who had always been restive, were suffering a great deal at this point as well.⁸⁸⁹ But there were also some setbacks for the Seljuks, especially in the

881 Gard. 100f.; 'Awfī 153, no. 350; Bayh. 440–47. For Dā'ūd see *EI* I 849f.; but especially *EI* Turk. III 324–28; regarding Tughril Beg: *EI* Turk. IV 897f.; Kasravī II 69–73.

882 Athīr IX 154.

883 Bayh. 448–519; Gard. 101f., 104–7. B.N. Zachoder, 'Chorasan i obrazovanie gosudarstva Sel'džukidov' (Khorasan and the Formation of the Seljuk Empire), in *Voprosy Istorii* v–vi (Moscow–Leningrad 1945), 123ff., was not accessible to me.

884 Bayh. 689–92; Athīr IX 174f.

885 Bayh. 680–89; Athīr IX 174. Barthold, *Turk.* 296f.

886 Bund. 7f.; Ḥus. 4–8; Bayh. 596–630c (in the lithograph, numbers are missing from several pages, which are pointed out by additional letters, thus 558a–f, 616a–d, 630a–d); Ḥus., 'Urāda 283–93; Rav. 94–97; Athīr IX 157–60, 161.

887 See Barthold, *Turk.* 302.

888 Rav. 18–100; Athīr IX 162–67.

889 Athīr IX 132f.

bloodbath which Abū Maṣṣūr Vehsūdihān III ibn Mamlān (or Mahlān)⁸⁹⁰ of the local dynasty of the Rawwādids brought about in Tabriz in 1040–41 (AH 432), first among the officers and then among the garrison, despite the fact that he was the husband of an Oghuz princess. The Seljuks were also less successful in the mountains near Mosul, where the Hakkārī Kurds had retreated from the onslaught of the Turkish conquerors.⁸⁹¹ After this experience the Turkish invaders abandoned the occupation of the mountains, which were in any case not favourable for the cavalry, and turned towards the cities. Diyarbakir then fell into their hands, while Mosul resisted for a time.⁸⁹²

Strengthened by successes in the west, the Seljuks now began attacking again in the east, despite mutual assistance treaties with the Ghaznavids and Qarakhanids. Mas'ūd had no choice but to face them with troops exhausted by long marches in barren regions, and therefore it was no surprise that he succumbed on 3 June 1040 (8 Ram. AH 431)⁸⁹³ in the steppe of Dandān(a)qān (Tash Ribāṭ) to the superior Seljuk forces and had to save himself by hurriedly fleeing. Khurasan was now open to the Seljuks, and Mas'ūd's son Mawdūd had to confine himself to the defence of the Ghaznavid heartland.⁸⁹⁴ Soon afterwards, catastrophe struck Mas'ūd on his march to India, just beyond the Indus. A part of his army elevated his blinded brother Muḥammad against him on his shield (21 Nov. 1040 = 13 Rabī' II AH 432). After a few days Muḥammad defeated Mas'ūd in a skirmish and the latter was detained in a castle of his own choosing. Shortly afterwards, however, and with the consent of a number of his relatives, he was murdered and his possessions were plundered (29 Jan. 1041 = 11 Jum. I AH 432).⁸⁹⁵

[124] Mawdūd then left his post in the northern mountain region, defeated his uncle on 8 April 1041 (3 Sha'b. AH 432) in a battle near Ghazna and had him murdered with almost all of his relatives as well as the murderers of his father, and finally entered the capital (on 28 April 1041 = 23 Sha'b. AH 432). Since his brother Majdūd, who had been victorious in India since 1035 and conquered Lahāvur (Lahore) and Multan after the suppression of a rebellion, died

890 According to Kasravī II 43f. this is merely a misspelt version of Muḥammad.

891 Athīr IX 133, 157. Kasravī II 73–83 (for more general information on him see *ibid.* II 54–57); Justi, *Namb.* 341 (no. 5); *EI* IV 633 (s.v. Tabrīz).

892 Athīr IX 134f.

893 However, the day was a Tuesday, not, as stated by Gard., a Friday.

894 Gard. 107f.; Rav. 101–3; Must. 434–37; Sam. 230 r; Ḥus., 'Urāḍa 293f. Tolstov, *Civ.* 271; Cahen 55–65. B.N. Zachoder's study of this battle in *Russkiy Istoricheskiy Zhurnal*, Leningrad 1943, was inaccessible to me.

895 Ḥus. 9f.; Gard. 109f.; TS 366f.; Must. 402; Jūzjānī 13–15; Athīr IX 167. Shafi, 'Fresh Light on the Ghaznavids', 213f. (anecdotes from al-Marvarrūdhī).

suddenly on 14 Aug. 1041 (13 Dhū 'l-ḥ. AH 432), the danger of a renewed civil war was prevented and the energetic Mawdūd was secure in his position.⁸⁹⁶ But the Ghaznavid dynasty's claim to leadership in Persia was gone: fraternal strife had weakened their position too much and they could no longer hold Iran in addition to northwest India. While their power in India was not shaken for the time being and their core territory around Ghazna as far as Bust⁸⁹⁷ remained in their possession until 1186, despite continuous fighting over succession issues,⁸⁹⁸ the way into Iran was now clear for the Oghuz who were united under the Seljuk brothers.

The Seljuk Conquest of Persia

Once the Ghaznavid threat had been averted, Tughril Beg advanced very systematically. First he occupied craggy Gurgan, where he put his ally Mardāvīj ibn Bashu (Bāsū) at the side of the hereditary ruler Anōshirvān ibn Manūchihr, who both ruled together and made respective payments of 100,000 and 50,000 dinars per year and performed the Friday prayer for the Seljuk emir.⁸⁹⁹ Subsequently Tughril Beg intervened in Khwarazm in order to secure his flank for further actions. The ruler of Jand, Shāh Malik, who had been appointed by the Ghaznavids, fled with the treasury to Makran, but was later taken captive by a Seljuk prince and surrendered to Tughril Beg's brother Dā'ūd.⁹⁰⁰

Now the way west was free, which led along the old trading route of the Silk Road that crossed Asia, first reaching Rayy. Tughril Beg was met here by his uncle Jynal ('Jannāl'),⁹⁰¹ who had unsuccessfully attempted to establish himself in Hamadan over Abū Kālījār Kershāsp ibn 'Alā' al-Dawla.⁹⁰² The latter had received the town after the death of his father 'Alā' al-Dawla, the 'Son of Kākū'

896 Gard. 110f.; Athīr IX 167–69; Jūzjānī 15f.; TS 367–69. *EI* III 485; Barthold, *Turk.* 303f.

897 A Seljuk attack against this region under the leadership of Alp Arslan in 1043–44 (AH 435) was repelled: Athīr IX 178f.

898 Mawdūd's death at the age of 29: 18 Dec 1049 (20 Rajab AH 441) and violent accession of his uncle 'Abd al-Rashīd (called Shams Dīn Allāh and Sayf or Jamāl al-Dawla) (Hus. II; Athīr IX 193). Execution of 'Abd al-Rashīd by rebels under Tughril, which were defeated and punished by general Khirkhīz (Kirgiz), who was in India, and who invested Mas'ūd of Ghazna's son Farrukhzād, who had been incarcerated until then (Athīr IX 201f.).

899 Athīr IX 172. Justī, *Namb.* 194 (no. 2), Ross, Dyn. 210.

900 Athīr IX 175. Barthold, *Turk.* 304; Siddiqī II 390–93.

901 The derivation is not clearly transmitted, see Cahen 58.

902 Michael Syr. 568–74; Athīr IX 133, 175. Justī, *Namb.* 161 (no. 4) = 153 I (no. 5); Miles, *Kākw.* 102.

(1041 VIII/31–IX/29 = Muḥ. AH 433), after long inheritance quarrels with his brother Ṣahīr al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr Frāmūr (in Isfahan) and others.⁹⁰³ Tughril Beg and his brother occupied Rayy, where they found rich booty, accepted the submission of Qazvin in return for a payment of 80,000 dinars, compelled several independent Oghuz leaders to offer terms and forced the ruler of Daylam as well as the *sallār*⁹⁰⁴ of al-Ṭārom to surrender. He was finally able to compel Kershāsp to evacuate Hamadan and to take up the governorship in Rayy, where he was directly under Seljuk control and therefore also without any of his own followers, which meant that he appeared to present no danger to the Seljuks.⁹⁰⁵ In the meantime Ibrāhīm Jynal conquered Sistan and then⁹⁰⁶ attacked Kirman, which was in the possession of the Buyid Abū Kālījār. However, the attack was repelled by the Daylamis who were stationed there⁹⁰⁷ and who shortly before (1041–42 = AH 433) had conquered Oman using this as their base.⁹⁰⁸

This was the first direct clash between the Buyids and the Seljuks, but Abū Kālījār was heavily preoccupied with the inheritance of his much reviled uncle Jalāl al-Dawla in Mesopotamia⁹⁰⁹ and with a quarrel with Frāmūr⁹¹⁰ in Isfahan. Consequently he did not contemplate a serious defence against the advancing Turks – very much to the detriment of his house, which thus met
[126] its downfall | in the same way as other ruling dynasties which, in similar situations, had not taken the threat from the approaching well-organised nomads seriously enough. Now the way was open for Ibrāhīm Jynal and the renewed occupation of Hamadan, where Kershāsp had established himself again for a short time but now had to flee to the Juzqān Kurds.⁹¹¹

In this way the attention of the Seljuks was directed towards the Kurds, who were difficult to attack in their mountains, but who had also been

903 Athīr IX 171; Browne, *Isf.* 667. Justi, *Namb.* 90 (no. 4).

904 Sallār is apparently a dialectal form of Sālār < Sardār: Ross, *Dyn.* 214, n. 4.

905 Ḥus., ‘Urāda 296; Rav. 104; Athīr IX 175f. Concerning the Sallārids see Ross, *Dyn.* 213 with genealogical table II after 220; Kasravī I 49–54.

906 According to other information this was a different general.

907 Athīr IX 176. In the course of this a ‘so far unheard-of’ heroic deed is mentioned, which is that an Oghuz was cleft in two by a sword blow, a motif which Ludwig Uhland uses in his poem *Schwabenstreiche*. Later on Michael Choniates transmitted a corresponding story. See Spies, *Der Orient*, 17, 29 n. 15.

908 Athīr IX 173.

909 Athīr IX 178, 181. For Abū Kālījār’s temporary affiliation to Islam see p. 175 below.

910 Athīr IX 179.

911 Athīr IX 181f. In the excellent article ‘Kurden’ (*EI* II 1212–37), this tribe is to be found on p. 1219, not in the list on pp. 1222, 1224–27.

weakened by the ruler of Qirmīsīn (later Kirmānshāh),⁹¹² Abū ʿl-Shawk Ḥusām al-Dawla Fāris⁹¹³ and his brother Abū ʿl-Mājid Muhalhil, who had earlier fought the Kurds over Khulāngān⁹¹⁴ (1039 VII/25–VIII/23 = Dhū ʿl-q. AH 430)⁹¹⁵ and Shahrazur,⁹¹⁶ as well as by battles with ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (1040/41 = AH 432).⁹¹⁷ Thus the Seljuks could occupy Dinavar without too much effort, force Abū ʿl-Shawk out of Qirmīsīn (Qarmīsīn) to Hulwan and, after a long siege in 1046 I/12–II/10 (Rajab AH 437), conquer the abandoned headquarters which was still defended by Daylamis and Kurds who had been left behind, and finally conquer Şaymara in the following month. The Buyid Abū Kālījār decided to take countermeasures only when, on 10 March 1046 (end Shaʿb. AH 437), Hulwan, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants, fell into Ibrāhīm's hands and an Oghuz division advanced as far as Khaniqīn. This meant that they had entered into Mesopotamia, which had also already been breached at Mosul by other tribes not yet under Seljuk suzerainty.⁹¹⁸ Although the Kurdish mountain region was liberated from the Oghuz, there was no decisive attack against the enemy, despite Frāmurz in Isfahan having submitted again to Abū Kālījār in 1045 VII/19–VIII/17 (Muḥ. AH 437),⁹¹⁹ who also was able to take a favourable flank position in Khuzistan,⁹²⁰ and despite the fact that the hostile Kurdish brothers Abū ʿl-Shawk and Muhalhil were reconciled. This inaction was even more surprising when, after Abū ʿl-Shawk's death (10 April 1046 = 30 Ram. AH 437), a quarrel over the inheritance broke out between his brother Muhalhil (who had married Abū ʿl-Shawk's widow) and his son Su'dā, which ended with Muhalhil conquering Qirmīsīn and Dinavar. Su'dā promptly turned to Ibrāhīm Jynal (1046 IX/5–X/4 = Rabīʿ I AH 438).⁹²¹ But although the Oghuz interfered in the quarrel as his partisans and | supported him, Muhalhil and his brother Surkhāb finally claimed the victory over Su'dā and his Oghuz helpers in the fight for Hulwan and the region of Māhdasht (Māidasht, south-east of Hulwan).⁹²² However, this success was rendered void by the rebellion of Kurdish and Lurian tribes against Surkhāb, due to which Su'dā was

[127]

912 LeStrange 186f.

913 See Zambaur 212.

914 Khānlanjān; on the upper Zāyanda Rūd west of Isfahan: LeStrange 206f.

915 Athīr IX 160.

916 Athīr IX 162, 177 (twice: 1040–41 and 1042–43).

917 Athīr IX 170.

918 Matthew 80–82. See p. 119 above.

919 See p. 125 above.

920 Athīr IX 182.

921 Athīr IX 182f.

922 Athīr IX 183f.

freed while his uncle Surkhāb remained in Seljuk captivity.⁹²³ Isfahan under Farāmūrz resisted a siege and only reluctantly agreed to have the Friday prayer said for Tughril Beg.⁹²⁴ After concluding a peace treaty with Abū Kālījār (1047 IX/25–X/23 = Rabīʿ II AH 439), who was decidedly weakened by the loss of 12,000 horses in Isfahan, Ibrāhīm Jynal succeeded in occupying the fortress of Kangavar (Kinkivar), where Kershāsp of Hamadan had stationed a garrison (1047 XI/23–XII/21 = Jum. II AH 439). After bitter and long-drawn-out battles, he also succeeded in taking a great number of castles in Kurdistan, as well as forcing Surkhāb and also Suʿdā to flee to Mesopotamia, while Muhalhīl soon asserted himself again in Shahrazur (1048–49 = AH 440).⁹²⁵ A brief Oghuz advance as far as the Baghdad region showed the caliphs and their Buyid lords the seriousness of the situation despite the treaty that had only recently been concluded.⁹²⁶

The death of Abū Kālījār in his fortieth (lunar) year on 15 Oct. 1048 (4 Jum. I AH 440) during a campaign to Janāb in Kirman⁹²⁷ brought considerable relief to the position of the Seljuks, because quarrels over his legacy soon arose between his sons Abū Mansūr Pōlādh Sutūn (Fūlāsutūn)⁹²⁸ and Abū Naṣr Khusrau Pērōz al-Malik al-Raḥīm, the heir of Mesopotamia. During the fighting Fars, and especially its capital Shiraz (1049 and 1051 = AH 440–41 and 443), as well as Ahvaz (1050 = AH 442) and Rāmhōrmīzd, repeatedly changed hands. Differences between the Farsi and Baghdadī Turks as well as differences between the latter and the Daylamis played a considerable role in these conflicts.⁹²⁹ Eventually Pōlādh Sutūn turned to Tughril Beg from Iṣṭakhr. In the meantime he had fallen out with Ibrāhīm Jynal and had relieved him of the command of this region⁹³⁰ and after a year-long siege he had taken Isfahan in the summer of 1051 and driven out its ruler Abū Maṣṣūr ibn ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla to Yazd,⁹³¹ while his nephew Alp Arslan had finally conquered Fasā and Fars in [128] | 1050 IX/21–X/20 = Jum. I AH 442.⁹³² Thus the Seljuk armies already stood southwest of Shiraz, and a trend towards desertion became common among al-Malik al-Raḥīm's troops, especially among those that were Turks. Only

923 Athīr IX 184f.

924 Athīr IX 184.

925 Athīr IX 187.

926 Athīr IX 185f.

927 Athīr IX 188; Zark. 37. *EI* I 100f.

928 Justi, *Namb.* 255.

929 Athīr IX 189–91, 193f., 197f.

930 Athīr IX 192.

931 Athīr IX 194.

932 Athīr IX 195.

Daylamis from Ahvaz and some Turks from Baghdad (who were hostile to the others) remained at the Buyid's side. Defeated by rebels around 9 Sept. 1051 (late Rabi' II AH 443) at Ahvaz, al-Malik was forced back to Wāsiṭ.⁹³³ Kershāsp, as administrator of Pōlād Sutūn, took over the governorship in Ahvaz, but died soon afterwards (1051–52 = AH 443).⁹³⁴

Although al-Malik al-Raḥīm prevailed in Mesopotamia, succeeded in conquering Basra,⁹³⁵ forced Su'dā into submission⁹³⁶ and, in 1053 VIII/19–IX/17 (Jum. I AH 445), took Argān,⁹³⁷ Shiraz remained for now in the hands of Abū Maṣṣūr. He had the Friday prayer said for Tughril Beg,⁹³⁸ who, however, was unable to prevent al-Malik al-Raḥīm from re-taking Shiraz in 1055 IV/2–V/1 (Muh. AH 447) after a prolonged siege.⁹³⁹ The Seljuk ruler was much preoccupied with the advance of one of his divisions as far as Erzurum and Kars in 1049–50,⁹⁴⁰ which was accompanied by numerous atrocities, and with repelling a Ghaznavid advance into Khurasan (1052–53).⁹⁴¹ Above all he was leading a campaign to subject Azerbaijan, and another one against Armenia, which included the unsuccessful siege of the fortress of Malāzḡird (Manzikert) northwest of Lake Van, which was defended by the Byzantines. He was also conducting an advance to the mouth of the Chorokh on the Black Sea coast in 1054–55. All of this meant that he could not intervene in southern Persia.⁹⁴²

The campaign in Caucasia was clearly the decisive manoeuvre. For while the Buyids had been able to stop the Seljuk advance in the south despite all their family quarrels, now the ruler of Tabriz, Abū Maṣṣūr Vehsūdḥān ibn Muḥammad al-Ravvādī, the emir of Diyarbakir and also the lord of Takrit on the Tigris,⁹⁴³ submitted to the victorious Tughril Beg, whose emissaries had been received very hospitably at the caliph's court in 1051–52 (AH 443).⁹⁴⁴ While the Turks of Baghdad | were still quarrelling with the usurper al-Basāsīrī,⁹⁴⁵ who [129]

933 Athīr IX 199.

934 Athīr IX 200.

935 Athīr IX 204. *EI* II 1051 (s.v. Khusraw Fīrūz); Bowen, 'The Last Buwayhids'.

936 Athīr IX 204, 206.

937 Athīr IX 205.

938 TS 372f.; Athīr IX 206.

939 Athīr IX 210.

940 Arist. B 268–82, 285f.; Thomas Arc. 249f.; Matthew 83–88. Kasravī II 95–98.

941 Athīr IX 202.

942 Arist. B 289–300; *K'art'lis ts'khovreba* 209–17; Brosset, *Add.* 58.; Byz. reports *ibid.* 222–26; Matthew 98–102; Athīr IX 207. *EI* III 220; Kasravī III 43f.

943 Athīr IX 207f.

944 Athīr IX 200.

945 Athīr IX 211.

was based in southern Mesopotamia and who had caused much grief already for the caliphs and the Buyids and who would soon submit to the Isma'īite Fatimids, Tughril Beg was able to enter Baghdad on 18 Dec 1055 (25 Ram. AH 447) and free the caliph from the suzerainty of the Shi'ite Buyids.⁹⁴⁶ Al-Malik al-Raḥīm was soon (1056) captured and ended his life in 1058 (AH 450) as a prisoner in Rayy, while Pōlād Sutūn died in 1056 as a captive of the rebel Faẓlōē. The last remnants of Buyid power were thus removed.

If we look at the fortunes of Iran in the previous centuries, what remains – especially for the tenth and eleventh centuries – is the impression of a confused mess of consecutive, more or less local power struggles that form an ever-repeating cycle of cities and regions being conquered, plundered and then lost. Only the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (949–83), after the terrible interregnum between the demise of Ṣaffārid power in 900 and the rise of the Buyids in the period 934–45, can be considered a period of peace in western and southern Persia and the peak of Samanid power in eastern Iran (Khurasan). After that, neither the Buyids nor the Ghaznavids were able to create a moment's respite for the Persian plateau, even briefly or locally, and the numerous little local dynasties had not been able to do so either. All this showed clearly that with all the suffering and loss of blood the Persians were not capable of taking their political fate into their own hands at that time. They were not able to unite their country and thus create the basis for a constructive development of agriculture, trade and industry, of art and science. It is not surprising then that both contemporaries and their successors perceived the years of Seljuk (i.e. Turkish) foreign rule as a salvation from perpetual strife, from cruel and futile destruction and annihilation. The second half of the eleventh century – under Tughril Beg (d. 1063), Alp Arslan (1063–72) and Malikshāh (1072–92), but especially under the outstanding, rightly and (up until the present day) widely praised vizier Niẓām al-Mulk – became a time of recovery and prosperity for Iran and Mesopotamia, even more so as the Seljuks quickly opened themselves up to Iranian-Muslim culture. They ushered in that period of foreign dynasties which followed each other in the possession of Iran, but which, because of their respective affiliations with the culture of the country, again and again brought times of intellectual and material prosperity.

946 Ḥus., 'Urāḍa 297; Rav. 105f.; Ḥus. 13–16; Bund. 10.

The Religious Situation

The Islamization of Persia

Whoever wishes to gain a full understanding of the cultural conditions of the East will have to endeavour to familiarise themselves with the prevailing religious situation. This applies especially to Persia from the seventh to the eleventh centuries CE, since this is the time during which this country gave up the religion which it had called its own for over a millennium, namely Zoroastrianism, and joined the emerging religion of Islam. Consequently, the Persian nation contributed to the broadening of Islam beyond the confines of a merely Arab national religion and helped to give it the character of a world religion in a way that few others can claim.

Yet the development of this religion in Persia was quite different from its progress in many other countries in the Middle East. Almost all the Persians became Muslims within a few centuries without significant outside coercion on the part of their conquerors. This contrasted with the situations in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Spain where large Christian communities remained in existence for centuries and either victoriously prevailed, as in Spain through the re-conquest undertaken by the Christian kingdoms of the North, or survived as smaller communities, as in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. However, Persia did not wholly lose itself by adopting Islam. To a great extent it moulded Islam into a religion suitable for its own needs. The Persian national spirit asserted itself independently and successfully in the Khārijite and Shi'ite communities of this country, and later in its brand of mysticism, even though these religious movements were not genuinely Persian. On the other hand, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and largely also North Africa gave up their languages, despite the fact that these tongues went back to languages of the civilised world which had millennia of history behind them, as was the case with Aramaic and Coptic. Even the Christians in these areas came to speak the language of the Muslim conquerors after a few centuries. But this was not so in Persia. Even as a Muslim country it retained its language and managed to preserve it through years of Arab supremacy, with the result that finally it was able to usher in, with Firdawsī, an era of literary New Persian, to which the world owes many an immortal piece of literature.

This process is not simply explained by the low density of the Arab settlements. Even in the heavily settled river valleys | of the Euphrates–Tigris and [134]

the Nile, the Arabs can have constituted only a minority, and the affinity of the languages cannot be sufficient in order to understand this process, as Coptic was not noticeably any more related to Arabic than Persian. Therefore it is advisable to deal with the Islamization of Persia in detail in order to arrive at a solution to this problem. Hence we shall begin by focusing on the expansion, formation and character of Islam in Iran. The subsequent chapters will attempt to sketch the situation of the other religions in this region, in particular undertaking an evaluation of Zoroastrianism's contact with and reaction to Islam in early medieval Persia.

The Muslim Arabs had often experienced swift and easy successes in spreading their religion among their Christian neighbours on the edge of the Syrian desert (although by no means did all Christian tribes convert immediately to the teachings of the Prophet). Thus it is not surprising that (Christian) Arab units in the ranks of the Persian army would often join the new religion quickly, and we know that the Muslims – often successfully – asked them deliberately 'as their countrymen' to join them, with the result that the Persian army was weakened at the crucial moment.¹ For the Persians, the situation was different. The existence of their state and their nation was at stake if they did not persist in their conviction. And yet the protracted battles of the preceding decades which brought with them the disintegration of inner morale led some Iranians to turn towards Islam early on as well, though probably not towards the dissolution of the social structure of the state,² as we have no reason to assume this to have been happening at this particular time. We are told that these recruits were officers, who were then joined by a larger or smaller number of their [135] soldiers.³ Their aim was to gain social, | military and economic equality with the Arabs. Only the promise of a considerable part of the spoils by the caliph

1 Ṭab. I 2278 (636); 2475 (637: Arabs from the tribes of Taghlib, Iyād and Namr, who formed the garrison of the fortress of Takrit); Athīr II 202 (637). For a general comparison see Gautier, *L'Islamisation de l'histoire de Maghreb*.

2 Christensen¹ 431f. also mentions the inner disintegration of the Zoroastrian religion, which is, however, difficult to detect after the great restoration at the end of the fifth century.

3 Ṭab. I 2284 reports explicitly that from among the three possible options which the Arabs normally proposed for a peace (see p. 294 below: 'Terms of submission') the general Rustam referred to the acceptance of Islam as the most agreeable [AD: actually this sentiment was expressed by the Arab offering the choice to Rustam and not by Rustam himself; cf. Ṭab. I 2279]. See also: Ṭab. I 2257 (635; where a dream is said to have played a part); I 2260 (635); 2265 (635); Athīr II 214 (643). These converts were, however, not completely reliable and would occasionally turn their weapons against the Arabs in favour of their countrymen, for example in 710 in eastern Iran: Ṭab. II 1228. Caet. III 916–20; Dennett 32.

‘Umar himself could placate their discontent when the Arabs, despite promises of this social equality,⁴ did not treat them according to their expectations.

Admiration for the military success of the Arabs is given as a reason for their conversion⁵ and in the event of the conversion of a whole unit this fact was stressed explicitly by their commander.⁶ This argument is surely correct if it is interpreted as these circles endeavouring to preserve their standing within the nation beyond the imminent collapse of the Sasanid state. When the Persian landed gentry, the *dēhkāns*, who were the actual backbone of the Persian state⁷ and who were already acquainted with monotheistic religions through Manichaeism and Christianity,⁸ realised that the expectations of their peers were coming true, they also converted to Islam in increasing numbers. The Arabs for their part did not fail to turn towards these influential circles with their call for conversion on many occasions. We hear repeatedly of events of this kind, which stretched over many decades and even centuries: around 653,⁹ 700,¹⁰ 730,¹¹ 830,¹² 893,¹³ and 895.¹⁴ They are also mentioned by the grandfather of the geographer Ibn Khurdādhbih,¹⁵ the writer ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (Persian: Rōzbih; eighth century)¹⁶ and a poet from Daylam (1003–4).¹⁷

4 The Arabic negotiator al-Mughīra portrayed the payment of the *jizya* as explicitly dishonouring to the Persian general Rustam and advised him to convert: Ṭab. I 2278.

5 Ṭab. I 2563 (638): here the disputes between the Arabs and Persians over social, military and political equality are extensively described. 725–26 with the ruler of Gharshistan: Ṭab. II 1489; Athīr v 51.

6 Bal. 373 (around 640). Schwarz IV 417.

7 See p. 433f. below.

8 Bal. 314 (after the conquest of Isfahan 644–45 etc.): see the following comments and Sadighi 61; Lewis 24. The ‘king’ of Kabul who converted to Islam around 810 after the conquest of the city by al-Ma’mūn (Bal. 402) also belongs to this group. Nikitin, Nat., 227.

9 Bal. 406 (Marv al-Rōdh).

10 A chief of the Sūl, called Turks here (see p. 240 n. below): Aghāni/Cairo x 43.

11 In Bukhara: Narsh. 59.

12 The ‘king’ of Kabul: Bal. 402.

13 The emir of Ṭarāz converted to Islam with many *dēhkāns* ‘because of a military campaign’: Narsh. 84.

14 A political opponent sends money to another in Ṭabaristan in order to convince him to convert and to enter into a political alliance: Ibn Isf. 192f.

15 Ibn Khurd. VII according to Fihr.

16 The translator of the *Khvadhāy-nāmāgh*: Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 103.

17 Ibn Khall./Wüst. III 517.

[136] In exceptional cases | similar encouragement originated with the caliph himself, for instance around 720,¹⁸ 785,¹⁹ and 805 in the case of a prince in Mazandaran,²⁰ around 830 for the local prince Mā(h)yazdyār (Māzyār),²¹ and finally again in 841–42 (or 854–55) for his successor Qārin II ibn Shahriyār.²² ‘Religious disputations’ (*mujādala*),²³ which had been popular in the Orient since time immemorial, were also held with this purpose in mind. One such event was organised by the caliph al-Ma’mūn around 817 in Marv between Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians, without directly forcing the (naturally!) ‘inferior’ Zoroastrians to convert.²⁴ Under these circumstances the result was always the same. Everywhere mosques were built,²⁵ everywhere the leading class joined the religion of the conquerors, and in return the conquerors allowed them to maintain their influence and even married into their families.²⁶ Only in the time of new fiscal regulations under ‘Umar II were there riots against the *dēhkāns* in some places.²⁷

18 Bal. 426.

19 Ibn Isf. 131 (a nobleman in Ṭabaristan). The vizier Faḍl ibn Sahl converted following the demand of a Barmakid: Must. 308; according to Sam. 240 v (centre) following al-Ma’mūn’s demand.

20 Ṭab. III 705.

21 However, once back home he reverted to Zoroastrianism, thereby also revoking the alliance with the caliph: Bal. 339; Ibn Isf. 150, 152f.; Awl. 55. His father Qārin had declined the caliph’s demand of conversion outright around 815; Ibn Isf. 146.

22 Ibn Isf. 157, 237. Sadighi 63.

23 See Bratke, *Religionsgespräch*. Perlmann quotes a manuscript in Persian script from 1806–7 which reports a religious disputation held as late as 1796–97 (AH 1211) between a Muslim and a Jew: ‘A Late Muslim–Jewish Disputation’, 51–58. See also Sadighi 66f.

24 A Muslim (Shi’ite) report about this is preserved in Ibn Bābawayh (Bābōē) al-Qummī, *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* (written ca. 1000), Persian lithograph 1858, ch. XII, pp. 87–100, and in Theodor Abū Qurra, who perhaps took part himself, see Guillaume, ‘A Debate between Christian and Moslem Doctors’, 233–44. The Zoroastrian report is in Barthélemy, *Gujastak Abalish*. For the classical transmission of these public disputations see Grünebaum 248, n. 63.

25 We occasionally hear about this in the country of Tawwaj ca. 640: Bal. 386; Ist. 651–52: Ṭab. I 2885; Qaṣr al-Aḥnaf (Khurasan) 653: use of the castle courtyard for prayer: Bal. 406; the first mosque in Bukhara in 712–13, the second in 771: Narsh. 47f., 58; Barthold, ‘O christianstvė’, 20; for Amul 793–94 see: Ṭab. III 651–706; Ibn Isf. 26; for Ṭukharistan 794: Ṭab. III 631; Ya’q., Hist. 304.

26 Ca. 760 in the case of a *dēhkān* in Bamiyan: Ya’q., Buld. 289.

27 Bal. 289 (al-Madā’in), 386 (Tawwaj), 392 (Arraghān); Athīr v 55.

Direct force leading to conversion was certainly exercised more often than the Muslim sources admit,²⁸ just as the fact that the striking of Sura 9:33 on Umayyad and early Abbasid coins indicates missionary awareness ('He has sent His messenger with guidance and with the true religion, in order to make it visible to every other religion, [though the unbelievers may not want this]' – the latter part is missing from some coin types).²⁹ However, indirect pressure – for example after the suppressed religious rebellions in Khurasan in the second half of the eighth century – was certainly substantial, and the hopelessness of further conflict moved especially the leading (still Zoroastrian) circles to join Islam.³⁰ Despite the fact that Armenian reports about the conduct of individual governors and other influential men in their territory³¹ are very exaggerated in their detail (which shall not be discussed here), we have to believe them in that attempts at very forceful conversion did indeed occur repeatedly and that, by analogy, significant conclusions may be drawn for Iran from these descriptions where the indigenous sources are silent on the subject.

It is certain that the caliph al-Ma'mūn conducted a military campaign in Transoxania in 820 with a missionary purpose,³² and, once converted, the inhabitants of that region, as well as those of Sogdia and Ferghana, became armed Muslim spearheads of the faith against the Turks further east.³³ We are likewise told that around 830 the ruler of Ṭabaristan conducted a religious campaign against the Daylamis and forced them to accept Islam; although he only did so in order to evade his duty to appear at court in Baghdad.³⁴ Muslim sources highlight from an early date the voluntary nature of conversions, which proves that people refused to admit the forceful propagation of Qur'anic doctrine. Of course the Zoroastrians were regarded as 'people of the book' from an early date as well,³⁵ and during the first decades only very few chose to

28 The new governor in Sistan forced people in 666–67 to occupy themselves with the sciences of the Qur'an 'and all the Zoroastrians became Muslims because of the excellence of its conduct of life': TS 91. Nevertheless, in ca. 702 Islam had been made 'sweet in the hearts' of the inhabitants; at least they had progressed already far enough in their knowledge of Islam that the political aims could be religiously motivated ('what al-Ḥajjāj is doing is *sharī'a*'): TS 115.

29 See p. 415f. below and Tiesenhansen xiv.

30 This is not the place to list them individually. See, for instance, John Catholicos 96f. (796), 108–11 = Thomas Arc. 109–18 (853) etc.

31 Narsh. 60.

32 Bal. 431.

33 Bal. 431.

34 Ibn Isf. 149.

35 See p. 183f. below.

leave their native country to join the religion of the conquerors.³⁶ Conversely, [138] political affiliation | with the Arab cause always meant conversion to Islam as well, whereas defection from the Arabs often entailed abandoning the Qur'an.³⁷

Because of the status of the *dēhkāns* there could be no question about the fact that each time they converted a considerable number of their followers converted with them.³⁸ This led to great numbers of proselytes being won, especially in Khurasan, in eastern Persia. These appear to have been mostly nominal conversions, since it seems that Zoroastrianism was not rooted very deeply in the rural population (or no longer was).³⁹ This meant that the religious content of Muḥammad's message was taken into consideration only secondarily, or, put differently, that for these circles only the official (and soon to be 'Sunni') faith was relevant and that further theological considerations did not have a part to play. Thus the Islamization of Persia started mainly in the upper echelons of society, in those circles which were the true proprietors of Iranian culture and which also maintained the old Persian heroic traditions with their chivalric idea of life.⁴⁰ They had no reason to abandon their cultural heritage, since the social milieu in which they lived remained unchanged. This is a considerable part of the answer to the question as to why Persian culture and the Persian language survived into the Islamic era.

However, by no means did this encompass all classes. Above all the cities and large parts of the rural population, especially those living on the state domains which had gone over directly into Islamic administration and on other *agri deserti*,⁴¹ remained untouched by the above concerns. However, for a number of reasons, Islam took deep root from an early period here as well. The city population tended to follow the rulers for political reasons, and the craftsmen, who worked with fire, water and soil and who were despised by the Zoroastrians for being impure, came to view acceptance of Islam as a liberation from this oppression. In addition, certain parallels between

36 Thus 30 inhabitants of Isfahan who did not want to join the treaty concluded with the Arabs in 642 emigrated to Kirman: Ṭab. I 2640. See also p. 188 below.

37 Around 750 and again in 782–83 the ruler of Bukhara: Narsh. 9. Similarly the Samanids regarded a region near Bukhara as 'abandoned' around 930 after the defection of the local emir: *ibid.* 9f. 650–51 Gurgan: Athīr III 42. Around 755 the inhabitants of Amul (Ṭabaristan) converted to Islam when prompted, 'since they were weary of the rule of their *ispāhbadh*': Ibn Isf. 121 (source of Dorn/Khōnd. 9).

38 The same happened later on with the Turks: Arnold, *Preaching*, 183f.

39 See Ross in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, I 131f.

40 See the report about al-Afshīn (840) in Athīr VI 174–76. That social considerations were decisive in the conversion of Christians in Mesopotamia as well is expressed clearly by Ibn Ishāq: see Graf II 127.

41 See Becker, *Islamstudien*, 211.

Zoroastrianism and Islam may have eased the transition. | The forces of Good and Evil could be found in Allāh and Iblīs, while the creation of the world over six periods (days), the resurrection and hell, angels and demons, and the account of the originally good nature of the first humans are found in both religions.⁴² The custom of the five daily prayers may even have passed into Islam from Zoroastrianism.⁴³ Thus the change may not have been too difficult for some.⁴⁴ In less civilized regions such as Daylam, Islam found a way in via veteran mercenaries around 800, a phenomenon which, as is well known, can be seen elsewhere as well.

However, it was primarily political and economic reasons that were decisive. Thus we often hear that great parts of the population converted to Islam immediately after the conquest, for instance in Gondēshāpūr,⁴⁵ in Samarkand ('after the burning of the idols'),⁴⁶ in the mountain region of Nimrōdh (near this city),⁴⁷ in Ustrūshana around 810⁴⁸ (likewise via the local ruler),⁴⁹ and as late as 971 the population of Tīz and Makran converted.⁵⁰ Conversely, some cities and regions accepted Islam more than once as they returned to their former religion after the withdrawal of the Arab troops or after equality had been refused to them.⁵¹ The Arabs likewise saw a Turkish invitation to defect from the caliphate (728) as equivalent to a defection from Islam.⁵² Unscrupulous careerists, therefore, changed their religion depending on the political situation.⁵³

The population of Bukhara in particular made this change frequently, but it had previously been predominantly Buddhist, and thus had already been part

42 Dozy, *Islamisme*, 157.

43 Concerning the prayer times in the early Islam see Paret, *Grenzen*, 31–35 and the sources mentioned there.

44 Ibid. 191; Gobineau, *Les religions et les philosophies*, 55f.; id., *Trois ans en Asie*, 306–10; Schaefer, *Vollk. Mensch.* 197; Krymśkiy I 20f.; id., *Istoriya arabov*, II, 130–38. For similar motifs among the Bedouin see, for example, Nallino, *Racc.* VI, 49.

45 Bal. 382 [AD]; Arnold, *Preaching*, 210.

46 Bal. 421 [AD].

47 Ca. 707: Bal. 428 [AD, who also notes that Nimrōdh, the name of the lord of Gharshistan, should probably be read Namrūn, as in Ṭab. II 1488, where the date is given as 725–26, not 707].

48 Bal. 430f. [AD, who gives the date, from Ṭab. III 1066, as 822–23].

49 In addition to them also inhabitants of Fergana and Sogdia: Bal. 431 [AD].

50 Misk. II 299 [AD].

51 Bal. 375 [AD].

52 Consequently Gurgan had to be conquered twice: Ya'q., *Buld.* 277 [AD: in 676 and 716–17 according to Ṭab. II 177–80, 1317f. and Bal. 411ff.].

53 Athīr v 56.

of a world religion. Only after the fourth subjugation did it remain under Islam when troops who were billeted in the town monitored the inhabitants for religious practice: residents were rewarded with money (two dirhams) for attending mosque services, the Buddhist monasteries (*kūshks* with ‘dervishes’) were destroyed, and the use of the Iranian language sometimes allowed in worship.⁵⁴

[140] However, around 730 | (surely it must be read thus instead of ‘around 780’) the majority of the population was still not Muslim and the Arabs put down a religious revolt only with difficulty.⁵⁵ That the old religious beliefs were still alive here despite everything can be seen from the fact that in Bukhara a table, which was apparently a relic of old Sogdian sacrificial rituals, was still being set up and was touched only by ‘the bravest’. The gradual displacement of such rituals by Islam only caused tempers within the city to become heated again.⁵⁶

The economic motive was even more conspicuous among the innately conservative rural population.⁵⁷ The Sogdians soon turned their backs on Islam when the tax relief stopped and they even explicitly demanded exemption from punishment for those who left the religion and, against all Qur’anic commandments and all Islamic customs, the Arab governor was compelled to make this concession (741).⁵⁸ Based on this arrangement the *afshīn* felt justified, in 838–39, in punishing Muslims who had destroyed idols (*aṣnām*) in Ushrūhana, which was at that time especially hostile to Islam;⁵⁹ an act which later at his trial certainly counted very much against him.⁶⁰

54 744: Ṭab. II 1859. Wiet 122.

55 Narsh. 46f., 73 (see Krymśkiy I 19). Vámbéry, *Geschichte Bochara’s*, 33f.; Arnold, *Preaching*, 183. The local language still played a part in Central Asia in the fourteenth century: see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, III 8. It is also remarkable in this context that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa III 5 reports that even in the fourteenth century the inhabitants of Khwarazm were summoned individually to the religious service ‘following an old tradition’, and that the tardy were still publicly flogged in the mosque at that time. This is certainly connected to such coercive measures from the early Islamic period in these regions.

56 Narsh. 58; Ṭab. II 1146 (704) [AD]. See Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.*, 97f.

57 Bal. 265, 312 (in each case nobles), 321 (Qazvin), 323.

58 Ṭab. II 1717f. [AD]; Barthold, *Turk.* 181f.

59 Ṭab. II 1718 [AD: III 1309; in 840 not 838–39], III 1318; Athīr v 92. That the Sogdians only accepted Islam for economic reasons was well known in the Islamic territory: Athīr v 54f. Relapses from Islam also happened elsewhere: 650–51ff. in Gurgan: Athīr III 42, but also for example as late as 1205–6 among a client tribe of the Ghōr: Ibn al-Sāṭī 169. Islam did not have a particularly strong hold in the Ghōr 982 (contra the statements of Hud. 110), see the statements in Ist. and Ibn Ḥawq. as well as Hud. 344; in 1010–11 Maḥmūd of Ghazna still had Islam preached intensively here: Athīr IX 76.

60 For this see Minorsky, ‘Tamīm ibn Baḥr’s Journey’, 275. Of course, this is why he was put on trial, and when he died it became quite clear that he was in no way a devout Muslim (see p. 66f. above).

The central government had to take these circumstances into consideration if it wanted Islam to continue expanding. The Umayyads did not realize this until comparatively late; in 702 al-Ḥajjāj⁶¹ | still returned peasants, who had converted and settled in the cities of Mesopotamia as there was no land tax there, to the rural areas and disregarded any religious ramifications of this move.⁶² Only ‘Umar II’s (717–20) fiscal laws showed an intention of changing these tactics significantly. How this operated can be seen in the Arab historians’ candid descriptions, which commented quite frankly on economic reasons for conversion.⁶³ Thus they report that in 728–29 a great wave of conversions to Islam began in Samarkand and the rest of Transoxania when the poll tax (*jizya*) was remitted for converts. This naturally led to a collapse of the state finances here and to fierce controversy over the question of whether the old practice was to be re-established and taxes to be levied. When this latter policy was favoured, revolts and insurrections took place, which were suppressed only with difficulty.⁶⁴ What happened here also took place elsewhere on Iranian territory, providing the basis for the religious dissatisfaction of the Muslims, for their revolt against the ‘godless regime’ of the Umayyads and consequently for the success of Abbasid and Shi‘ite propaganda. How far Zoroastrian *dēhkāns* were also caught up in this movement must be left open. In any case, Muslim faith and participation in the government no longer coincided and one of the starting points for the orientation of the Persians towards heterodoxy is to be found here.

But something else became apparent. At this time religious polemical literature and an official Islamic mission first appeared,⁶⁵ carried out by individuals who were more serious about the proclamation of the new truth.⁶⁶ Many

61 Athīr VI 174–76.

62 Ṭab. II 1122f. [AD]; see p. 391f. below and *EI* II 214–16.

63 Ṭab. II 1507–10 [AD].

64 Already at the time of the conquests: Bal. 314 (Isfahan), 321 (Qazvin). Cf. Ṭab. II 1354: ‘When ‘Umar II forbade the levying of the *jizya* on new converts, people hastened to Islam, in order to free themselves from this tax. The governor of Khurasan was asked to have them examined by a circumciser (*khātin*). The governor wrote about this to the caliph, who replied that God had sent Muḥammad as a religious recruiter and not as a circumciser’.

65 Compilation in Sadighi 104f. (against the Manichaeans). Concerning Zoroastrian polemic literature see p. 193 below.

66 Wellh., *Arab*. 309. That on the occasion of the death of the great orthodox theologian Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (855) 20,000 Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians converted to Islam (perhaps because of distress at his demise) (Ibn Khall. I 45) may justifiably be relegated to the realm of pious myths, but it shows nevertheless that such events were welcome in Abbasid times (unlike during the Umayyad era). For a general overview see Toynbee, *Gang*² 486f., who, however, does not consider the weight of the economic burden

[142] of | these were ‘clients’,⁶⁷ i.e. Persians who inwardly followed Islam and were surely often members of the second and third generations. They had no misgivings about criticising the ‘worldly’ actions of the state, and they demanded that the salvation of human souls be pursued in earnest through winning them for the Qur’an, even if this did not constitute an advantage for the state. This became apparent for example in 728–29 in the movement discussed above⁶⁸ and at this time the missionaries accused the governor of fraud and of breaking his promises.

From now on the missionary movement continued, whether the official manifestation, which conformed to the official position of the state, or the rather more active Shi’ite one, which was made of various persuasions who stood in opposition to the official line.⁶⁹ The emerging mysticism provided this development with a considerable boost, and the effect someone from these circles could have for the expansion of religion became apparent in the actions of sheikh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Shahriyār al-Kāzarūnī (963–1034).⁷⁰ Eastern Iran became the starting point for the conversion of the Turks, in which the Abbasid caliphate took a part later on as well. Here, as elsewhere,⁷¹ coercion was almost never used. Conversion took place largely voluntarily and continuously,⁷² but

on the non-Muslims to be enough, although he also sees a ‘lack of political pressure’. Furthermore, conversions would have taken place in larger numbers already before the ninth century (in other areas as well as in Iran).

67 See p. 227f. below.

68 Barthold, *Turk*. 189f. (728). See p. 35 above.

69 Thus the Zaydis on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea: Mas. VIII 280, IX 4–6. See also p. 71 above and Goldziher, *Muḥ. Stud.* I 59; Donaldson 272f.

70 Maḥmūd ibn ‘Uthmān *passim*, esp. 20f., 39 (around 1000). See *ET S* 118.

71 Assemani III/1, 130f. (Christian church leaders in Fars confirm in internal correspondence that there was no coercion). A Manichaean cleric under al-Ma’mūn refused to convert, despite the fact that he had been defeated (naturally) in the preceding ‘religious disputation’, see p. 136 nn. above.

72 Mas. VIII 279–80 (873); IX 4–5 (Daylam 912); Bal. 430f. (under al-Ma’mūn). There were conversions for political reasons here, too; for instance in 1064 the conversion of an emir in Khurasan when joining the Seljuks: Ḥus. 19. See also Yāq/Wüst. I 839 (Hishām 724–43) and for a general overview Barthold, *Christ.* 20f.; Barthold, *Vorl.* 79, 85, 141f.; Arnold, *Preaching*, 178–80. Regarding the conversion of 1,000 (according to Abū ‘l-Fīdā III 120: 5,000) Turkish ‘tents’, who led a nomadic existence near the (Volga-)Bulgar country in the summer and near Balāsāghūn in the winter (1043), see Barthold, *Christ.* 50. For Islam’s penetration into China see Pelliot and d’Ollone, ‘Les origines de l’Islam en Chine’, 399; Ollone, ‘De la collection d’ouvrages musulmans chinois’, 401; id., ‘Propagation de l’Islam en Chine’, 218 and 426; Mason, ‘The Mohammedans of China’, p. 42ff. (he proves that the Chinese information is deficient).

comparatively | slowly.⁷³ Turkish rulers immediately took their obligation to promulgate the faith very seriously even in the first generation after the conversion⁷⁴ and let themselves be led by religious considerations in their military campaigns.⁷⁵ From the middle of the tenth century onwards the caliph expected them to liberate him from the tutelage of the Shi'ite Buyids⁷⁶ and Sübüktigin was prevented from supporting the emir of Nuşratābādh due to the fact that the emir was pressurizing Sübüktigin's army through money payments and the claim that their lord was a heretic (*zindīq*).⁷⁷ [143]

While the Zoroastrian population's swift embrace of Islam was primarily for social and economic reasons, with genuine acceptance of the faith of Islam following only later, we can only presume the same with regards to the other religions of the country. It is true that we hear only very little of them, firstly because of the small number of people following them, but also because it is not always clear in the Arabic sources which religion the converts came from, and finally because the reports of the faiths themselves are mostly missing. At least we have the Christian testimonies, which | speak of a trend to apostasy in Fars as well as elsewhere, and of 'seducers' who gained importance around 700.⁷⁸ However, these sources do not give any particular reasons for apostasy. Even so, such causes are obvious: economic considerations and the possibility for social advancement would certainly have played a role here, too,⁷⁹ and in [144]

73 Narsh. 47f., 58; Barthold, *Christ.* 20. See also Marquart, 'Ġuwainī's Bericht', 486–502.

74 Maḥmūd of Ghazna's behaviour in India is well known (see p. 112 above), and also towards the Isma'ilis and Qarmaṭis in Ray in 1029 (Gard. 91). In 1031 his son Mas'ūd sent two embassies of theologians to Turkestan in order to work for the promulgation of Islam there: Bayh. 209. His son Ibrāhīm (around 1060ff.) built around 400 mosques, madrasas, *ribāts* and caravanserais during his 62-year long rule: Dawl. 94.

75 When pleading for peace from the commander (and nephew) of the emir of Tashkent in 989–90, the inhabitants of Gurgan referred to the Qur'an: Nikbī 150. When proposing an alliance to the sultan Sübüktigin around 997, the Qarakhanid Ilig-Khan referred to the similarity of the religions and stated that they should fight the infidel Turks and Indians together: Nikbī 192; Athīr IX 169. Only the news of his father's death could deter Mas'ūd of Ghazna from a campaign against the Rūm in 1030 which he deemed necessary for the strengthening of the caliphate (this was of course pretence): Bayh. 74. In 1040 Seljūk freed the Muslim city of Jand (not far from the mouth of the Syr Darya) from the tribute which the Oghuz had imposed on it: Athīr IX 322.

76 Ibn Ḥawq. 472 [AD: Muq. 472].

77 TS 339.

78 Assemani III/1, 130f. Sachau, *Christ.*, 976.

79 An Arab poet of the eleventh century (Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, d. 1057) explains that the reason behind the conversion of the Christians was greed: 'He only wants power or fears the judge or wants to get married': Mez 29¹.

addition there was occasionally the necessity to evade punishment.⁸⁰ The Christians in Fars soon saw a complete collapse in their religion and their Christian communities vanished without a trace. Their churches were suitable for use as mosques because of their layout, however, and we have a number of reports from all over the Iranian territory (Bukhara around 710,⁸¹ Ṭarāz⁸² in 813,⁸³ near Ispējāb)⁸⁴ about the transformation of these sacred buildings; Buddhist temples were also transformed in this way.⁸⁵ The fire temples, on the other hand, mostly escaped this fate since they were unsuitable as mosques (Iṣṭakhr being one exception).⁸⁶ Eventually they fell into disrepair and only survived as witnesses of a lost epoch in later centuries. However, there is the mausoleum of the Samanid Ismā'īl near Bukhara, the design of which is clearly based on the model of a fire temple, which thus had, in this more acceptable [145] form, a certain legacy after all.⁸⁷ | One secular building, the imperial palace (*Īwān Kisrā*) in Ctesiphon, was transformed into a 'summer mosque' (*muṣallā*) in 637.⁸⁸

80 Thus around 970 the Nestorian bishop of Azerbaijan: B. H. eccl. III 247. When it is said of the Nestorian metropolitan of Marv towards the end of the eighth century (ibid. III 171f.) that he converted to Islam because he had been found guilty of pederasty, this may have been because he would have been defrocked as a necessary consequence.

81 Narsh. 52.

82 Nowadays Jambul, previously Awliyā Ata.

83 Narsh. 84. Barthold, *Turk.* 224 (893).

84 Muq. 275. Whereas it is reported that after invading eastern Anatolia in 1064 the Seljuks burnt Christian churches: Ḥus. 25. This certainly happened also earlier on, even if it was not reported.

85 The Friday mosque which was built in Bukhara in 712–13 stood in the place of such a temple: Narsh. 47; Nasafī, Qand I 49.

86 Similarly in, for instance, Qom (Qommī 37) and in Rayy (Siyāsat-nāma 145; Buyid period). The caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–61) had a cypress destroyed which was sacred to the Zoroastrians: Qazvīnī 299; LeStrange, *Baghdad*, 355.

87 Rempel, 'The Mausoleum of Ismā'īl the Samanid', pp. 198–209; see also the work of Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*. Further buildings surviving from such ancient times are not known to us according to a personal communication to me by Kurt Erdmann (Istanbul).

88 Ṭab. I 2441; Athīr II 199. Schwarz VII 839f. discusses the age of the mosques in Jibāl and mentions the mosque in Sāva, which was built in the style of an older palace.

Islam

Sunnis

Once we realize that for the most part it was social, political, and economic reasons, along with the human tendency to join 'contemporary' trends, that prompted the conversion of the majority of Persians to the new faith, it will become clear that the old religion of this people, Zoroastrianism, had not yet become a thing of the past. This was not a case of an outdated, more or less primitive religion being absorbed by a world religion, which is what Islam was becoming at that point. This can be seen not only in the tenacity showed by Zoroastrianism for several long centuries,⁸⁹ but also in the fact that it had some influence on Islam.⁹⁰

In fact, we have here one of the reasons which contributed to the fact that the message of Muḥammad's prophethood and of the Qur'an acquired a character of its own in the Iranian linguistic area. This can be seen in the most diverse areas of religious life. Of course the variety of dogmatic forms was not a special case limited to Persian territory. On the contrary, the Persians also furthered the astute analysis of dogmatic questions at the caliph's court in Baghdad and Samarra, on Arabic-speaking territory, in conjunction with genuinely Arab Muslim forces and the influences of Christian, Jewish and Manichaeic thinking. However, developments on Persian soil did not run parallel to those in Arabia. After the conclusion of the civil war in 692 the Arabs in Syria and Mesopotamia had resigned themselves to the worldly reign of the Umayyads, which followed the old Arab tribal ideal and its advantages, as well as its religious 'liberalness'. Newly-made Persian Muslims (*mawālī*),⁹¹ and in only slightly smaller numbers the Arabs as well, rebelled against the Umayyad style of government in the eighth century and for this reason (especially in Khurasan) supported the | Shi'ite-Abbasid propaganda. The resentment of Persians who found themselves to be second-class citizens and their aversion [146] to the Arab tribes in Khurasan with their frequent internal feuds naturally played a part. However, we must not, as can sometimes happen, forget religious motives. Certainly, the reasoning of Abbasid and Shi'ite propaganda did not originate in Persian brains from the very first; nor did it grow out of the Persian concept of ruler and state. However, in the Persians it found very eager and convinced adherents and such propaganda assimilated itself to the Persian

89 See p. 192ff. below.

90 See p. 139 above.

91 See p. 227f. below.

mindset and its concept of *khvarra* (or *farra*: 'hereditary divine charisma')⁹² even outside the Persian settlement area.

Thus around the middle of the eighth century the Persians became the backbone of the important transformation which gave Islam a different face and the repercussions of which now put the Iranian people on an equal footing with the Arabs, or occasionally even above them.⁹³ The inhabitants of Khurasan were more than a little proud to have become the 'spearheads of the faith' and even a geographer⁹⁴ felt that this was worth emphasizing. In addition, the corresponding traditions (*ḥadīths*) from the mouth of the Prophet had to appear at the same time, praising the excellence of the local population there.⁹⁵ However, there is also a tradition describing them as the scourge of the other Muslims.⁹⁶

Religion and politics were naturally very closely intertwined in all this. Under Umayyad rule some leaders had repeatedly tried to fight politically unwelcome movements using religion, a sign that religious motives really had great power in these early days, predominantly among the class of Arabs who upheld the government. The rebel 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad had the governor al-Ḥajjāj condemned as an 'enemy of God';⁹⁷ Qutayba ibn Muslim used Qur'anic suras to spur on his men before a battle against unbelievers in Central Asia.⁹⁸ However, when he turned against the rightful caliph, the soldiers declared this an 'offence against religion'.⁹⁹ Political pamphlets were repeatedly read from the pulpits,¹⁰⁰ and political aims in general were often given religious justification.¹⁰¹ In 807 a rapacious governor in Khurasan [147] explained | actions he had taken against two wealthy Arabs with the claim that they were 'bad Muslims' and that therefore he had to proceed against them.¹⁰² In 722–23 the former deposed governor of this province and his replacement

92 See Bailey, *Problems*, 1–51, 52–76.

93 See pp. 232ff. below.

94 Muq. 293; see Athīr v 142, 149.

95 Muq. 293f.; see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 184 (s.v. Persia).

96 Yāq. III 408.

97 Ṭab. II 1015 [AD: Ṭab. II 1054].

98 Ṭab. II 1179.

99 Ṭab. II 1289 [AD: clearer in Athīr/Tornberg VI 27].

100 727–28 in Khurasan: Ṭab. II 1498; 745–46: *ibid.* 1920.

101 Ṭab. II 1567, 1570, 1577 (734); 1858 (744); 1931 (745–46); 1979 (747). Ṭab. II. 1291 states explicitly that a cause had to be religiously justified if the Iranians were to fight for it with any enthusiasm [AD: Ṭab. is here referring to Wakī's call to the Iranians to fight Qutayba ibn Muslim with the words 'these are fighting without religion'].

102 Ṭab. III 714.

insulted each other with the slur 'son of an uncircumcised father', which shows that they had adopted the Arabs' argument, which was presumably common elsewhere as well, against new converts¹⁰³ in order to stress the recent and therefore unstable character of their profession of Islam.¹⁰⁴

In this confusion of politics and religion, at least at the beginning (for instance in 652 in Marv) the Muslims were consistent enough to refuse the help offered to them by a pagan city¹⁰⁵ and likewise later the support of the Jewish Khazar élite until they had converted to Islam.¹⁰⁶ Abbasid propaganda went on to use religious slogans unscrupulously even in cases which were really about worldly matters. In 747 Abū Muslim called the opposing Arabs 'devils',¹⁰⁷ and the Abbasid troops tried (just as 'Alī's opponents had done at Šiffin in 657) calling on the Qur'an to confirm their position as the only correct one.¹⁰⁸ Abbasid propagators who had been arrested had no qualms in masquerading as harmless pilgrims in 746–47 and thus in using the performance of their religious duty as a pretence to evade governmental persecution¹⁰⁹ in a practice which was to be a precursor to the Shi'ite *taqīya* ('permitted dissemblance of the faith to avoid persecution').¹¹⁰ Conversely we hear of public prayers for the avoidance of dangers in politically precarious situations at an early period¹¹¹ and of instances in which the population refused to attend Friday worship because of their 'broken hearts' caused by political developments, as was the case in 1003 in Sistan.¹¹²

Despite all these reservations, it would soon become clear that many Khurasanians understood the change of 747–50 in religious terms and not just politically¹¹³ or socially. This became apparent firstly in Mesopotamia in the seat of the new caliphate. Among the throng of followers of the new regime, probably predominantly among the Khurasanis who had come here, | a religious [148]

103 See p. 229 below.

104 Ṭab. II 1455.

105 Ṭab. I 2901.

106 Misk. II 209 (the Khwarazmians).

107 Athīr v 141.

108 Ṭab. III 5; Athīr v 149.

109 Ṭab. II 195of.; Athīr v 132.

110 See Goldziher, 'Takījja', 213–26; *EI* IV 68of. (further literature can be found in both publications).

111 Misk. I 162 (927 in Qazvin); Athīr IV 202 (706); *ibid.* IX 66 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna 1006–7).

112 *TS* 357.

113 It seems to be going too far to agree with the opinion of Wiet 105 for the events of the years 747–49, who states that for the Iranians, these were only a renewal of the fight against Byzantium.

movement began to form which wanted to bestow transcendental veneration on the new dynasty and especially its head, the reigning caliph. This was nothing new in itself. Because of the clashes following the battle of Karbala in 680 and the death of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn in battle, a religious movement had emerged there as well, which elevated the Umayyad caliph at the time, Yazīd I (680–83), to the status of a super-human in order to counterbalance the beliefs of the Shī'a. Later this would develop into the completely pagan-animistic creed of the northern Iraqī-Kurdish sect of the Yazīdis.¹¹⁴ Even before the victory of the Abbasids,¹¹⁵ but especially after it, the 'Rāwandīya' movement matched this model. Originating in Khurasan it consisted initially of followers of Abū Muslim who believed that they could see the second Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr (754–75) – who was a truly unsuitable subject – as the bearer of a godly spirit which had entered him by the means of the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*), and who therefore worshipped him in front of his palace. The caliph responded with sword in hand and had them slaughtered.¹¹⁶ The aspirations connected with this movement perished in Mesopotamia and the attempt to create a movement on an Abbasid basis to parallel the Shī'a was blighted.

The corresponding religious movement took a different course on Iranian soil, since the Abbasids did not take centre stage here and local religions had some influence as well, which led to dangerous variant forms. At the centre of this movement stood the Abbasids' chief propagandist in the East, Abū Muslim. He belonged to the *mawālī*, i.e. he was a Persian Muslim, but was actually more of a politician and statesman than a religious prophet. Nevertheless, his influence was so great among his countrymen and the belief in him so fanatical that when he was in Marv, he sent one of his followers to commit a political murder in Kufa¹¹⁷ and very soon he became a political threat. In 755 he fell prey to the treachery of the second Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr. However, this was not the [149] end of the development, for his veneration led to the formation of sects | in the East which went beyond Islam and which need to be examined in the context of other movements of a similar character.¹¹⁸

114 See Guidi, 'Origine dei Yazidi', 266–300; id., 'Nuove ricerche sui Yezidi', 377–427; Furlani, 'Sui Yezidi', 97–132. However, see also *EI* IV 126of.

115 Ṭab. II 1988 (organisation of the Shī'ite 'Abbās in 721–23 with 12 *naqībs* (cf. the 12 apostles) and *ibid.* II 1961f. (Abbasid theory of emanation from the Prophet); Athīr v 72.

116 Ṭab. III 418f.; Nawb. 41–44; Maf. ul. 30; Mas. VI 186f.; Athīr v 187. See Kremer, *Herrschr.*, 73; Müller I 494; Nöldeke, *Or. Sk.*, 125; Sharīf 29.

117 Ṭab. III 59.

118 See pp. 49f. above and p. 197 below.

With the violent suppression of the two religious movements that had been triggered by the Abbasid revolution it was clear to the Persians that the new ruling dynasty had to position itself within the framework of the opinion of the Islamic majority, the *ahl al-sunna wa-'l-jamā'a*. The reaction of the Persians to this realisation was of necessity varied, since even now the difference between religiously and more or less worldly oriented people persisted. Those whose main aim in the Khurasanian rebellion of the years 747–50 had been the political and moral equality of the Persians, and who continued to see this as their main aim over the following decades,¹¹⁹ could be well satisfied with the results of these years. Iranians stood on an almost equal footing with Arabs at the caliph's court. Supported by the influence of many high officials and scholars, including not least among them the vizier family of the Barmakids, they even gained prevalence for a prolonged period, albeit sacrificing their language in favour of Arabic and relinquishing some of their cultural characteristics.¹²⁰ The image of Salmān al-Fārisī as a famous companion of the Prophet was constantly embellished with new legendary traits among these people¹²¹ in order to secure a share for the Iranians in the development of Islam. This was also the background out of which reports were invented which established a direct connection between the Prophet and particular places in Iran, for example with Shahrīstān, the centre of the district of Sābūr in Fars, where he was said to have preached.¹²²

People in general would now look in Iran for the last resting places of several men from the Bible who had been sanctified within Islam, such as that of Daniel by a river near Shush in Khuzistan.¹²³ Khurasan in particular was rich in pilgrimage sites,¹²⁴ although the custom to go on pilgrimage to the graves of famous scholars | and popular saints had not yet asserted itself generally.¹²⁵ On [150] a larger scale this was only seen among the Shi'ites with the graves of their

119 Being 'a government official', the chief justice of Fars in 935 was a strict Sunni: Ibn al-Balkhī XIX = 116f. Ibn al-Balkhī himself was a strict Sunni and liked to stress this kind of information, but only in cases where there was doubt.

120 See p. 230f. below. About the Barmakids see Sam. 76 r and v.

121 See EI IV 124f. and the literature provided there, also Massignon, *Selmān Pāk*.

122 Muq. 433.

123 Ṭab. I 2566f.; Muq. 407, 417; Ibn Ḥawq.² 255; Benj. I 74, l. iff. (details); Yāq. v 172; Shūshtarī 18. Iṣṭ. 92 doubts the information.

124 Muq. 333f., furthermore 367 (Daylam), 399 (Kohistan); Nāṣir-i Khosraw 274. In Mazār-i sharīf, approximately 23.5 km (ca. 15 miles) east of Balkh, people visited the tomb of 'Alī, which had been confirmed by miracles: Gharnāṭī in Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* I 21f. See also the map.

125 Ibn Ḥawq. 379 (Rayy).

imams¹²⁶ and among the Zaydis.¹²⁷ The transformation of national Iranian memorial sites into Islamic sanctuaries was under way as well. The comment of a Barmakid vizier is typical of this, as he refused to demolish the remains of the palace in Persepolis (Iṣṭakhr) with the argument that the place had been made sacrosanct by 'Alī having prayed there.¹²⁸ We can be certain that several Islamic pilgrimage sites owe their formation to a similar process, even though many Iranian fire temples were consciously avoided and left to fall into ruin, not least because of the acute danger that Zoroastrianism still posed in those centuries.

All these measures could take place within the framework of official state policy. Those who agreed with this development had to join the official religion of the state, which gradually acquired the name 'Sunni', even when peculiarities in the prayer ceremony became so marked that travellers from the west of the empire noticed them¹²⁹ (especially after the Abbasid revolution).¹³⁰ This trend was, then, not a dogmatically definitive scheme. Rather, 'Sunni orthodoxy' was fashioned in a long and fierce intellectual and physical struggle over the following centuries. There is no reason to follow the history of this movement in detail. It only has to be pointed out that Persians participated prominently in this struggle through the medium of Arabic.

The preoccupation with questions of theology took hold relatively early on in the East as well and soon found a dedicated thinker in Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (executed in 745–6 = AH 126), who, however, did not form his own school.¹³¹ 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (736–97 = AH 118–81) appears here as the first great traditionist scholar. He is described as the son of a Turkish slave from Hamadan and a woman from Khwarazm, who was taught in Marv, although his ideas
 [151] found interest in Nishapur as well | through his students.¹³² Similarly active in Nishapur as well as in Marv was al-Nadr ibn Shumayl (d. 820) and in Samarkand 'Abd Allāh al-Dārimī (d. 896),¹³³ while the great collectors of traditions,

126 Iṣṭ. 257f.; Ḥud. 103. Abū 'l-Fidā 451: 'Alī al-Riḍā.

127 Mas. VIII 195 (even in 944 the grave of the Zaydi Dā'ī Muḥammad ibn Zayd was still venerated in Gurgan).

128 Goldziher, 'Heiligen-Verehrung', 330f.

129 Muq. 415 (particular direction of prayer in Khuzistan); 416 (Shiraz: garb of the preachers); 327 (for 985); 399 (special dogmatic conceptions in Isfahan); 439 and 441 (bottom line: Fars). Schwarz VII 856 (Jibāl).

130 Ṭab. II 1955ff.; Athīr V 134 (both with extensive description of the changes).

131 Tritton, *Theol.* 62f.

132 Fück, *Tradit.*, 7f. Concerning another school in Rayy see Tritton, *Theol.* 73.

133 Sam. 218 r f.; Goldziher, *Had.* 71. Differences in the theology of Samarkand and Bukhara are covered by Tritton, *Theol.* 176.

al-Bukhārī (d. 870), Muslim (d. 875), al-Tirmidhī (d. 892) and al-Nisā'ī (d. 914), who all came from Khurasan, migrated to the West.¹³⁴

It was characteristic of this eastern theological school that it opened itself up to Persian culture and that it was possible to declare this publicly.¹³⁵ In a short time Transoxania became one of the centres both of Islamic *hadīth* scholarship and for the study of the art of reading the Qur'an.¹³⁶ One could study with numerous teachers here,¹³⁷ and many scholars undertook their studies here exclusively; thus for instance al-Ghazzālī from Ṭus studied only in Gurgan and Nishapur,¹³⁸ while al-Sam'ānī from Marv (d. 1167), the author of the *Kitāb al-ansāb*, the most significant extant biography of scholars (even if it often describes only their outer life) from such an early period in the Islamic East, had studied extensively in the West as well.¹³⁹ The age-old Persian delight in narration and storytelling was also active and produced pious, as well as sometimes frivolous, legends (eighth-ninth centuries),¹⁴⁰ and Central Asia (together with Sind) was a centre for people who attributed to themselves as high an age as possible (*mu'ammārīn*), in order to be able to claim that they had known the Prophet so that they could then propagate his *hadīth*.¹⁴¹

In this intellectually stimulated and stimulating environment a lively dispute developed between the ideas of the different schools. Such debates arose not only in the Schools of Law (*madhāhib*) which had formed in the West and found their way into Persia and spread in all directions in a lively contest, | but also in some local law schools which developed in addition to them, such as the Thawrites¹⁴² and the Dā'ūdīs,¹⁴³ who enjoyed the protection of 'Aḡud

134 See GAL I 157–63; S I 256–70.

135 Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz* I 212 = Fück, *Tradit.* I 26f. Regarding the 'second Persian movement of enlightenment' which began in the tenth century see Schaefer, 'Die Leistung des Islam', 367, 375f., 378f.

136 Muq. 328 (985 Nishapur); 395 (Kohistan; with particulars).

137 Subkī, II 14, III; Muq. 284, 390f.

138 Mez 182. See also EI II 154–57.

139 Ibn Khall./Slane II 156; Subkī IV 259. Goldziher, *Had.* 185. Sam. does not report about himself under the *nisba* of his family (Sam. 307 v–309 r).

140 Goldziher, *Had.* 168.

141 Ibid. 172f. A separate list of long-lived individuals is found in Abū Ḥatīm Sahl al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-mu'ammārīn*; see also 'Awfī 245f., nos. 1945–62 (esp. no. 1947f.); Abū Nu'aym I 301.

142 Muq. 37 (named after Sufyān al-Thawrī, see EI IV 540–42).

143 Named after Dā'ūd of Isfahan (d. 855): Goldziher, *Zāhiriten*, 110.

al-Dawla in Fars.¹⁴⁴ However, they – like the independent lawyers¹⁴⁵ who did not attach themselves to any party – could not hold their ground for long and disappeared again over the following decades.¹⁴⁶ The theological disputes between Orthodox and Mu‘tazilites¹⁴⁷ made themselves sharply felt on Persian soil. Sometimes the different orientations even used separate mosques (as was the case around 930 in Marv and in Samarkand).¹⁴⁸ Theologians enjoyed an immense reputation here in the East; famous sheikhs, called *khōja* among the Khurasanians,¹⁴⁹ were welcomed ceremoniously and celebrated when they arrived in a city.¹⁵⁰ The Persians had always held a deep respect for the *mōbedhs* in pre-Islamic times, which was possibly¹⁵¹ influenced by the fact that the *mōbedhs* were the guardians of the oral traditions of the Avesta, which was almost never written down, and this may well have been carried forward into the Islamic environment.

The princes and the nobles of the country could also not stand back from religious currents and still less since the position of the theologians now tipped the balance in political affairs as well. For example, in 999 they explained to the Samanid government, in response to their previous propaganda (against the Qarakhanid Turks) that the Qarakhanids were also pious Muslims and that there was no reason to fight them and thereby to start an Islamic civil war.¹⁵² [153] The Samanids showed the deepest respect for these | theologians;¹⁵³ Maḥmūd of Ghazna only allowed the marriage of two of his daughters to Turkish emirs if they converted to Islam.¹⁵⁴ Soon afterwards (around 1040) we have reports of a Seljuk who, when visiting, kissed the hand of a theologian three times.¹⁵⁵

144 Mez 203 has more information about them. See Maf. ul. 26–30 about several other *madhāhib*).

145 Thus Ibn Shajara (died 961): Yāq., Irsh. II 18.

146 Muq. 395. Mez 203.

147 See EI III 850–56 and the literature listed there. Mez 193. Žuze, *Mutazility*; Borisov, ‘Mu‘tazilitskie’, 69–95. For possible Christian influences on the Mu‘tazilites see Graf II 238.

148 Iṣṭ. 259; Nasafī, Qand I 50.

149 Mas. IX 24.

150 Subkī III 91 = Mez 164 (with characteristic details). Grünebaum 234f.

151 Nyberg, *Die Religionen*, 1 and n. 4 points out the significance of the fact that the Sasanid realm did not have a holy book which was everywhere available to read.

152 Nikbī 192. Barthold, *Vorl.* 83; see p. 110 above.

153 Athīr VII 93 (around 985). Barthold, *Turk.* 232.

154 Barthold, *Vorl.* 88.

155 Rav. 99: the sheikh also kissed the hand of the Seljuk (even if the event is legendary, it nevertheless shows what was deemed possible and appropriate).

A prince such as Mas'ūd of Ghazna not only fasted regularly in the month of Ramadan,¹⁵⁶ but also on certain days during the week.¹⁵⁷ Rulers regularly conversed with theologians about religious problems¹⁵⁸ or attended discussions between representatives of individual law schools.¹⁵⁹ They habitually read the Qur'an,¹⁶⁰ lived as hermits in old age,¹⁶¹ and commended this way of life to their sons in their wills,¹⁶² together with the admonition to lead a godly life and to venerate the theological profession. Thus it was now the wealthy in particular who were expected to carry out their religious duties punctiliously, while it was the belief of poorer people that they need not take them quite so seriously.¹⁶³ Religious foundations (*waqf*)¹⁶⁴ also benefited: Barmakids,¹⁶⁵ Şaffārids,¹⁶⁶ Kurdish rulers,¹⁶⁷ Buyids,¹⁶⁸ Ghaznavids,¹⁶⁹ Khwarazm-Shāhs, Seljuks and Atabegs¹⁷⁰ [154] endowed mosques, hermitages (*ribāt*), caravanserais, hospitals and madrasas. The holy sites in Mecca and Medina received endowments from Persia, from

156 Bayh. 553, 555.

157 Thus also the Seljuk Tughril Beg on Thursdays and Saturdays: Bund. 27 (or Mondays and Thursdays: Ḥus. 16; Ibn Khall./Wüst. v111 15). Similarly 'Abd Allāh . . . al-Mikālī (d. 390) in Khurasan: Sam. 549 r.

158 Thus the Ṭāhirid 'Abd Allāh around 840: 'Awfī 219, no. 1613; the Samanids around 985: Muq. 339 (government issues were also discussed at the same time); Ibn Isf. 218 (the local potentate of Amul in 937). Misk. v1 295; Ibn al-Jawzī fol. 100a cited by Mez 300 (966 Mu'izz al-Dawla); Bayh. 5 (Mas'ūd of Ghazna). Also Siyāsat-nāma 54 demands this expressively.

159 Bayh. 206 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna around 1000).

160 The Ṭāhirid 'Abd Allāh refused a Sasanid law book with the comment that his people only read the Qur'an and the *ḥadīth* and did not need anything else. He had the Sasanid book thrown into the water: Dawl. 30.

161 The Samanid Naṣr ibn Aḥmad: Mīrkhōnd, *Historia*, 50.

162 Ṭab. II 1083 (701).

163 Yāq., Irsh. II 81; Sam. 323 r f. (for Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sīmjūr, see 103 above); Mez 331; Wiet 138. The demands made of preachers are discussed in the Qābūs-nāma/Diez 647–52.

164 Regarding this term see Lökk. 53–56, where an explanation of its origin is attempted as well.

165 Athīr v1 48. According to Ibn Sa'd v 254, 'Umar II was already building inns (*khānāt*) on the roads of Khurasan.

166 Iṣṭ. 241; TS 268.

167 Ibn Ḥawq. 368 (before 978); Rūd. 287 (996).

168 Mez 22f.

169 Ḥus. 10; Athīr IX 168; 'Awfī 205, no. 1441.

170 See Köprülü, 'Vakıf', 1–36.

which official votive offerings (*ḥaml* = *maḥmal*) often came¹. The safety of pilgrimage routes was also ensured.¹⁷¹

The pilgrimage, which was often performed on camels,¹⁷² became a concern for princes and potentates.¹⁷³ It was of course also employed as an excuse in cases where someone needed to avoid politically dangerous situations¹⁷⁴ or, conversely, to effectively exile an unpopular prince or dignitary.¹⁷⁵ Just as religion was merely a pretence in this case, in many of the cases mentioned above it would have been an official template inducing the Persian ruling class to act in an outwardly religious fashion (in the same way as had, for example, the Abbasids). It is impossible to determine nowadays where in each individual case the line should be drawn between personal conviction and external actions. That these differences existed is shown by the fact that old Iranian religious customs were retained for a long time, including the use of gold and silver vessels and silk (in Bukhara in the tenth century)¹⁷⁶ and the habit of sprinkling people with water on New Year (Nowruz¹⁷⁷). Despite temporary bans, people would not give such traditions up¹⁷⁸ and some even took part in [155] Christian celebrations (as for example in Egypt).¹⁷⁹ Even Maḥmūd | of Ghazna, who wanted to be seen as a strict Sunni, had no qualms about celebrating the feast of sacrifice (*ʿĪd al-aḏḥā*) with a wine banquet.¹⁸⁰ In general, soon after

171 The Samanid Nūḥ II: Nikbī 114; Athīr VIII 233 (the Kurdish ruler Ḥasanōē); IX 50 (his son Badr).

172 Athīr IX 148 (1033; in return for excessive demands for payment). Mez 300 (996).

173 Ibn Ḥawq. 359f. (the city of Sāva was considered as the meeting point of these pilgrims in Iran).

174 Sam. 549 r (ʿAbd Allāh . . . al-Mikālī, d. early 990); TS 328 (in 964 the ruler of Sistan); Tan. II 117 (Khurasan, Shāsh, Fergana); Bayh. 65 (1030; a confidant of Maḥmūd of Ghazna). The Qābūs-nāma (ca. 1080) referred rather prosaically to the fact that one could expand one's knowledge of the world and its peoples by going on the pilgrimage, and that one must only go on the pilgrimage if one could afford it: Qābūs-nāma/Diez 309–22.

175 Ṭab. II 1501 (727–28); Must. I 385 (Sistan, around 964).

176 Muq. 281. See p. 272 below.

177 For the date see below p. 481f.

178 Ṭab. III 2144; Bīrūnī, Chronol./Sachau 215–18, 266; Mez. 400f. In around 1030 Nowruz was celebrated in Isfahan with great feasts: Browne, *Isf.* 28 (presumably the date of the composition of the source is meant, not the time around 1300, although circumstances were certainly not that different at that time, either).

179 Misk. v 479ff.; Athīr/Tornberg VIII 222. Mez 379f. Allegedly the caliph ʿUmar I had already tried to fight these non-Islamic customs in Azerbaijan and in Mesopotamia (the manufacture of leather from animals which had not been slaughtered ritually), as Bauer shows, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut*, 104 (certainly legendary).

180 Bayh. 561.

their acceptance of Islam the Turks had no scruples about looting mosques,¹⁸¹ killing believers in holy places, harassing theologians¹⁸² or the like whenever the opportunity offered itself during military campaigns, something the Iranians frequently did as well. The Seljuks did at least issue a strict prohibition of looting in 1037–38, pointing out that it was Ramadan just then.¹⁸³

This development was typical not only of the Iranian region; similar phenomena may be found also in the other parts of the Islamic world. By contrast, the dogmatic development of Islam shows a different development here from that seen in the West. Admittedly, there had been an orthodox countermovement against Mu'tazilite theology here and in addition to al-Ash'arī (874–935)¹⁸⁴ in the Arabic-speaking regions, al-Māturīdī (d. 944)¹⁸⁵ appeared in the East (Samarkand). However, the new orthodoxy had much more difficulty in asserting itself here and therefore proceeded quite slowly. The regions of Fars and Jibāl (Media), as well as Sind and Syria, were considered to be centres of orthodoxy and tradition,¹⁸⁶ and it may be that the preference which was shown here to professional scribes (*kuttāb*) over the theologians¹⁸⁷ was mainly an expression of the fact that people were more inclined to follow the official policy in Baghdad, whose agents, the scribes, could thus occupy a higher position than the theologians, who were still somewhat distrusted in these areas. It was left to the Turks to introduce direct reprisals against theological opponents in the East of the kind that had been common in Mesopotamia since the ninth century. | It was above all Maḥmūd of Ghazna¹⁸⁸ who had started this and who [156] also promoted Sunni missions and undertook military campaigns in the interest of Islam. The Seljuks were also very active in this regard.¹⁸⁹ Very soon the Iranians adopted this position as well, especially in remote regions far from

181 In 1033 the troops of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in Sistan, TS 357; 1037–38 (Oghuz in Maragha): Athīr IX 132.

182 Ibn Isf. 212 (around 927 in Amul). Rav. 180 (Oghuz as late as 1154).

183 Athīr IX 158.

184 Shahrastānī I 119–37 (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 98–113). See also Iqbāl, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*.

185 Sam. 498 r notes the form Māturīti, next to which he lists the pronunciation Māturīd (for a quarter on the outskirts of Samarkand). Māturīdī's teaching in contrast to that of al-Ash'arī is described by Tritton, *Theol.* 174f.

186 Muq. 179, 395, 439, 481 (Mez 202) (here there was also resistance against the invasion of Hellenistic thought from the West).

187 Muq. 440.

188 Ibn al-Jawzī, fol. 165b cited by Mez 198; Tritton, *Theol.* 183 (execution of a 'heretic' theologian in 1015); Athīr IX 128 (1029; simultaneous burning of the philosophical books).

189 See Sheref ed-Dīn 'Selcūqiler devrinde mezāhib', 101–18. Siyāsat-nāma 88.

cultured areas, such as Ṭabaristan.¹⁹⁰ The theologians, especially those in the East, called for help from the secular powers against their opponents,¹⁹¹ initially without noticeable success. Only the theological teaching colleges, the madrasas, which may have been modelled on the Buddhist *vihāras*¹⁹² and had been adopted from Central Asia, helped orthodoxy to gain a real victory in the East. Foremost among them was the Seljuk central teaching college in Baghdad, the Niẓāmīya,¹⁹³ which was consciously founded in opposition to the Azhar in Cairo. However, while the Arabic-speaking regions followed the newly established orthodoxy and later also the views of al-Ash'arī and later of al-Ghazzālī (albeit after some hesitation and struggle), the remains of the Mu'tazilite opposition, despite the resistance of the orthodox side,¹⁹⁴ survived until well into the Mongol period.¹⁹⁵

As regards the principal reason for the expansion of the Mu'tazila in Persia we have to take into account the acuteness of the Persians' intellect and their consistent appreciation of clear and logical interpretations, which would always prevail despite an undeniable penchant for mysticism, as part of its success. Besides this, there is also the fact that the Mu'tazila had grown out of the struggle with dualist Manichaeism and consequently stressed the oneness of God alongside his justice (hence *ahl al-'adl wa-'l-tawhīd*).¹⁹⁶ On Persian soil [157] this struggle had to metamorphose | into a struggle with Zoroastrianism, in which dualism, even though its justification is entirely different from that in Manichaeism, also formed a fundamental concept, which in turn was a major theme in polemic against Zoroastrianism.¹⁹⁷ This had already been reflected in the fact that the Qadarites were called the 'Zoroastrians of Islam', since they regarded good as created by God and evil by the Devil.¹⁹⁸ While this designation does show an awareness of the connection between the discussion of this religious issue and the dualist religions, it also demonstrates that

190 In around 1000, 'King' Qābūs of Ṭabaristan had a theologian executed because of 'Mu'tazilite heresy': Ibn Isf. 232. A ruler of Sistan had a preacher deposed and replaced with another as early as 928: TS 313.

191 See Snouck-Hugronje in *RHR* XXXIX (1899).

192 Barthold, *Vorl.* 60.

193 Ribera, 'Origen des Colegio Nidami de Bagdad', 3–17.

194 Goldziher, 'Zur Geschichte des hanbalitischen Bewegung', esp. 8, 11f. See Sam. 307 v f.

195 Muq. 413; Fih. 139 (Rāmhormīzd around 970, under Buyid protection). See Wiet 136f.; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 219; Barthold, *Istoriya kul'turnoy žizni Turkestana*, 65; Borisov, 'Mu'tazilitskie', 72.

196 Fück, *Tradit.* 12f.

197 See p. 193 below.

198 Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl*, 96–99 = Mez 193, n. 10 (194).

Zoroastrianism was closer to the popular consciousness than Manichaeism. The latter was more important in this context, but was only found in the upper classes of society in the West at that time. If Mu'tazilite ideas prevailed for so long in the Persian linguistic area, this was thanks to the continuing need to emphasize the oneness of God. Also the East had been virtually independent since the beginning of the ninth century, and thus removed from the grasp of the caliphate; furthermore the sanctions against the Mu'tazilites began only a century later here, and even under Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Seljuks they were not fully applied. Moreover the newly rising Iranian dislike of developments in Iraq during the tenth and eleventh centuries may have found a partial expression in the defence of theological teachings which ran counter to the beliefs prevalent in Baghdad.¹⁹⁹ This also led to a number of Mu'tazilite ideas being adopted into the teachings of the Shī'a, in whose development the Persians were substantially involved.²⁰⁰

The distribution of the individual law schools (*madhāhib*) in the Persian linguistic area shows no special peculiarities, but rather presents the colourful picture which is generally characteristic of the early period of Islam. However, the beginnings of a regional distribution of the law schools can already be seen: we can say that Khurasan and Samanid territory in general was mainly Ḥanafite in the tenth century,²⁰¹ as also was the region around Rayy due to the influence from Baghdad.²⁰² In Transoxania, which had | originally tended more towards [158] Shāfi'ism,²⁰³ the Ḥanafites had a separate spiritual leader in later times.²⁰⁴ This law school immediately directed its propaganda towards rulers of Turkish origin, for instance Maḥmūd of Ghazna,²⁰⁵ even though this great ruler tended more towards the Shāfi'ite view later on due to his own personal experiences.²⁰⁶ For the rest of the details of the geographical spread of the different dogmatic opinions and the schools of law, the reader may be referred to the maps at the end of the book. One cannot infer from reports about repeated disputes between individual denominations that the Sunni Persians adhered to their

199 Yāq., Irsh. VI 154; Ibn Faḍlān 7; XXIII and n. 1 (German translation 13, n. 1).

200 See p. 180f. below; see also Goldziher, 'Heiligen-Verehrung', 323.

201 Borisov, 'Mu'tazilitskie', 72f.

202 Yāq., Irsh. VI/2, 282f.; Sam. 32 r. See Borisov, 'Mu'tazilitskie', 73f.; Schwarz v 617f. (Isfahan, initially follower of Sufyān al-Thawrī, was later Ḥanbalite), VII 852 (compilation for Jibāl).

203 Barthold, Christ. 13f.; Muq. 323.

204 Muq. 339; Sam. (s.v. Ustādh). Krym'skiy I 86.

205 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 88.

206 Bayh. 194f., 205ff.; Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 87. See also Ibn Faḍlān 49, n. 1.

religious conviction with greater zeal than did others.²⁰⁷ Rather, despite all the mutual recognition of orthodoxy, these creeds developed a form that was characteristic of the whole Islamic territory. Incidentally, political motives occasionally played a role in these disputes, as in 904 (and again in 963 and 972) in Sistan.²⁰⁸

All the above explanations of the connection between politics and religion are not, of course, intended to say that Sunni Islam only took hold in those circles to which a religious desire was primarily alien. The genuine conviction of the numerous Persian theologians from these circles cannot be doubted, even if in the tenth century the theological heads of the schools had, perforce, to accept the Shi'ite sovereignty of the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla.²⁰⁹ We may, however, assume that the Sunni creed was essentially supported by those circles which had a more or less positive attitude towards the Abbasid state, but by no means everyone, despite the great shift in Arab–Persian relations since 750. On the contrary, Persian self-awareness stood firm at this time, supported by ancient cultural tradition and the assertion of its own language.²¹⁰ But though this Persian intellectual and religious inheritance was sometimes reflected in the complete dismissal of everything Arabian, including the religion of Islam, [159] and consequently in the reaffirmation | of Zoroastrianism,²¹¹ it nevertheless managed to express itself within Islam as well.

This was done through the intellectual interpretation of Islam on the one hand, and the growth and firm establishment of heterodox Islamic creeds on the other, especially Shi'ism and its various manifestations (which will be dealt with in a separate section). Mysticism in the end found its place within the Sunni creed, especially thanks to the theological achievements of al-Ghazzālī, and this section seems to be the best place to point out its significance for the development of the Iranian religious creed and the Iranian character generally. The Middle East has always been open to mystic thought; it left its mark on earlier religions in these regions as well, and foreign (also Indian) influences

207 Muq. 336 (tenth century: Sistan and Sarakhs), 371 (Gurgan), 396 (Rayy, Qazvin); Athīr VII 99; VIII 171f. (956–57). Also later: in the twelfth century in Rayy: Barthold, *Med.* 104.

208 TS 276, 328, 336: Orthodox (*ahl al-ḥadīth*) and Mu'tazilites (which presumably is meant by *ahl al-ra'y*) stood in opposition to each other, also as the followers of two hostile brothers competing for the throne. The parties carried the names of Ṣadaqī and Samakī; aetiological explanations are given in loc. cit. 276.

209 Muq. 439.

210 See p. 230f. below.

211 See p. 190f. below.

should not be completely disregarded.²¹² Such influences might also be found in a 'false prophet' in Azerbaijan in 955–56 who, in addition to his claim to 'knowledge of the occult', also forbade the consumption of meat and all animal produce, until he was exposed by a ruse and lost all his followers.²¹³ We do not know any details about other 'prophets', although they are mentioned around 820 in Azerbaijan,²¹⁴ 934 in Tashkent,²¹⁵ and 955–56 in Dinavar.²¹⁶ Before long, there were centres of mysticism, for example in Khuzistan,²¹⁷ Shiraz²¹⁸ and Fars in general,²¹⁹ which had great influence on the Islamic penetration of Persia.²²⁰ The indigenous view prevailed early on in this process, all the more so since, especially in Persia, mysticism was linked to searching for God | in a way which provided the Persians with solace during difficult times and in their politically and culturally unsatisfactory position. Persian circles created their own interpretation of Islam in their mystical poetry, which admittedly did not reach its full structural perfection in the first centuries of Islamic rule, but only blossomed fully in the days when the works of Firdawsi and the cultural renaissance in general had encouraged the Iranian spirit towards new and vigorous development. [160]

This is not the place to sketch the developments of the later centuries, but such advances would have required lengthy intellectual and religious preparation in the preceding centuries, for which we must look in those circles which are named as the centres of mystic experience, without, however, being able to comprehend them nowadays in all their detail. In addition there is the fact that a lot of the Persian mysticism of the early period later became known in Arabic garb. A man such as al-Ḥallāj (858–922) from Ṭūr near al-Bayzā in

212 Even though Max Horten's belief in a predominantly Indian influence does not correspond to the actual facts. For a general overview see Browne I 416–37; Zhukovsky, 'The Idea of Man and Knowledge', 151–77.

213 Athīr VIII 170.

214 'Iqd III 216f. Concerning the Persian Maḥmūd ibn al-Faraj from Nishapur, who passed himself off as the incarnation of Alexander the Great (Dhū 'l-qarnayn) in 849–50, see Ṭab III 1394; Pseudo-Balkhī VI 122. Sadighi 306f.

215 Athīr VIII 92.

216 Ibid. 170. Concerning a (possibly Persian) prophet see Yāq., Irsh. I 298 and Barthold, 'K istorii religioznych dviženiy', 785–98. Tan. I 132f. reports about Alid rebels in Gözgan in 956–57 (AH 345).

217 Muq. 414f. (tenth century).

218 Ibid. 430.

219 Iṣṭ. 148 = Ibn Ḥawq.² 294.

220 See the biography of Kāzarūnī by Maḥmūd ibn 'Uthmān; Grünebaum 223f.; Nikitin, Nat. 211.

Fars may be seen as a representative of this group,²²¹ despite the fact that he appears to have been of Arab descent. In his person we see the most extreme form of eastern mysticism, no longer compatible with the views of the rest of the Islamic world. Thus it was forced back into quieter channels, until it fitted, at least outwardly, into the framework of orthodoxy; but at the same time it also led to the adoption of views that cast off Islam altogether.²²²

[161] Movements to found a state or individual dynasty within the Persian community often came from within Sunni circles at this time. The great counter-example are the Buyids, but then the religious motivation retreated completely into the background in their case.²²³ In contrast to them it is not surprising that the Tāhirids and the Samanids were sincere, even jealous, | followers of the Sunni creed. This was to be expected due to the elevated social environment of eastern Iran where they had their origins,²²⁴ and this considerably facilitated their official relations with the caliphs. But the Ṣaffārids, too, who had originated from the lowest class, were regarded as pious Sunnis.²²⁵ Heterodox forces had not yet spread so widely among the Iranians that they could have provided a stable basis on which to found a state in the way that would happen around 1500.

Superstitious and Symbolic Traditions alongside the Official Religion

Alongside the actual religious and national traditions, which lived on in Persia in this early period and exerted their influence on Islam, we also notice the continued existence of some superstitious beliefs. Astrology, the notion of being able to predict the fate of individual human actions or of a whole life from the constellation of the stars, had been native to the Orient since ancient times and spread from here to other parts of the world. On Iranian soil this ‘art’

221 ‘Arīb 86–108 (with excerpts from Misk., Ibn al-Jauzī and K. al-‘uyūn); Iṣṭ. 184 = Ibn Ḥawq.² 294; Bīr. 211–13; Sam. 181 v.; Massignon, *Hallāj*; Massignon and Kraus, *Akhbar al-Ḥallāj*; Wiet 129f.

222 See principally Meier, *Vom Wesen der islamischen Mystik*, 7f.; Guidi, ‘Contributo’, 51; Ethé, ‘Der Cūfismus und seine drei Hauptvertreter’, 95–124; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*; id., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*; Merx, *Idee und Grundlinien*.

223 The Daylamis were therefore not considered good Muslims, and were not afraid to take (Sunni) Muslims prisoner or to insult theologians: Mas. IX 23f.

224 See p. 137f. above.

225 Thus Ya‘qūb ibn Layth (d. 879): TS 263 (with a list of corresponding anecdotes).

was known long before Islam;²²⁶ for instance Arabic sources from the last years of the Sasanid Empire report that king Yazdagird III was advised by a court astrologer²²⁷ and the date for the battle at al-Qādisiyya was determined in part by considerations of this kind.²²⁸ The adoption of Islam by the majority of Persians did nothing to alter the spread of this superstition. Again and again there is talk of having astrologers give counsel in every possible situation.²²⁹ The Arabs, too,²³⁰ soon submitted to this mania |; the Turks considered Mars to be their special lucky planet,²³¹ and, at least in later times such as 1187, Friday was considered an especially lucky date.²³² [162]

Closely related is the belief, also transmitted from antiquity, that knowledge about the future might be acquired in dreams²³³ or that guidance could be received by the apparition of people who were absent, dead or saints. This belief, too, asserted itself solidly in Islamic times. Islamic saints such as Khidr,²³⁴ Joseph of the Old Testament (and the Qur'an)²³⁵ and even the

226 Şā'id 50.

227 Ṭab. I 2252; Athīr II 167.

228 Ṭab. I 2266.

229 Ṭab. II 1766 (743; Khurasan); 1855 (744; *ibid.*); Mas. VI 180 (750; Abū Muslim); 'Awfī 186, no. 1097 (around 811 al-Ma'mūn's vizier); Krymskiy I 109 (935 Mardāvīj ibn Ziyār); 'Awfī 193, no. 1195 (Ismā'īl the Samanid); Fih. 148 (tenth century; the Persian nationalist and Isma'īli Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, see 173); Nikbī 127 (around 980; a Buyid); Hil. 382f. (1000; a general of the caliph in Kirman); Athīr IX 56 (1000; a Buyid general); Muḥ. Ib. 7 (1042; the chief of the Qufṣ in Kirman); TS 380 (1056; Seljuk). Information about the study of astrology is given by Qābūs-nāma/Diez 708–17; regarding astrology see also 'Awfī 186f., no. 1090–1106. Of Qābūs of Gurgan (d. 1012–13) it was also reported that he was a good astrologer: Athīr IX 82. For the technical terms of astrology see 'Picatrix' in Bibliography I below.

230 For 'all sorts of superstitions' among the Arabs see Kremer, *Studien*, 62–92.

231 Ibn Isf. 226 (982; but written in 1216). Whether Maḥmūd of Ghazna was indeed free from the mania of astrology (as stated by 'Awfī 199, no. 1327) cannot be determined.

232 Muḥ. Ib. 144 (Kirman).

233 Ṭab. I 2681 (643; Yazdagird III); II 1766 (743; Tirmidh); Ibn Isf. 129 (around 782, Ṭabaristan); Athīr VI 83 (811–12; Khurasan); Ibn Isf. 146 (around 815; Ṭabaristan); Athīr VIII 91 and Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭaqā, 325–27 (tenth century; Būya, the founder of the dynasty); Must. I 416 (around 933; Buyids); Nāsir-i Khosraw 2 (was reformed from his futile life and motivated to a pilgrimage through a dream); Ḥus. 2 (around 1000; the chief of the Seljuks), 8 (around 1040; Mas'ūd of Ghazna). See the anecdote in 'Awfī 184–86, nos. 1056–89.

234 994 with Sübüktigin: Bayh. 199; 'Awfī 185, no. 1066.

235 Around 900 with Aḥmad ibn Sahl: Athīr VIII 37.

Prophet himself²³⁶ are named as witnesses of such dream guidance. The connection between stars and dream interpretation²³⁷ are often found, just as is [163] the belief in the prophecies of old people, | for example those of one's nurse²³⁸ or also of a Christian monk, which even al-Ḥajjāj did not disdain to question.²³⁹ People continued to observe omens (*fu'ūl*); for example: when the executioner's sword slipped off the victim's neck, when the general's hat fell off his head as he was setting off on campaign,²⁴⁰ or when the new governor of Samarkand entered the city on a mare.²⁴¹ Weather abnormalities or fires²⁴² were seen as signs of divine dissatisfaction which people sought to counterbalance with prayers or the distribution of alms, as occurred in 835 in Khurasan.²⁴³

The belief in the special effectiveness of an oath sealed with blood was equally preserved into this time. People even believed themselves justified in questioning the sanctity of the oath if it had not been made in this way.²⁴⁴ Conversely, people would try to avoid fulfilling an oath which they regretted by performing a symbolic act.²⁴⁵ Generally the usage of symbolic actions survived as a remnant of earlier beliefs deep into the Islamic period, even if possible originally religious motivations for them had been forgotten or never existed. In the case of 'the genuinely oriental transfer of the symbol into reality',²⁴⁶ this

236 In 883 by the Samanid Ismā'il in Samarkand: Athīr VII 93. It is reported that the day before he stood up in honour of a legal scholar and was therefore reproved by his brother: in any case the legend – produced by theologians – shows that there were no qualms about having Muḥammad use the ancient pagan device of dream guidance if it helped to increase clerical influence. For dreams in which the Prophet appeared, see Kalābādī (d. 990 or 995), *Al-Ta'arruf*, ch. 70.

237 Athīr VIII 84 (933: an astrologer and dream interpreter predicted the future for the Buyids; he also performed magic and made talismans). For dream interpretation among the Muslims see principally Schwarz, 'Traum und Traumdeutung', 475; Fischer, 'Quitte'; Meier, 'Die Welt der Urbilder bei 'Alī Hamadānī', and the bibliography listed there; Waliur-Rahman, 'Al-Fārābī and His Theory of Dreams'.

238 Ḥus. 108 (Maḥmūd of Ġazna).

239 Ṭab. II 1153f. For the Zoroastrian models of dream interpretation see Tavadia, 'An Iranian Text on the Act of Dreaming'.

240 Athīr IX 138 (1030 in Ghazna).

241 *Ibid.* v 49 (724–25); 'Awfī 237, no. 1845 ('Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir in around 840: general information). Comparisons with the present: Massé, *Croyances*, II 298–328.

242 Narsh. 93 (925–26 the disaster caused a popular uprising). 'Iqd III 245 compiles the dates of disasters and important days of the Persians.

243 TS 186.

244 Ṭab. II 1509 (728–29 in Transoxania). 'Iqd III 103 also reports a Persian custom according to which agreements were made at extinguished watch-fires.

245 Muḥ. Ib. 17 (ca. 1076; Malikshāh).

246 Burckhardt, *Konstantin*, 80.

'language' had penetrated far too deep into the consciousness of the community, and was used even if it meant creating a riddle rather than clearly expressing one's intentions. Thus in 722–23 the governor of Iraq handed a quince to the newly appointed governor of Khurasan, Muslim, a foster son of al-Ḥajjāj, upon his accession because 'in Persia' it was a symbol of good,²⁴⁷ and in 738 an Arab gave | an apple and a pear to a *dēhkān* as a sign of his favour.²⁴⁸ In this way [164] Iranian beliefs were transferred onto the Arabs here, too,²⁴⁹ in an arena of 'cultural' ideas that had, after all, always been easily accessible to foreign influences. A golden key was used (symbolically for the city gate) if one wanted to ask for help, as did the king of Chaghāniyān²⁵⁰ in 705 and the king of Khwarazm in 712²⁵¹ when they were opposing Qutayba ibn Muslim.

Weapon symbolism, which had already been reported by Herodotus in the case of the Scythians, was very popular, especially with the Turks: in 704 they sent wooden arrows and musk to the Arabs as a symbol of war or peace²⁵² and in 878–79 the Ṣaffārid Ya'qūb ibn Layth used similar symbolism,²⁵³ perhaps under Turkish influence. Since rulers of Turkish origin, such as Maḥmūd of Ghazna, used this symbolism at their courts, it established itself firmly in Persia as well as among the Buyids.²⁵⁴ Symbolic language was common practice at the Seljuk court: when around 1075 the Qarakhanid Khāqān handed Malikshāh a heavy club and a large sword amidst threats, the latter knew immediately what this meant and sent back a bow which the Khāqān could not even draw.²⁵⁵ The Seljuks themselves mobilized their troops by sending an arrow around.²⁵⁶ Proverbs were also used from an early date in order to taunt the enemy. Thus the mother of the king of Khuttal explained to the mother of the cousin he had killed that the lion has only a few offspring, but the pig many.

247 Ṭab. II 1458 (concerning the quince as symbol of good in Persia see *ibid.* I 1049). See Fischer, 'Quitte', (with numerous bibliographic references); linguistic aspects: *ibid.* 67 (1913), 681–83.

248 Ṭab. II 1637f.

249 In 813 the caliph al-Ma'mūn expressed his wish for the execution of his (half-)brother al-Amīn by sending him a shirt without an opening for the head from Khurasan: Ibn Khall./Eg. I 236 = Slane I 650. Krymskiy I 26.

250 Ṭab. II 1180.

251 *Ibid.* 1237.

252 *Ibid.* 1149. Fries 89.

253 *Athīr* VII 107.

254 See 'Awfī 169, no. 740.

255 Ḥus. 41f.

256 Thus also among the Artuqids, see the examples in Köprülü, 'Ortazaman Türk', 63, n. 58 (63), and Ḥus., 'Urāda/Türk. I 282 (around 1020; Seljuks). For a general overview see Barthold, *Vorl.* 117f. (eleventh/twelfth century); Adler, 'Pfeil und Bogen', 101–13.

This was her reply to the cousin's mother's threat that she had seven sons whereas the king's mother had only one and so would have to be careful to avoid a blood feud being carried out by many hands.²⁵⁷ However, gradually Islamic beliefs and Qur'anic suras replaced old beliefs and old proverbs. Thus the caliph is said to have replied to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's threat of using war elephants with a skilfully veiled allusion to sura 105.²⁵⁸ The Muslim chancelleries soon became masters | in these allusions and arts. Old beliefs and Islamic ideas blended into something new here, too, a symbiosis of Iranian and Islamic beliefs that has characterised Persia for more than 1300 years.

Burial

Old customs were also preserved for funerals alongside the Islamic customs. In 985 it is reported from Khurasan (Abīvard) and Fars that the inhabitants 'although Shāfi'ites' undressed their dead before burial,²⁵⁹ which certainly recalled Zoroastrian burial in 'towers of silence'. Otherwise burial in a shroud was customary, like the kind found in the cemeteries of Khwarazm,²⁶⁰ and it is specifically noted that a plague in Azerbaijan in 901 killed so many people that they had to be buried in their clothes or in felts.²⁶¹ The burial style itself in Khwarazm was to place the body in a side niche of the burial pit stretched out on its back, or lying on its left side with the back of the head facing west and the eyes thus looking east.²⁶² The bier was accompanied by relatives and friends, who in Khuzistan grouped themselves together on both sides of the dead, while in Fars men would be in front of and women behind the bier. Flutes and drums accompanied the funeral procession.²⁶³ Occasionally quarrels

257 Ṭab. II 1041.

258 Qābūs-nāma/Diez 755–58 (around 1010); 'Awfī 101, no. 996. Sura 105 refers to the destruction of the war elephants of the south Arabian king Abraha in his campaign against Mecca in around 570.

259 Muq. 327, 440–41 below the line (following a special manuscript). I do not know whether the work of Inostrancev, 'Ancient Iranian Burial Customs', in *The Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Inst.* III (1924), 1–28, refers to our period.

260 Terenožkin 187. Image of such a shroud with rich decoration is found in Wiet, plates 15 and 16, and in Ghirshman, 'Études iraniennes II', 304.

261 Ṭab. III 2202; Elias 119.

262 Terenožkin 187. Those who were not buried in niches but simply on the floor of the grave are not regarded as Muslim by Terenožkin (tenth–twelfth century).

263 Muq. 44of. below the line. Schwarz III 153.

might arise between relatives over the right to conduct the religious ceremonies.²⁶⁴ The Daylamis covered their heads for these ceremonies and appointed a professional ‘comforter’ (*mu‘izzī*), who shrouded himself in his clothes.²⁶⁵ In contrast to other countries where the custom of ‘sealing’ (*khatam*) the Qur’an at the grave was common, the mourners congregated in the mosque for three days. This was | obviously not only a Daylami custom,²⁶⁶ but occurred [166] also in Fars.²⁶⁷ It is debatable as to how far the reported fact that the Sogdians cut their ears off on the occasion of the death of important personalities is based on reality.²⁶⁸

Pious people started to prepare for their own burials early on not only by laying out special grave monuments (*turbas*),²⁶⁹ but also by founding hermitages,²⁷⁰ madrasas (first under the Seljuks)²⁷¹ or even whole mosques,²⁷² in which they were then buried. Family burials soon developed out of these customs.²⁷³ Shi‘ites already preferred their special sacred sites as burial places, especially Mashhad ‘Alī and Mashhad in Khurasan,²⁷⁴ and even dead or murdered enemies were buried there by the Shi‘ites.²⁷⁵ If necessary, the corpses of fallen fighters were bought so that they could be buried.²⁷⁶ For this, as well as burial in family graves, it was often necessary to move the corpse to another

264 Athīr VII 59 (867 between the Ṭāhirids).

265 Muq. 369.

266 Thus Ibn Isf. 233 (Manūchīhr of Ṭabaristan in around 1000).

267 Muq. 440 [AD].

268 ‘Iqd III 258 [AD].

269 Narsh. 92 (in 914 the Samanid Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘il in Bukhara: *gūrkhāna-yi nou*); Athīr IX 49 (998: Buyids); 52 (999: Shiraz).

270 Athīr VIII 67 (around 932: Qara Tigin).

271 Bund. 227 (the Seljuk sultan Mas‘ūd of Hamadan in 1151–52); Ibn al-Sā‘ī 173 (the Ghōrid ruler Shihāb al-Dīn in 1206); Rav. 300 (around 1166).

272 The Seljuk sultan Arslanshāh in Hamadan in 1166: Rav. 292.

273 Athīr VIII 163 (951–52: in Khurasan, twice); IX 49 (998–99: Buyids in Shiraz); IX 83 (1012/13: Buyids in Mashhad ‘Alī). See Goldziher, ‘Heiligen-Verehrung’, 356.

274 A) Athīr IX 83, 85 (Buyids, Kurdish emir); Must. I 422 and Zark. 32 (in 982 the Buyid ‘Aḍud al-Dawla); B) An aristocrat at the court of Mas‘ūd of Ghazna in 1038, who wanted to be buried near the Imām Riżā: Bayh. 549f.: extensive description of the gold, the precious stones, the splendid cushions etc.

275 Athīr IX 85.

276 Rav. 381 (1195: Seljuks).

place,²⁷⁷ which was done in coffins.²⁷⁸ This was also done in cases where one wanted to bury the deceased in his favourite location, as for example Sübüktigin in Ghazna, where he was brought after he had died on the way to that city.²⁷⁹ Since the practice of embalming was not known it was necessary, [167] at least during the hotter part of the year, to use the procedure of | detaching the bones of the dead²⁸⁰ and burying only them in a foreign place. Also exhumations of derogatorily buried individuals occurred.²⁸¹ The Zoroastrian rulers (*ispāhbadhs*) south of the Caspian Sea still, in around 803, forbade the burial of Muslims in their territory.²⁸²

The custom of visiting the graves of relatives was already widespread from an early period²⁸³ and was continued by rulers as well.²⁸⁴ Donations for the maintenance of the grave were often asked for²⁸⁵ and the grave was commonly approached bareheaded and barefoot.²⁸⁶ That the followers of the Abbasid Imam Muḥammad in Khurasan wore black clothes after his death in 754²⁸⁷ was certainly not a general sign of mourning, as it was not customary in this form, but rather a manifestation of their Abbasid affiliation, whose emblem was this colour.

Khārijites

It was of decisive importance for the connection between Persian national feeling and Islamic religiosity that only one generation after the death of

277 The corpse of Yazdagird III had already been brought from Khurasan to Iṣṭakhr: Ṭab. I 2874f., 2881; Athīr III 46. Krymškiy I III (in 935 Daylami and Gilani troops). Gard. 40; Athīr VIII 163 (in 951–52 and 955–56 two Khurasanian generals). Rav. 292 (in 1166 the Seljuk sultan Mas‘ūd). Ibn al-Sā‘ī 173 (in 1206 the Ghōr ruler Shihāb al-Dawla was brought home on the march back from India to Ghazna).

278 The transport of Yazdagird III took place in a coffin, too: Ṭab. I 2874 (651); Athīr VIII 163 (a Khurasanian general); Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 85 (in 997 Sübüktigin).

279 Athīr IX 49, 52 (998–99 Buyids); Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 85.

280 Narsh. 60 (in around 740 [782 has to be wrong] a ruler from Bukhara). Later on however we do not hear about this custom again.

281 Athīr IX 49, 52 (in 998–99 Buyids). Rav. 383; Athīr XII 73 (a Khurasanian general).

282 Ibn Isf. 140.

283 In 702 the governor of Khurasan, Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab (an Arab): Ṭab. II 1107.

284 Misk. II 137 (in 952 the Buyid Rukn al-Dawla).

285 Ṭab. II 1107 (702).

286 Thus the Buyid Rukn al-Dawla in 952 in Shiraz: Misk. II 137.

287 Dīn. 340f. (ca. 744).

Muḥammad and from the government of Caliph 'Alī (656–61) onwards, there were three opposing sects, which have dominated the image of Islam ever since. The Persians were now asked whether they saw the expression of Islam which best corresponded to their religious sense and traditions in one of the 'opposition parties'. They answered in the negative with regards to the radical and, from the very first, militant movement of the Khārijites. Julius Wellhausen has clearly pointed out that it was not Bedouins who mainly carried this movement forward, as Rudolf Brünnow had assumed.²⁸⁸ This would have been most unlikely taking into account the Bedouins' pronounced feeling for their Arab national tradition and their | desire to keep Arab blood pure. On the contrary, [168] it was the inhabitants of the large cities of Basra and Kufa who were recruited for this movement. Here Arabs, Aramaeans, Persians and other nationalities had lived together for a long time, and here the message of the unimportance of ancestry when it came to questions of religious doctrine could fall on fertile ground. In fact, it was here that Persians joined this movement,²⁸⁹ and it was not by chance that the Khārijites would always retreat to Iran after their repeated defeats in southern Mesopotamia, at Nahrawan in 658, at Sillabrā in May 686 and after the rebellion in Mosul in 746–47. In 658 it was particularly the regions of Ahvaz (Khuzistan) and Fars where they settled.²⁹⁰ By the time of the death of Ibn Azraq, the founder of the particularly radical and dangerous movement of the Azraqites, in the battle at Dūlāb on the river Dujayl in the turn of the year 684–85, the whole of southern Persia had suffered for years fighting with them. The regions of Isfahan and Kirman were apparently temporarily firmly under their control, and from there they conducted advances and campaigns as far as Rayy, some of whose inhabitants collaborated with them, and were later punished for this,²⁹¹ and repeatedly against Basra. Lengthy battles with ever-changing fortunes took place and all the energy of the governor al-Ḥajjāj was needed to finally defeat them in the year 698.²⁹² The mixed nationalities of the Khārijites played a decisive role: that the Persians joined them²⁹³ was not surprising in view of their programme of the equality of nations and their dismissal of the Arab claim to supremacy. However, eventually

288 Wellhausen, *Opp.* 9. For a general overview see Shahrastānī I 154 (= Haarbr. I 128–56). Gabrieli, 'Sulle origini del movimento kharigita'; Guidi, 'Sui Kharigiti'.

289 Goldziher, *Arab.* 138f.

290 Wellhausen, *Opp.* 9, 24, 28, 30f.; Müller I 330; Wiet 103.

291 Athīr IV 112.

292 For details about these battles see Athīr IV 110–12 and Wellhausen, *Opp.* 35–41; Yusuf, 'Al-Muhallab'.

293 Wellhausen, *Opp.* 35.

there was a break between the individual nationalities, a sign that differences could not easily be bridged even in a religious community with this kind of agenda. We hear that the clients (*mawālī*) were in the majority with about 8,000 men and thus that the intake from the Persian side was considerable. The division caused the demise of these Khārijite troops. Al-Muhallab, the Umayyad general who stood against them in the field, could eliminate first the Persians, who had elevated one of their own, 'Abd Rabbihi the Younger, to the caliphate, before he turned against the Arab remainder of the Azraqites, [169] who had moved to Ṭabaristan. There they tried in vain | to convince the local ruler to join their creed and were finally destroyed in a battle near Qumis in 697–98 under their caliph. Thus this branch of the Khārijites had perished for good.²⁹⁴

Other parties of the Khārijite creed, however, lived on and caused a good deal of problems for the Umayyads and the early Abbasids for some time to come. After the defeat of the great Iraqī rebellion of 746–47 those who had been routed fled to Ahvaz and Fars, via Hulwan and their leader, an Umayyad prince, went across the sea to Sind.²⁹⁵ However, southern Iran proved to be inaccessible to the Khārijite creed in the long run. The persecution by government troops destroyed the Khārijites there, who were often not even regarded as Muslims anymore²⁹⁶ despite the fact that occasionally they fought together with the Sunnis against external enemies such as against the Turks in 701.²⁹⁷ In the fight against the Umayyads they also collaborated with the Abbasids (747–48),²⁹⁸ but this did not result in an ideological rapprochement.

For the Persian people this had little significance, but the Khārijite creed held its ground here for a long time, namely in the eastern frontier regions of Khurasan, where the great Khārijite rebellion, from 791–92 until 828–29, was led by a client, Ḥamza ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shārī Āzarak,²⁹⁹ and especially in the region around Zarang and Herat. As late as the tenth century we still hear about wholly or at least partially Khārijite settlements here.³⁰⁰ The Khārijites

294 Ibn Isf. 101, 104f.

295 Wellhausen, *Opp.* 40f.

296 Ṭab. II 1977; Wellhausen, *Opp.* 51.

297 Ḥud. 125.

298 Athīr IV 182.

299 Ibid. v 143. See also Veccia-Vaglieri, 'Le vicende del Ḥarigismo in epoca abbaside', and 'Sulla denominazione Ḥawāriğ'.

300 Bal. 402; Hud. 104; Iṣṭ. 166f., 262; Ibn Ḥawq.² 312; Muq. 305f., 323; Yāq. I 322 (s.v. 'Alabān'). Wellh., *Arab.* 310, believes that they were more numerous here in Umayyad times than the sources would lead us to assume. Allegedly Khārijite mosques could be distinguished by the fact that they had no *minbar* (thus Muq. 306 for several villages in the district of

had another heartland further south, in Sistan, and since attacks on the caliph's troops took place repeatedly while they were on campaign here against the frontier population, who were still pagan, the government saw itself forced to take action against them (as happened in 768 in respect of troops returning from al-Rukhkhaj, in the country of the *zūnbīl*, to Bust).³⁰¹ The fighters here, as in so many other frontier regions, including Transoxania, the Caucasus, and Asia Minor, were so-called | 'voluntary fighters for the faith' (*mutatawwi'ūn*), [170] who were often joined by undesirable elements of society, who in the sources were frequently referred to as 'yobs' (*'ayyārūn*).³⁰² The Ṣaffārids did not really change relations in Sistan either, because the explanation that the Khārijites were mainly common robbers, among whom a large number of Arabs was found even then,³⁰³ apparently did not correspond to the truth, since the Khārijite population was known to be very reliable in commerce and referred to their creed as a mark of this reputation.³⁰⁴ In any case, the religious contrast to other groups appears to have been so great that through fighting them Ya'qūb ibn Layth and his brother³⁰⁵ found enough status among the population that they were able to bring together a large army, an achievement which ultimately led to him creating his own position of power. Very soon his main focus was not the Khārijites anymore and this made it possible for many of them to join his troops, some of them probably without even giving up their convictions, and thereby to swell his numbers not inconsiderably.³⁰⁶ However, the numbers of this religious community decreased considerably in those decades, without disappearing completely.³⁰⁷ At the beginning of the tenth century the Khārijites officially merged with the Ṣaffārids.³⁰⁸ However, presumably in the course of the next century, this religious community vanished completely from Iran. No trace of it can be found there in the Mongol period

Zarang); however, it is also reported of the mosque in Qom (Qommī 37) that it initially lacked one, although there can be no question of Khārijites here. See Wiet 136 and the map of religions at the end.

301 Athīr v 224.

302 See p. 437 below.

303 TS168 (in the year 809).

304 Yāq. v 38 (according to Iṣṭ.). This behaviour of the Khārijites is a religious-historical parallel to that which Max Weber attested for several denominations in the United States, whose followers acted in a similar fashion.

305 Iṣṭ. 246; Athīr VII 65.

306 Ibn Khall./Slane IV 302. Krym'skiy I 51f.

307 Athīr VIII 22f. (911/12). See p. 169, n. 7.

308 See p. 84 above.

and it did not influence Iranian identity, which was becoming newly formed with the influence of Islam, by adding any distinctive characteristics.

Shi'ites³⁰⁹

Zaydis

The Fiver Shi'ites (Zaydis) were not granted lasting success in Iran, either. They did succeed in eliminating the local rulers of Mazandaran (Ṭabaristan), south of the Caspian | Sea, in 864,³¹⁰ and in founding their own state, which was initially connected to the Zaydi organisation fighting for control in Yemen. However, quarrels between the individual orientations, an old ailment of the Shi'ites, internal quarrels,³¹¹ and the opposition to the Ispāhbadhs who deliberately supported the Sunni creed,³¹² meant that this state fell prey to the attack of the Abbasid governor in Khurasan in 928 after ever-changing fortunes and a family member deserting to the caliph³¹³ (917). Its external fortunes have been dealt with in the overview of the political history.³¹⁴ The religious importance of this state lay in its success in winning the population of this region (since 861–62), at least superficially,³¹⁵ to Islam; that is, of course, to its own interpretation of the faith.³¹⁶ In the temporarily conquered regions of Khurasan, such as in Nishapur in 896, the prayer for the Zaydi leader and imam was soon introduced as well.³¹⁷ Nevertheless, the Zaydi creed survived here only in hidden

309 It took the great Shi'ite creeds several centuries to form into self-contained communities. However, the individual dogmatic questions in their manifold transitions are of no decisive importance in the framework of this work, so that it seems advisable to treat the three confessions that were forming in the eighth and ninth centuries separately from one another. Regarding the individual dogmatic matters of dispute see Ibn Ḥazm II 112, IV 92–94, 178–88 (= Friedländer I 30, 73–80, 40–73; II 10f., 129–59, 21–129); Shahrastānī I 195–II 33 (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 164–230); Nawbakhtī, *Firaq* (a register based on this and other heresiologies is found in Iqbāl, *Khānadān-i Naubakhtī*, 246–67); Baghdādī, *Al-farq* (for this and the translations see *GAL* I 385 and s I 666f.); Maf. ul. 30–34. Sadighi 63f.

310 Ibn Isf. 177.

311 Ṭab. III 1940.

312 Rabino, *Maz.* 400f.

313 Ibn Isf. 204f.

314 See p. 71ff. above and Strothmann, *Staatsrecht*, 52–56. Athīr VIII 267. Regarding the literary productivity of the Zaydis of Gilan see Strothmann, 'Die Literatur der Zaiditen', 60–63.

315 Muq.² 368–70; Athīr VIII 241. Inostrančev, *Sas. Ét.* 110–35; Krymskiy I 95; Kasravī I 31–33.

316 Iṣṭ. 205; Ibn Isf. 158; Athīr VIII 27 (913/14).

317 Ṭab. III 2151: *Allāhumma uṣliḥ al-dā'ir ilā 'l-ḥaqq*. Al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd had quite orthodox views concerning the Qur'an (uncreatedness): Ibn Isf. 176; Awl. 69; he was considered an authority especially in the field of the *fiqh*: Athīr VIII 136.

remnants under the name of Nuktavī.³¹⁸ The Zaydi interpretation of Islam, just like the Khārījite, did not forge a lasting connection with the Iranian character at this point.

*Ismaʿilis*³¹⁹

[172]

In the case of the second faction of the Shiʿite creed, the Ismaʿilis, circumstances were slightly different. For a time at least, their beliefs penetrated the Iranian mind far deeper than the Zaydi ones. But in this case again the Ismaʿilis won a substantial part of the population over to their teachings in individual regions only, such as Kohistan. The Ismaʿili movement had its origins in the Arabic-speaking regions and its centre was in Fatimid Egypt in Africa for 200 years and from there it was brought to Western Asia, mainly for political reasons and namely for undermining the Abbasid and then later the Seljuk (Sunni) rule.

However, Ismaʿili planning had consciously included Iran in its propaganda from an early date, though it does seem to be an aetiological legend³²⁰ when it is claimed that the sixth Shiʿite imam, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, sent his grandson Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿil to Ṭabaristan with the missionary Abū Shākir Maymūn al-Dayṣānī (known as ‘Maymūn al-Qaddāh’).³²¹ After the death of Jaʿfar the population of Kohistan supposedly declared that his charismatic qualities had been transferred to his son Ismāʿil, who had died before him, and did not recognise his second son Mūsā, unlike most of the other Shiʿites (the later Twelvers). In connection with this ‘Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn, the son of the above-mentioned propagandist, instigated the Ismaʿili revolt in Isfahan and in the Baghdad suburb of Karkh around 820. Among his followers was also said to have been the Persian, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn Dindān, who came from the region between Karaj and Isfahan and who donated two million

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318 Strothmann, *Gnosis*, 6.

319 For a general overview see Guyard, ‘Fragments’; Browne I 391–400, 406–15; Ivanov, ‘Izmailitskie rukopisi’, ‘Ismailitica’ and *Guide to Ismaili Literature*.

320 This interpretation is supported with a very good argument by Ivanow, *Founder*, who, contra Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*, and contra Lewis (who in the main follows Goeje) believes al-Qaddāh to be a figure whose principal traits were contrived, and who was only later adopted by the Ismaʿilis. See also Siddiqi I 562f.

321 According to Lewis 46 the father of the founder of Fatimid power, ‘Abd Allāh. Lewis, 62 and 64, doubts that he was originally a Bardaisanite and Shiʿite due to the diverging statements given by the sources. Furthermore, Sunni reports (al-Ghazzālī and others) often aim to make the founders of the Ismaʿili doctrine into Zoroastrians, Manichaeans or Bardaisanites (since certain influences could not fail to be recognised): Lewis 90f. Concerning the beginnings (in Mesopotamia, Syria and among the Berbers) see also Fihri. 186–88.

dinars from his fortune to the Ismaʿili movement, but who at the same time also gave the movement a strong Iranian nationalist character, since he was a Shuʿūbī.³²² He is said to have been active especially among the Kurds in Jibāl and to have retired eventually to Qom, where he died.³²³ Afterwards ʿAbd Allāh had to move his activities as the ‘entrusted (*mustawdaʿ*) imam’³²⁴ to Basra.³²⁵

Thus for the time being the Ismaʿili movement had no more importance for Persia. For although some traits of Ismaʿili teachings were based on older Iranian beliefs and found their counterparts in some messianic and syncretistic currents of Zoroastrian and neo-Jewish character,³²⁶ Ismailism was not a genuinely Persian movement and many Iranians – whether they had remained Zoroastrian or converted to Sunni Islam – loathed it.³²⁷ Also the sons of Ismāʿil (the imam), who lived mostly in hiding in Rayy and later near Damavand and finally in Khurasan, as well as in the frontier region of Kandahar and in Sind, did not have any real success; only in Kohistan did the Shiʿite portion of the population support them.³²⁸ However, they had succeeded in winning the Samanid Naṣr ibn Aḥmad (914–42; d. 943) and his vizier officially for the Ismaʿili creed. But his son Nūḥ I (942–54) had the missionaries (*dāʿīs*) killed.³²⁹ This put an end to the formation of an Ismaʿili state in the East. The propaganda had already by 907–8 been shifted to Khuzistan, and then continued to Basra³³⁰ until it moved to North Africa, presumably via Syria.

Thus Iran was spared further Ismaʿili influences for over a century; only the Qarmaṭīs from neighbouring Mesopotamia won a few bases in Khuzistan, in

322 See p. 233 below.

323 Lewis 69.

324 Lewis 46 after Blochet, *Messianism*, 89, after Rashīd al-Dīn (see Levy, ‘Account’, 513, 516, 522); Lewis 71 after this. Ivanow, *Founder*, 169–73, points out that this title was used only for a temporary representative.

325 Fih. 188. Lewis 57, 59f.

326 Lewis 27, 31 and n. 1.

327 Lewis 90ff. If Barthold, *Krest.* 57, sees in Ismailism an alliance of the landed gentry and the peasants against the city dwellers, this is certainly incorrect in this form; see also Petruševskiy, ‘Gorodskaja znat’, 108f.

328 Yāq. vii 187. Levy, ‘Account’, 513–16.

329 Fih. 188; *Siyāsat-nāma* 187. Levy, ‘Account’, 523 (narrative text); Barthold, *Turk.* 242–44. Regarding the organisation of the propaganda among the Ismaʿilis see also Arnold, *Preaching*, 181f.

330 Levy, ‘Account’, 517.

Khurasan | and in the Elburz.³³¹ Only once the Fatimids were securely established in Egypt after 969 (and particularly from the time of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim, 996–1021),³³² and when propaganda extended beyond Syria and consciously opposed the Seljuk expansion, was Persia incorporated into the stamping ground of Isma‘ili missionaries once again.³³³ In the meantime their teachings had grown closer to Middle Eastern gnosis and, based on the likes of the neo-Jewish ‘Īsawīya,³³⁴ created the thesis of the imam in occultation (*ghayba*).³³⁵ In the fight against contemporary Islamic dogma they propagated an esoteric theological view based upon the imam’s teachings (*ta‘līm*)³³⁶ as opposed to the individual quest for justice (*ijtihād*), which at that time still survived alongside the adherence to the teachings of a renowned authority (*taqlīd*). Unlike the leading theology of the day, they rejected the textual (‘external’) interpretation of the Qur’an and advocated an ‘internal’ (*bāṭin*) interpretation,³³⁷ which they regarded as the true doctrine of Islam and which the Isma‘ilis believed themselves to adhere to,³³⁸ while their Sunni opponents contested this vehemently and | not only accused them of incorporating [175] Gnostic, Zoroastrian and Manichaeic influences,³³⁹ but also often confused them with sects of these faiths.³⁴⁰

It cannot be our task here to deal with the theological content of the Isma‘ili creed in detail. It must suffice to point out that such an esoteric interpretation of the Qur’an,³⁴¹ along with its repercussions, found supporters in Persia just

331 Schwarz 724, 735f., 772, 790, 818, 855f.; LeStrange 227; *EI* II 813f. A Persian *mōbedh* was even killed because of his supposed connections with the Qarmaṭis: Mas., Tanb. 105; Mas. 149.

332 Here the Druze came into being as his followers.

333 ‘Utbī 398f. described Maḥmūd of Ghazna’s actions against them. Canard, ‘L’impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande’; Ivanow, ‘Some Ismaili strongholds in Persia’. By way of comparison see also Stern, ‘Isma‘ili propaganda and Faṭimid rule in Sind’.

334 Lewis 27. See Ivanow’s contrasting analysis of the beginnings of the Fatimids: *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*.

335 See the article ‘Ghaiba’ in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (ed. Isidor Singer, New York and London 1901–6), and in Simon Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, Berlin 1925–29, III 238.

336 Levy, ‘Account’, 513.

337 See the description of their teaching in Levy, ‘Account’, 523–28 (translation 528–32); Strothmann, *Geheimlehre*; Strothmann, *Gnosis*, 3, 4, 7. See also Sam. 60 v (centre of page).

338 Thus also Nāṣir-i Khosrau (d. 1088/AH 481), see Schaeder, Vollk. Mensch. 220f., 228f.; id., ‘Nāṣir-i Chosrau und die islamische Gnosis’, lxxvi f.; *EI* III 939f.; Ivanow, *Nasir-i Khusraw*.

339 Thus in the case of the great doctor and natural philosopher Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā al-Rāzī (died around 930) (see *EI* III 1225–27): Schaeder, Vollk. Mensch. 231 and n. 2.

340 Lewis 27.

341 See Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 263–309, esp. 308.

as elsewhere. There were always circles which embraced it³⁴² and which were closely connected with each other as well.³⁴³ So the activities of the missionary (*ḥujja* and *dāʿī*) who had been commissioned by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākīm for 'the two Iraqs', Ḥamīd al-Dīn ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī (d. ca. 1017),³⁴⁴ did not fall on barren ground. Around 1038 the most important propagandist of that period, al-Mu'ayyad fī 'l-Dīn Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh ibn Abī 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Dā'ūd, succeeded not only in reversing an expulsion order from Shiraz and Daylam, but also in winning the Buyid Abū Kālījār to his beliefs, all at the age of twenty-nine. Abū Kālījār took part in his nightly meetings (*majālis*) and prayers for the 'imam of the time', but was forced by the caliph to break off the connection. The Isma'ili missionary had to turn towards Ahvaz and then go to Mosul, from whence he went to Fatimid Egypt, while in Rayy and Transoxania all Isma'ilis were rigorously persecuted and often executed (1029, 1044–45),³⁴⁵ as already had occurred under the Samanids. However, in 1109 Sistan was a [176] field for Isma'ili missionaries again,³⁴⁶ and even earlier, in the second half of the eleventh century, Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ, an eager follower of the teaching of the charismatic leadership (*ta'lim*) of the community,³⁴⁷ settled in the inaccessible mountain region of Alamūt south of the Caspian Sea³⁴⁸ and there established the ultra-Isma'ili secret society of the Assassins,³⁴⁹ which soon transformed itself into an association of paid killers.³⁵⁰ It was rightfully

342 Fih. 188f. about the Isma'ilis in Persia in 948–49.

343 Misk. II 32 reports for the year 941–42 that the former secretary of the ruler of Azerbaijan was especially well received by the ruler to whom he fled because as followers of the Bāṭinite creed they both 'felt especially closely connected to each other'.

344 Strothmann, *Gnosis*, 33. For Egyptian delegations to Maḥmūd of Ghazna see Gard. 71.

345 *Siyāsat-nāma* 183–87; Ibn al-Balkhī 117f.; Ḥamdānī, 'The history of the Isma'ili Da'wat', 130–32; Strothmann, 'Kleinere ismailitische Schriften', p. 127 (according to a Yemeni composite manuscript); Browne II 160 (the books of these 'heretics' were burned, too). For later circumstances (sultan Mas'ūd 1135) see Rav. 228.

346 TS 386.

347 Levy, 'Account', 532–34 (translation 534–36).

348 For the region of Alamūt see Stark, *Assassins* (map on page 199, description 197–233, ill. facing 210, 214 and 218; elevation of the stronghold Lamiasar 243, with description on 234–51). Rashīd al-Dīn 212 and n. 58.

349 Isma'ili believers from all over Persia fled to him when things were becoming too precarious, see Athīr x 299 (1106–7); Rav. 155–58 (with interesting details about Isma'ili meetings).

350 The first victim of a *fidāʿī* (= Assassin killer) was the vizier Nizām al-Mulk on 15 October 1092 (Juv. III 204). As early as 1133 the vizier of the Seljuk sultan Tughril suggested to his master to turn to the Assassins in order to have his opponent and the latter's vizier murdered (Ḥus. 72), but Tughril refused and had the vizier executed instead. Around 1150 the Khwarazm-shāh Atsyz had the Seljuk sultan Sanjar murdered by a *fidāʿī*: Dawl. 93.

regarded as especially dangerous by the author of the *Siyāsat-nāma*.³⁵¹ However, its activities until its fall under the Mongols³⁵² are not part of the period under discussion here. The Assassins were not characteristic of the nature of the Iranians, nor of any other peoples of the Near East, and Isma'ili beliefs had as little lasting influence on the Persian character, as, for example, did the Zaydis. This was because by around 1200–1 the Ghōrids had destroyed the Isma'ili population in Kohistan or converted it by force.³⁵³

*Twelver Shi'ites*³⁵⁴

It has been pointed out for a long time³⁵⁵ that the Shi'ite movement began on Arab territory, and that a man | of supposedly Jewish ancestry, 'Abd Allāh ibn [177] Saba',³⁵⁶ was even during his lifetime regarded as one of the first representatives of the Shi'ite persuasion, especially the transcendental understanding of the person of 'Alī. Consequently, people³⁵⁷ tried to find traces of Jewish religious interpretation in the beginnings of the Shi'ite movement, but this cannot be treated in detail here. In any case, there can be no doubt nowadays that the 'Shi'ite movement of the central line', as we may well call this religious trend, out of which Twelver Shi'ism would grow in due course, had basically nothing to do with the reaction of the Persian mind to Islam.³⁵⁸ However, the Twelver Shi'ite creed (in the following section this will simply be referred to as 'Shi'ite') took deep roots in Persia from an early period³⁵⁹ and soon integrated firmly into the Persian mind. This cannot have been a mere accident. The Persians did not incline to the exaggerated stance of the Isma'ilis, which ultimately went

Generally see Juv., vol. III; Hammer-Purgstall, *Assassinen*; Lockhart, 'Hasani Šabbāh'. Of course, the Bāṭinis had their political opponents murdered already before the rise of the Assassins, thus in 1048–49 in Hamadan: Athīr IX 190.

351 *Siyāsat-nāma* 156f.

352 See Spuler, *Ilch.*, 50; individual details in Juv. III 261–78 and ill. facing 136.

353 Juv. II 49; Ibn al-Sā'ī 52.

354 For details see the respective religion-map.

355 Kremer, *Streifz.* 12; Nöldeke, 'Zur Ausbreitung des Schiitismus'.

356 Nawb. 20.

357 Wellhausen, *Opp.* 91; *EI* I 31.

358 Wellhausen, *Opp.* 90, following this Goldziher, *Rel.* 130 and *Mez* 55. For a different view see Müller I 327 and Dozy, *Islamisme*, 220f. In Nawb. 19, some of the Shi'ites believe that 'Alī will appear as the leader for the Arabs on judgement day. Older Shi'ite literature is relatively scarce in western and eastern (also Persian) libraries: Ivanow, *Founder*, 16.

359 An example of Shi'ite fanaticism as early as 743 (in Balkh) is given by Athīr v 99. Important ideas regarding the inner connection of the Persians with the Shi'a (partially based on Leopold Weiss) are found in Babinger, 'Der Islam', 466–71; see also Nallino, *Racc.* VI 121.

beyond Islam, nor to the moderate stance of the Zaydis, which was close to Sunni Islam, and they finally rid themselves even of the Khārijite creed, although this certainly must have been attractive during the time when the legal rights of the clients were diminished. However, from the first centuries onwards Shi'ism was the Persian form of Islam for a not insubstantial part of the population, although its almost complete predominance in Iran was achieved only by the Ṣafavids at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[178] The Shi'ite belief in a sequence of bearers, determined by their ancestry, of a special divine charisma³⁶⁰ within the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*)³⁶¹ was bound to appeal to the Iranians, who were used to a similar concept from their rulers' order of succession, who had always been surrounded by an aura of divinity. The Iranians were conscious of having found in the Shi'ite faith a form of Islam which contradicted, if not all Arabs, at least the ruling dynasty and the official opinion of the majority of the Arabic-speaking community and later also the Turks. Shi'ism was consequently from an early date hallowed as a focus of national resistance, so that different lines led from here to the awakening of Iranian nationalism.³⁶² People soon began to connect the line of the imams with the last indigenous dynasty, the Sasanids, by reporting that al-Ḥusayn married a royal princess from the family of Yazdagird III.³⁶³ The bearers of the charismatic claim to the leadership of the community were therefore *qawm al-ṭarafayn* ('people of the two noble lineages'), since they were descended from both the Quraysh and the Persian kings.³⁶⁴ In fact, the question of legitimacy soon played a rather significant role: members of the 'House of the Prophet' sought, by stressing their descent from the sacred house through both their paternal and maternal lines, to elevate themselves over other relatives who could only claim descent through the paternal line.³⁶⁵ Furthermore, it became commonplace to accord a preferential position to

360 Aghānī/Būlāq VII 8, 24; VIII 27, 33, 34, 42 and more. See also Friedländer, 'Die Messiasidee im Islam'.

361 For the original meaning of this expression see Paret, *Grenzen*, 6f.

362 See p. 231 below; Guidi, *Storia*, 81; Nikitin, *Nat.* 202; Vloten, *Abb.* 8f. Muq. 336 (tenth century) reports about fervent nationalists (*aṣabī*), without *madhhab*, in the west of the province of Nishapur, who stood between the Shī'a and the Khurramīya.

363 The starting point of this tradition is likely to have been 'Alī's meeting with Yazdagird's daughter (657–58 = AH 37; Ṭab. I 3349, 3389, see Caet. IX 556f.), during which she refused a marriage with al-Ḥasan, though see Wiet 101f.

364 Zark. 14. Agaëff, 'Les croyances mazdéenes', 509–11. Schaeder, *Vollk. Mensch.* 218, points out that a similar idea to the Shi'ite doctrine of divine right is also found among the Manichaeans.

365 Among the Zaydi emirs of Mazandaran (Ṭabaristan) in 913–14: Athīr VIII 27.

these so-called *sayyids*. This was the main³⁶⁶ basis of the success of Abbasid propaganda, which maintained its connection with 'Alid propaganda for as long as possible,³⁶⁷ although the difference between the two became clear already in 727–28.³⁶⁸ It was no coincidence that it was in Khurasan where such propaganda claimed true success.

However, the victory on the part of the sons of 'Abbās³⁶⁹ was a disappointment to many Iranians, | although this was not the case for the entire population, as the beginning of the equality and even preferment of Iranians reconciled large circles with the new regime. But besides some leading Zaydis, who found refuge here,³⁷⁰ Shi'ite propaganda was continued.³⁷¹ Special and separate aspirations, such as those of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiya, a descendant of 'Alī's brother Ja'far, in Fars (745–48), found their end in military campaigns.³⁷² The centre of this Shi'ite propaganda was the city of Kufa, from whence the doctrine spread to the Arabs in the city of Qom,³⁷³ where it was soon embraced by the Persians of the region. A second, apparently separate,³⁷⁴ centre of Shi'ite propaganda was Khurasan and neighbouring Transoxania.³⁷⁵ We must bear in mind that these frontier regions often provided refuge for Shi'ite pretenders and persecuted propagandists, who had the opportunity to distinguish themselves as frontier fighters here. There had also been Shi'ite theologians in

366 See p. 36 above. According to some, the first agent of the Abbasids in Khurasan was a 'client' (and thus certainly a Persian) from Balkh: Athīr v 53.

367 See Aghānī/Būlāq x1 73f.

368 Ṭab. II 1501; mutual competition of both persuasions in the propaganda is mentioned.

369 Athīr v 72 (736 in Khurasan) (among them also already esoteric Qur'an exegesis and interpretation of the duties as among the later Shi'ites). For the alleged transmission of the imamate to the Abbasids see Nallino, *Racc.* vi 123.

370 Ṭab. II 1713, Mas. vi 5 (740: Yaḥyā b. Zayd). See p. 38 above, 170f.

371 The Shi'ite imam Ja'far even had an inscription propagating the creed added to his funeral *turba* (753–54): Rabino, *Maz.* 22.

372 Ṭab. II 1976–78; Ibn Ḥazm iv 180 (= Friedländer I 45) (it was thought that he continued his life in hiding in the mountains around Isfahan); Athīr/Tornberg v 284f. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 98f.

373 Iṣṭ. 201 (= Yāq. vii 160); Kashshī 213, 314, 318; Ibn Ḥawqal 361, 370; Aghānī/Būlāq xviii 29; Ḥud. 133; Muq. 395; Ya'q., Buld. 274 (in the year 891). Barthold, *Med.* 77; Ivanow, *Founder*, 15; Schwarz vii 853f. The assertion by Hinz, *Iranische Reise*, 113, that Qom became a Shi'ite sanctuary (only) in Safavid times is not true.

374 Ivanow, *Founder*, 15. Under the Ṭāhirids Bayhaq (later Sabzavār) became an important centre of Shi'ite propaganda: Barthold, *Med.* 82.

375 Muq. 323; Ya'q. I 370; Narsh. 6off. (around 780); Ṭab. II 1770–74 (the son of the imam Zayd 740ff.). See Wellhausen, *Opp.* 97f.

Ṭabaristan from the earliest days.³⁷⁶ Attempts to extend the official mission by gaining influence over the Turks all essentially ended in failure.³⁷⁷ All the same, the danger of 'heretical' currents spreading into these regions prompted the caliphs in Baghdad to support the mission among the Turks and Volga Bulgars (922–23) energetically.³⁷⁸

[180] In the feudal-aristocratic society that had survived in Khurasan since Sasanid times,³⁷⁹ Shi'ism could not really assert itself, | despite the fact that some Samanids, such as Naṣr II³⁸⁰ and Nūḥ II,³⁸¹ joined the Isma'ili and Qarmaṭi faiths. Naṣr II was later deposed by his emirs precisely because of this action (942). At that time, only some individual regions followed Shi'ism; in the south and west, and in Fars,³⁸² this faith had not yet managed to take hold to any great extent. The Sunni Ṭāhirids³⁸³ restrained its expansion, while the Ṣaffārids created a stable basis³⁸⁴ for Shi'ism in their homeland of Sistan³⁸⁵ by keeping the Khārijites in check.

Of at least equally significant importance was the fact that the Zaydi regions south of the Caspian Sea took a relatively tolerant attitude towards the Twelver Shi'ites, while persecuting the Sunnis fiercely.³⁸⁶ West of this region, in Daylam, the doctrine of the Twelvers had immediately established itself and had found many supporters in neighbouring Azerbaijan where, in around 960, an Abbasid prince could create a following for himself precisely because he was Shi'ite.³⁸⁷ The Buyids from Daylam were thus Twelvers from the very first and they remained faithful to this creed. As the real rulers in the land of the caliphs in the years 945–1055 they succeeded in keeping the resistance of the Sunnis

376 Ibn Isf. 79: a contemporary of the eighth imam 'Alī al-Riḏa (765/70–818).

377 Ḥud. 118, 356. Marquart, 'Ġuwainī's Bericht', 494; Barthold, *Turk.* 200; Ibn Faḍlān xx11.

378 Ibn Faḍlān xx1vf.

379 See p. 433f. below.

380 Fih. 188; Siyāsat-nāma 187–93.

381 See also Krym'skiy I 76f., 85f. While some Samanids were patient towards the Shi'ites, a persecution took place after 943 as a reaction against the behaviour of Naṣr II: Krym'skiy I 86.

382 Muq. 441 (beneath the line) (985).

383 Ṭab. 111 1037f.

384 Ya'q. Hist. 11 605 (who as a Shi'ite writes out the Ṣaffārids, presumably because of their enmity against the caliphate); Ibn Khall./Slane 1v 303; Siyāsat-nāma 117. See for this also Mez 56–58; Krym'skiy I 51.

385 See p. 169 above.

386 The Zaydis as well (866): Ibn Isf. 177.

387 Athīr VIII 174.

against Shi'ite propaganda within narrow bounds and in establishing³⁸⁸ in Mesopotamia, and certainly also in Iran, the celebration of the usual Shi'ite feast days of 10 Muḥarram ('*Āshūrā*') and the day on which 'Alī had been invested with the succession of the Prophet by the creek of Ghadir.³⁸⁹ This impressed Shi'ite confidence just as much as did the fact that the office of adjudicator was held by the Shi'ite marshal of the nobility under the Buyids,³⁹⁰ who were very much in thrall to Shi'ism.³⁹¹ | Until then the population had often [181] had to resort to the denial of the faith in emergencies (*taqīya*),³⁹² just as the Manichaeans had done in a Christian environment, and occasionally the Zoroastrians vis-à-vis the Muslims,³⁹³ which may have led to the Shi'ite adoption of this stance. However, there had always been devout followers who expressed their creed through, for example, their choice of surname³⁹⁴ or in the names they gave to their children,³⁹⁵ and used this occasionally also to their own advantage and others' disadvantage respectively. In revolts the white flag of the Shi'ite (also Zaydi)³⁹⁶ party was often shown publicly as well.³⁹⁷ Their official creed was: *Raḍītu bi-'llāhi rabban wa-bi-'slāmi dīnan wa-bi-Muḥammadin ṣallā 'llāhu 'alayhi wa-'ālihi nabīyan wa-bi-'l-Qur'āni kitāban wa-bi-'l-ka'batī qiblatan wa-bi-'l-a'immati 'l-ithnā 'ashara 'alayhim al-salāmu imāman* ('I abide by God as the ruler, I abide by Islam as the religion, by Muḥammad – God's salvation upon him and his family – as the Prophet, by the Qur'an as the book, by the Ka'ba as the direction of prayer, and by the 12 imams – peace be upon them – as the imams').³⁹⁸

Since 945 it was possible to profess the Shi'ite creed publicly and the expansion of Shi'ite beliefs was no longer prevented. This found its expression in the foundation of new Shi'ite cult sites. The basement in Samarra, which was seen as the site in which the twelfth (last) Imam (the *ṣāhib al-zamān*) was said to

388 963–64, 968: Athīr VII 19; VIII 184, 200, 211, 215; Hil. 370; Amedroz, 'Three years', 774. See Wiet's summary 137f. as well as Krymskiy, *Perskiy teatr*.

389 For a specifically Shi'ite interpretation of the facts see EI II 42.

390 Athīr IX 147 (1029); Krymskiy I 131.

391 Mez 193.

392 See Goldziher, 'Takīja'; EI IV 68of.

393 Andrae, *Mohammed*, 86.

394 Wiet 130 (Bukhara).

395 In 727–28 a man in Nishapur was called 'Ghālib' 'because he was distinguished by his love for the son of Fāṭima': Athīr V 53.

396 A nice example: Athīr VII 166 (end of the ninth century).

397 See p. 348 below.

398 See Wiet 89 (woven into a white linen veil).

have disappeared in 873, was not the only site visited.³⁹⁹ Various sanctuaries came into being in Persia, especially the tomb of the eighth Imam ‘Alī al-Riḍā near Ṭus in Mashhad⁴⁰⁰ Riḍā (present-day Mashhad), which was expanded by the Buyids so that it achieved great magnificence.⁴⁰¹ Places of worship dedicated to ‘Alī himself and his son Ḥusayn⁴⁰² | were now also erected on Iranian soil. People had themselves buried near the sanctuaries and had special grave monuments (*turbas*)⁴⁰³ built just for this purpose; pilgrimage sites were here developed as well. Furthermore, the *sayyids* (descendants of Muḥammad via his daughter Fatima), and by no means only the local ones,⁴⁰⁴ were honoured with particular customs.⁴⁰⁵ Thus in 1184, for example, a ruler of Ṭabaristan gathered around himself about 3000 members of the ‘family’ from more distant regions, in order to provide a feast for them.⁴⁰⁶ Of course, the veneration of ‘Alī and Fāṭima’s numerous offspring was not a criterion of only the Shi‘ite persuasion;⁴⁰⁷ the *sayyids* were held in great esteem among the Sunnis as well, as is well known. Of course the Abbasids could not deny the direct descendants the aura, which the *sayyids* claimed as lateral relatives of the Prophet. Strict Sunnis, such as Maḥmūd and Mas‘ūd of Ghazna, had an Alid marshal of the nobility at their court⁴⁰⁸ and showed their devotion towards the Shi‘ite sanctuaries⁴⁰⁹ not as sanctuaries of one particular faith, but rather as places of pan-Islamic significance. This did not prevent either of them from proceeding

399 Dawl. 66 (about Sanjar 1150). Since the development of the doctrine of the imam in the occultation took place mainly during the era of the Shi‘ite Buyids, I cannot understand Toynbee’s remark (*Gang*² 223) that it was ‘merely a product of the persecution of the Shi‘ite sect’.

400 I.e. place of the martyrdom, the death for the faith. See Aghānī/Cairo VII 246.

401 Muq. 333; Ibn Khall./Wüst. VI 53; Ibn Khall./Slane I 584. It is certainly a tendentious fabrication that even the Ghōrid sultan still visited this grave (Awl. 60).

402 A small grave containing the head of the Imam al-Ḥusayn is said to exist outside Qazvin at a place called Sarakhs (thus apparently not in the well known city in Khurasan): Muq. 26.

403 See p. 166 above.

404 Mez 24 (1014).

405 See Muq. 323.

406 Ibn Isf. 69.

407 See Hartmann, ‘Das Buchwesen in Turkestan’, 94ff. (what is said here for Turkestan also applies to Iran).

408 Bayh. 560 (1038).

409 Athīr IX 139 (according to this he had ‘received an order from ‘Alī regarding this matter in a dream vision’).

against Shi'ites of all persuasions, especially against the (real or presumed) Qarmaṭis.⁴¹⁰

They and the Seljuks were also the ones who, by their unceasing persecution, destroyed some of the success of the Shi'ites, and the repugnance felt towards the Assassins did harm the Shi'ite cause in general. Nevertheless, the fact that some Shi'ite centres could survive this difficult time until they could finally become the nucleus for the victorious assertion of this creed in Iran shows just how strongly the followers of Shi'ism were already attached to their faith. Apparently large parts of the Iranian population had found the form of Islam that suited them the best. Of course, it was not only Shi'ism that influenced the Persian character; Shi'ism was also strongly influenced by Iranian beliefs, such as the concept of legitimacy, of an inheritable charisma,⁴¹¹ and of the role of suffering. Perhaps also the *taqīya* and some other aspects are likely [183] to be Persian traits of Twelver Shi'ism, which now also penetrated Arab territory, as can be seen from those places which did accept this creed, in particular southern Mesopotamia, which had a great number of Persian inhabitants. In addition to this, some aspects of Zoroastrianism asserted itself on the whole of Islam. Mysticism, which was felt even beyond Iran, demonstrates that some Persian traits as well as some aspects of Persian national consciousness were expressed outside of Shi'ism as well (this will be expanded upon elsewhere in this volume).⁴¹² All of this, however, cannot detract from the conclusion that within Twelver Shi'ism, Persians and Islam had made an idiosyncratic and unconventional connection.

Zoroastrians⁴¹³

Analysing the development of non-Muslim religions within an Islamic state always presupposes a clear understanding of the relationship in which they

410 Bayh. 178f. (Mas'ūd of Ghazna suspected him of being a follower of the Qarmaṭis and had him executed immediately).

411 Kremer, *Streifz.*, Suppl. II 59. Goldziher, 'Heiligenverehrung', 323. Darmesteter, *Le Mahdi*, 15 (likewise Ignazio Guidi). Louis Massignon also sees the belief in the Mahdī as indigenously Persian; C. Snouck Hurgronje thinks of Christian influences (*Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn and Leipzig 1923, I 152, article 'Der Mahdī'). See also Lewis 24f.; Blochet, *La conquête*; id., *Le Messianisme*.

412 See p. 231 below.

413 Shahrastānī II 70–80 (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 272–85). See *EI* III 104–8; Tritton 97–99; Sadighi 65–82; Hodivala, *Studies in Parsi History*; Kamal-ud-Din, *Islam and Zoroastrism*. About Zoroastrianism in general see Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*; id., *History of Zoroastrianism*;

stood to the leading and universally dominant religion of the rulers of the state. This determines whether another religion is tolerated or violently suppressed and opposed. The position of Zoroastrianism was equivocal, as the Prophet had mentioned the Zoroastrians (*mājūs*)⁴¹⁴ in the Qur'an only in a very negative context⁴¹⁵ and did not consider them among the 'people of the book' (*ahl al-kitāb*) | who could claim tolerance on the grounds of religious law, as long as they fulfilled certain conditions.⁴¹⁶ However, the Prophet himself had effectively granted tolerance to the local Zoroastrians in Arabia,⁴¹⁷ who had lived in some regions there under Persian rule,⁴¹⁸ and the victoriously advancing Arab armies had maintained this behaviour. The move to justify the tolerance of this religion was conducted in the usual way, namely by inventing a report (*ḥadīth*) that Muḥammad had adopted this particular attitude.⁴¹⁹ Indeed, organised persecutions of this religious community are not known to have occurred, and local attacks were no more common than with other religions. Nevertheless, the Zoroastrians were, at least in the beginning, disparaged much more severely than Christians and Jews.⁴²⁰ Furthermore,

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- Benveniste, 'Théodore bar Kōnay sur le zoroastrisme'; Gobineau, *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, 3.54–58; Wiet 130–36. I do not know whether K. Smirnov, *Persy. Očerk religii Persii* (The Persians: a sketch of the Persian religion), Tiflis 1916, deals with Zoroastrianism or the Shī'a (and if so, for which period).
- 414 Benveniste, *Les mages dans l'ancien Iran*, has a new definition of the word 'Magi'; see also Hans H. Schaeder in *OLZ* 1940, 376–83; Wikander 44ff.
- 415 Sura 22:17: 'The Faithful, the Jews, the Šābians, the Christians, the 'Mājūs' and the Unbelievers ('Polytheists') – verily, God will separate them on the day of the resurrection . . .'
- 416 *EI* I 15f.; Tritton 5–17 (the legal regulation which went back to 'Umar I); id., 'Non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim state' (legal: based on the juridical literature), as well as id. s.v. Našārā in *EI* III 916–19. See also p. 210f. below.
- 417 For suspected Zoroastrian influences on the Qur'an see Oszttern, 'Islam und Parsismus', 150ff.
- 418 Bal. 71, 80f. (Yemen), 79 (Bahrain); Ibn Sa'd I 2, 19. Wellh., *Sk.* IV 103, 118f.; Erdmann, *Feuerheiligum*, 44; Caet. v 5, 394–96.
- 419 Details in *EI* III 104–8; see especially 'Awfī 220, no. 1620 (remission of the *jizya* for Zoroastrians by 'Alī); Abū Yūsuf 73–76; Šā'id 52. Wiet 121f.; Wensinck, *Handbook*, 138 (right). Schwarz VII 858 (example of the toleration of Zoroastrians).
- 420 Buhl, *Mohammed*, 347 and n. 81. Bal. 80 reports the Prophet's command not to eat anything that had been butchered by Zoroastrians and not to marry their women (see Shāfī'i, *Umm*, IV 133; Tritton, 'Islam and the protected religions', 331f.; Nariman, 'Islam and Parsis'). Later however, the Shi'ites saw a clear asset in the alleged descent of the successors of al-Ḥusayn from a Persian king's daughter: a proof for the reversal in public opinion in the wake of Shu'ūbite ideas. Two alleged charters of protection for Zoroastrians written by the early caliphs, which survived in Zoroastrian circles in India, have been published

according to Shāfi'ite law, the blood money for them was only 1/15 of that for a Muslim.⁴²¹

The Zoroastrians sought to adapt to the new situation by presenting themselves as the possessors of a revealed scripture.⁴²² Until now the *gāthās*, and perhaps the whole Avesta, had been transmitted only orally,⁴²³ as had been the case in a number of eastern religions with sacred texts. This was the most likely explanation for the lack of an old written tradition of this religion, whose holy books were said to have existed only in a very few sacrosanct portions,⁴²⁴ and also for the name *zamzam* (pl. *zamāzīm* = murmurer),⁴²⁵ which the Arabs gave to the Zoroastrians and which, indeed, travelled as far as China.⁴²⁶ It was not until after the Arab conquest that the Avesta seems to have been presented as openly accessible and as a 'sacred, revealed book' to the Arabs. The Muslims accepted this claim: the holy scripture of the 'magi' was respected as such,⁴²⁷ and only infrequently do we hear of an officially ordered destruction of fire altars⁴²⁸ and other such measures against Zoroastrian sanctuaries⁴²⁹ and the holy scriptures.⁴³⁰ Rather, possession of the Avesta was expected of the Zoroastrians and would be seen as proof of Zoroastrian orientation.⁴³¹ With this development, Zoroaster's teachings were incorporated into the tolerated religions and the duty to suppress the Zoroastrians ceased to exist. Attacks of

by Nariman as *The Ahad Nameh* (with an overview of the Muslims' treatment of the Zoroastrians, maintaining a conciliatory stance).

421 See Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 787; Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, 207.

422 The Muslims did, however, know that they did not, in fact, possess one: Ṭab. I 1005, II 1636; Shahr./Cureton 179.

423 And they continued to be transmitted in this way: Mas. II 126 (Sistan).

424 Nyberg, *Die Religionen*, 1 and n. 4; Kremer, *Cultur*. I 59; Wikander *passim*.

425 Goldziher, *Shu'ub*. 170 and n. 3; Wikander 28ff.

426 Schaeder, *Iranica: Fu-lin*, 65.

427 François Nau in *RHR* 1927, 149ff.; Christensen 138; differently: Wesendonk, 28.

428 At the end of the seventh century by Ziyād ibn Abihi, see Ibn Khurd. 96; Jāhīz, *Ḥay*. IV 153; Bal. 409; Ṭab. II 16. Tritton, 'Islam and the protected religions', 331; Kremer, *Cultur*. II 164f.; Sadighi 17.

429 In 861 the caliph al-Mutawwakil had sacred cypresses (supposedly planted by Zoroaster himself) cut down and shipped to Samarra as building timber. The Zoroastrians protested and the legend tells how the caliph had died when the trees arrived: LeStrange 355 (after Qazwīnī); Donaldson 243f. The caliph al-Mu'tašim had fire temples near Fergana and Iṣṭakhr destroyed: Mas. IV 51; IV 77.

430 An overview over Persian literature at that time – including epic poetry – is in Fihri. 304–14. Browne II 175f.; Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 10–15. Wrong: Gafurov 143.

431 See Goldziher, *Shu'ub*. 150.

subordinate officials on Zoroastrians in Sogdia in around 840 were even punished by the government.⁴³²

[186] The movement to convert to Islam must consequently have had other reasons. Among the nobles of the culturally dominant northeast part of Iran it was mainly the desire to maintain their social standing which prompted them to swiftly change their religion.⁴³³ Additionally, the fall of the Sasanid monarchy entailed a simultaneous collapse of the tightly structured hierarchical system of the clergy,⁴³⁴ and so of Zoroastrianism as the state religion,⁴³⁵ for its nominal head vis-à-vis the Arab administration, the *pēshōpāy-i hūdhēnān* (around 820),⁴³⁶ lacked religious authority and was in the main restricted to the collection of money.⁴³⁷ The national eastern Christian churches had developed into autonomous and self-governing entities in the struggle against the East Roman or Persian empires; Zoroastrianism, by contrast, had, as a national church, enjoyed the full support of the Sasanid imperial organisation and so had not learned to conduct itself independently.

At least in the early period, conversion in the east allowed the *dēhkāns* to preserve their socially leading position. Among them a tradition survived which was only superficially Islamized and only partially influenced⁴³⁸ by Islamic ways of thought, and which later found its permanent expression in Firdawsī's *Book of Kings*.⁴³⁹ Substantial parts of this work were made known to the Arabs through translations undertaken by Zoroastrians who had converted. Of paramount importance were Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 760), the translator of the Middle Persian chronicle *Khvadhay-nāmagh* (*Book of the Rulers*),⁴⁴⁰ and al-Tha'ālibī (d. 1038), | to whom the Arabs owed their most detailed

432 Chwolson, *Die Sabier und der Sabismus*, I 287.

433 See p. 137f. above.

434 See Christensen 110–17; Wesendonk 258–82.

435 Ibid. 136–73. When Yazdagird III had to flee, he took the 'holy fire' with him: Ṭab. I 2682; Athīr III 13.

436 ŠGV II. See also Guidi's article 'Mōbedh' in *EI* III 623–25.

437 Michael Syr. 519; Dionysios of Tell Mahrē 148; B. H. eccl. I 372. Mez 30f.

438 E.g. Firdawsī/Vullers I 151, v. 404–11 (refusal to drink wine in contrast to al-Tha'ālibī). See Hansen 80.

439 For Firdawsī's religious conviction see p. 237 below. Also Daqīqī (the author of the first 1000 verses) paid homage to Zoroastrian romanticism: Barthold, *Med.* 85; see also Schaefer, 'War Daqīqī Zoroastrier?'

440 Christensen 54f., with further dedicated literature. For a description of what such a book looked like, with depictions of the Persian kings and descriptions of their beards etc. (used also to distinguish them on coins), see Erdmann, 'Die Entwicklung der sasani-schen Krone'; see also Mas., Tanb 106 (for 915–16) and further Christensen 61f. Since the

knowledge of the Persian historical tradition and who was the source of Firdawsī.⁴⁴¹ In view of the feudal situation in Khurasan and Khwarazm there could be no doubt that the example of the aristocrats would determine the actions of the majority of their peasants. The belief in the teachings of Zoroaster soon receded noticeably among wide swathes of the population here. On the other hand, despite certain signs of crisis to which the Sasanid state religion was exposed, especially at the beginning of the seventh century,⁴⁴² the Zoroastrian religion would develop some counter currents in the first century after the occupation. The clergy attempted to construct a new orthodoxy and a purer form of the faith, which then posed as the original form,⁴⁴³ with the result that the doctrine of Zurvān ('Time')⁴⁴⁴ was abandoned and Ahura-Mazda was worshipped in the purest form possible. Consequently a certain resistance arose among the *dēhkāns* in response to the Islamic attempt at violent measures in 671⁴⁴⁵ and as late as 693–94 there was fear in Khurasan that the civil war between Arab tribes there might help the 'unbelievers' (i.e. the Zoroastrians) to ultimately gain power again.⁴⁴⁶

However, a well-organised resistance never came into being. The internal insecurity of the Zoroastrians, the lack of propaganda among followers of other religions,⁴⁴⁷ and the superiority of Islam as state religion forced a number of devout believers to leave their homeland if they wanted to avoid

word *khudāy* in new Persian had taken on the exclusive meaning of 'god', Firdawsī had to rename his book as 'Shāh-nāma'.

441 See *ET* IV 193f. (s.v. Sāsāniden), IV 793.

442 Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 234f.; Christensen 432f.; Inostrancev, *Materialy*. For the internal erosion of Zoroastrianism at least in learned circles see the contemplations of the Persian doctor Burzōē in Klinge, 'Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen', 349 and n. 16 (according to him, the validity of personal conviction is dependent in the main on its agreement with the intellect). See also Nöldeke, 'Burzōēs Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalila wa Dimna', and the objections by Kraus, 'Zu Ibn Muqaffa'; furthermore: Gabrieli, 'L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa', and Ross, 'Ibn Muqaffa' and the Burzōē legend'. In Firdawsī, Rustam is of course largely governed by his belief in fate: Firdawsī/Vullers I 334, v. 293f., see Hansen 137, 264.

443 Christensen 432. Details of the Zoroastrian doctrine of that time may be found in Pseudo-Balkhī IV 27–30, with the comments there.

444 See Schaefer, 'Der iranische Zeitgott und sein Mythos'; Wesendonk 259–73.

445 TS 93f.

446 Athīr IV 142. In Huei-ch'ao 451 the Sogdians are still described as Zoroastrians at the beginning of the eighth century.

447 Jāhīz's statement, *Hay.* v 99, is significant: nowhere did anyone convert to Zoroastrianism (which is of course not the case, see e.g. Armenia). For Zoroastrian influences on the Central Asian Turks see *Aghānī* /Cairo IX 21 and Barthold, *Vorl.* 43f.

conversion. This movement began in Ubulla, at the mouth of the Tigris,⁴⁴⁸ but could also be felt in Kirman⁴⁴⁹ in around 650. In 717 Persians began to settle in India, especially in Gujarat, laying the basis for today's Parsi communities in that country. Corresponding migration movements can also be seen among the Sogdians and, in around 752, the Armenians;⁴⁵⁰ this was therefore clear proof of the religious attitude of certain sections of the population.

Even though the northeast province would be the culturally dominant region of Iran for a long time to come, after one century only a few followers of Zoroaster's teachings, which had also had to contend with Buddhism,⁴⁵¹ remained here.⁴⁵² Nevertheless, there were reports of the continued existence of fire temples for some time⁴⁵³ | in Nishapur and in the Rēvand mountains near Ṭus,⁴⁵⁴ near Bukhara in 710,⁴⁵⁵ Samarkand on the occasion of the conquest in 712,⁴⁵⁶ and also in Zangān.⁴⁵⁷ The celebration of the old religious feast days, especially the beginning of spring and of autumn (Nowruz⁴⁵⁸ and Mihragān⁴⁵⁹), continued, but had only traditional⁴⁶⁰ significance now, as

448 See Menant, *Les Parsis* (after the *Qiṣṣa-yi Sanjān* by the Parsi priest Bahman Kaiqobād Sanjana, around 1600). Karaka, *History of the Parsees*.

449 Yāq./Wüst. II 31. Inostrancev, 'The emigration of the Parsis to India', and 'Balāḍūrī and Ḥamza Iṣfahānī on the migration of the Parsees' (he supposes 'Sindān' to have been the destination of their migration, instead of the transmitted 'Subudhān'); id., *Sas. Ét.* 6; Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, 22f.; Nariman, 'Was it religious persecution?'

450 Regarding the Sogdians see p. 37 above, the Armenians: Stefan As. 162.

451 See p. 218f. below.

452 Muq. 323 ('different sects' of Zoroastrians in Khurasan in the tenth century: probably only a repetition of an older source); Ḥud. 105 (982 in the region of Marv).

453 Shahrastānī II 92f. = Shahr./Haarbr. I 298f. Occasionally they are also called 'Bat-khāna' ('idol [Buddha] temple'): therefore the information given by historians and geographers is sometimes difficult to interpret: Barthold, 'Mesta domusul'manskoy kul'ty'. See Helmut Ritter in *Der Islam* XVIII (1929), 311, as well as Pagliaro, 'Sacred fires', 383. Whether the ossuaries that have been unearthed in Khwarazm can be brought into connection with Zoroastrianism is questionable: Field and Provost, 'Khwarazm', 144 (similar burial customs among the Ossetians and Chewsuriens still in the nineteenth century).

454 Ḥud. 326; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 290f.

455 Ṭab. II 1230. Next to it stood a house in which sacred peacocks were kept.

456 Ṭab. II 1246. See *VDI* 1951–3, 132.

457 Ya'q., Buld. 271; Mas. IV 86.

458 See also Mas., Tanb. 215.

459 Such Mihragān presents were in 652–53: gold and silver vessels, money, everyday objects and clothing: Ṭab. I 2903f. Ibid. II 1635; Balkh 738.

460 See also the ceremony in Bukhara in the tenth century: Barthold, 'Epos', 143.

opposed to a religious one.⁴⁶¹ Conversely the birth of the Prophet was celebrated near Isfahan in 935 by burning bonfires in the Zoroastrian manner⁴⁶² and the victory of Islam was explained with the legend that during the night when Muḥammad was born the lake near Sāva, in which the seed of Zoroaster was said to be preserved and from which the saviour (Saoshyant) was to arise,⁴⁶³ dried up.

Not all regions showed these signs of decline in equal measure, since the religious life of a large population always develops with regional differences. The general religious situation in Khurasan significantly facilitated the conversion of the nobles, but among the Zoroastrian communities⁴⁶⁴ in Mesopotamia⁴⁶⁵ it was competition with Christianity, which was chiefly practised by the Aramaic and Aramaized population, the proximity of the Abbasid court with its stress on correct Islam,⁴⁶⁶ and the seventh-century emigration of Iranians due to political circumstances,⁴⁶⁷ which drove Zoroastrianism back.⁴⁶⁸ Admittedly the majority of the chancellery staff still professed this | religion [190] 'up until the time of the caliph Hishām (724–43)',⁴⁶⁹ and were only in 742 nominally excluded from employment in the administration,⁴⁷⁰ and certain viziers, generals and even men of letters were still suspected of Zoroastrian tendencies in Abbasid times⁴⁷¹ and sometimes even found guilty. Those Persians who came into Mesopotamia during the Abbasid era were, at least according to their official denomination, Muslim, even if their Zoroastrian origin was often still known or if the conversion was first accomplished by the bearer of a

461 Otherwise it would surely not have been celebrated at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna: *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Farrūkhī-yi Sīstānī*, ed. by 'Alī Āban, Tehran 1933 (AH 1311), 390f. Köprülü, 'Kay', 422 and n. 1; Wellh., *Arab*, 308.

462 Description of such a feast: Athīr VIII 94f.

463 Further information: *EI* IV 197.

464 I.e. the majority of the population at the time of the Islamic conquest: see Bauer, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut*, 104.

465 Muq. 126.

466 In 783 the blind poet Bashshār ibn Burd was executed because of his glorification of Zoroastrianism: Kremer, *Cultur*. II 410; *GAL* 103.

467 See p. 188 above.

468 When Shahr./Cureton I 198 mentions their fire temples near Bahgdad as late as the twelfth century, this surely refers to the buildings only.

469 Bal., Ans. XI 343, 352 (al-Ḥajjāj's secretaries, see p. 341 below, n. 8); Jahsh. 64. Kremer, *Cultur*. I 167; Arnold, *Preaching*, 58.

470 Jahsh. 65.

471 A secretary in the early Abbasid period: Jahsh. 104; the secretary of the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla (d. 983): Yāq., Irsh. v 357; supposedly also the Samanid vizier Jayhānī (around 920): Fih. 138. Grünebaum 255.

famous name. In the case of the Barmakids, the well-known vizier family, their Zoroastrian origin was only fictitious⁴⁷² because it was by that time already considered noble to claim such ancestors; in fact, they were of Buddhist origin.⁴⁷³

However, Iran's decision in favour of Islam, even if only in part of the official Sunni version, was not accomplished at once. Khurasan, after all, was not the whole of Persia,⁴⁷⁴ and there were other regions in which the old faith soon yielded to Islam. Thus in Azerbaijan the ancient and famous fire temple in Shīz (perhaps Takht-i Sulaymān southeast of Lake Urmia) was maintained until 943, despite the fact that it was no longer the religious focal point of the population.⁴⁷⁵ The region of Rayy and the territory as far as Isfahan soon became Muslim as well.⁴⁷⁶ Conversely, there were two physically separate regions which, for a long time, contrasted sharply with this development. The first was in the south of the country, beginning in Qom, as well as Isfahan itself, [191] where even in the tenth century many Zoroastrians were counted, which was also the case in Khuzistan and Kohistan,⁴⁷⁷ and where fire temples were still maintained,⁴⁷⁸ and in the area spreading from here into Yazd. The actual heartland of Zoroastrianism in the south, however, was Fars, where the Arab geographers saw living Zoroastrianism as late as the tenth century.⁴⁷⁹ In the capital

472 Information about this is given by Mas. IV 49.

473 See p. 218 below. Harold Bailey derives Barmak from Sanskrit *pramukha* which was used in Khotan-Sakian (*parmok*) to denote the leading Buddhist monasteries, see *BSOAS* XI (1943–6), 2.

474 The statements provided by Krymskiy I 20 about the further dissemination of Zoroastrianism in Khurasan and in Persia generally in the ninth-tenth centuries are exaggerated.

475 Yāq. v 325f. (after Muṣar b. Muḥalhil, wrote 943); Qazwīnī II 267; Ibn Khurd. 119; Mas. VI 74ff. See *EI* IV 415 and Godard, 'Les monuments du feu', 45ff. (with good illustrations and further references to literature). In Middle Persian Shīz is called 'Ganjak', among classical writers 'Ganzaka'; see Wikander 134–46, 170f.

476 Near Qom there was a village inhabited by Zoroastrians as late as ca. 930: Ibn Ḥawq. 404; Qommī 88–90 (al-Ḥajjāj had already fought against this village and destroyed the fire temple).

477 Muq. 394, 414. Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 5.

478 Ibn Ḥawq. 365; Qommī 18; Ibn Rustah 153; Mas. IV 47. Schwarz VII 837 (index for Jibāl). The *mōbedhs* of these temples at the same time dealt in holy water. Pagliaro, 'Sacred Fires'.

479 An overview of the known fire temples is given by Godard, 'Les monuments du feu', 70–72; Christensen 160–62; Wiet 132–34; Kramers, 'Die Feuerempel in Fars'; Tirmidhi, 'Zoroastrians and their fire temples', with attempts at interpreting their names, as far as they are attested in the literature, especially in Iṣṭ. 118f.; Mas. IV 72–88; Ibn Ḥawq.² 273; Ḥud. 126 (brief). Schwarz 837 gives a list; see also Erdmann, *Feuerheiligtum*, 44, who deals

Shiraz, Zoroastrians moved about freely without the prescribed distinguishing mark on their clothing, at which al-Muqaddasī expressed umbrage, and people still adhered to Zoroastrian practices.⁴⁸⁰ Here, just as in the neighbouring cities, sites of the fire cult still existed⁴⁸¹ which were taxed⁴⁸² by the Muslims and | were not allowed to be whitewashed as the mosques were,⁴⁸³ although [192] the temple of Ādhur Farnbagh,⁴⁸⁴ probably in Kāriyān, halfway between Siraf and Darabgird,⁴⁸⁵ was an exception. There, almost every village still clustered around the holy fire.⁴⁸⁶ Even at the end of the tenth century the number of the Zoroastrian population exceeded that of the rest of the non-Muslim population⁴⁸⁷ and Zoroastrian feast days were still celebrated in public.⁴⁸⁸ At this time, some even still dared to face Muslims in street fights.⁴⁸⁹

The regions beyond the eastern border were for the centuries⁴⁹⁰ leading up to the tenth century also inhabited by many Zoroastrian. The Kirmanis became Muslims only after the accession of the Abbasids, and were really only incorporated into the Islamic community under the Ṣaffārids,⁴⁹¹ while

in this book with the architectural structure; also Tavadia, 'Zum iranischen Feuerempel', a fundamental work; Villard, 'The firetemples'; Strzygowski, 'Le temple du feu'; Godard, 'Les monuments du feu'; Oelmann, 'Persische Tempel'; Erdmann, 'Fastigium Montis Barmach'; Wilber, 'The ruins at Rabat i Safid'; Ghirshman, 'La Tour de Nourabad'. Images of fire temples are also found on Sasanid coins: Christensen 156f.; on 163 also the image of a ruin near Isfahan; further in Erdmann, 'Neue Wege'.

480 Muq. 429, 441 (below the line) (following another manuscript); Iṣṭ. 119 (Zoroastrian cleansing rites for women in Shiraz); Athīr VIII 257. Regarding the clothing of non-Muslims see Tritton 115–26, for Zoroastrians 123; Schwarz II 45f.; III 154f.

481 Ḥud. 126; Iṣṭ. 118f. See the literature cited in the note above on this page, as well as Sadighi 76–82 and Schwarz 53f.

482 See Erdmann, *Feuerheiligum*, 44.

483 Tritton 45.

484 Mas. IV 76f. The Muslims had destroyed it and later on the people believed the ruins to be a mosque of Solomon. Details in Wikander 52f., es. 144f.

485 Jāhiz, Ḥay. IV 153; Mas. IV 80; Ibn Khurd. 119f.; Muq. 427; Ḥud. 128; Yāq. IV 224. The location is debated – see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 286; Pagliaro, 'Sacred Fires', 383; Ḥud. 379 and Christensen 162 – but is mostly taken to be this: Erdmann, *Feuerheiligum*, 42 and n. 347.

486 Iṣṭ. 97, 100, 118; Ibn Ḥawq.² 265; Ḥud. 127ff. Ouseley, *Travels*, II 376.

487 Muq. 439.

488 Ibid. 441. Tritton 107.

489 Maḥmūd ibn 'Uthmān 20ff.

490 For Sistan and Kabul, Bal. 396 confirms this for 661 (thinking of the Buddhists in addition to the Zoroastrians).

491 Iṣṭ. 164; Ibn Ḥawq.² 310.

in Herat the holy fire was still burning in the tenth century.⁴⁹² The long adherence of a substantial part of the population of Fars to the belief of their fathers certainly had its reason in the fact that here, in the heartland of the Persian nation, which was, after all, named after the region, in the neighbourhood of the old residences,⁴⁹³ the belief in the teachings of the Iranian prophet apparently had not fallen prey to the disintegration which has to be assumed for the other provinces and this was due especially to the Sasanid restoration. Generally, Fars remained immune to foreign influences for a long time⁴⁹⁴ and consequently fell behind in its intellectual development.

This reservation became open rejection of outside influence when in the tenth century a kind of reinstatement of Zoroastrianism⁴⁹⁵ took place that was linked to the resurgence of the idea of Iranian nationalism.⁴⁹⁶ In the years 921–31, drawing on the *Shu‘ūbiya*, ideas would develop in some groups which [193] dreamed of the restoration of a Zoroastrian Iranian state | through the destruction of the caliphate.⁴⁹⁷ At the same time there was a re-evaluation of the foundations of the creed on the part of firmly Zoroastrian circles,⁴⁹⁸ which found its expression in the repeated copying of the classic texts of the faith⁴⁹⁹ and in the defence of Zoroaster’s teachings against other religions, including Islam, as they were laid down in the *Dēnkart*⁵⁰⁰ and other texts.⁵⁰¹ Of course, this new Zoroastrianism is interspersed with Islamic, and especially Mu‘tazilite thinking, and it does not hesitate to use orthodox arguments in attacks against the Mu‘tazilites, and Mu‘tazilite arguments against the Orthodox, deploying the dialectical techniques of debate (*kalām*) that had been developed by Islam at that time. In particular, the concepts of God’s justice (*adl*) and predestination were attacked, since as long as God was understood to also have created evil, as was supposed by Islam, then he would be without prescience and without compassion.⁵⁰²

492 Iṣṭ. 265; Ibn Ḥawq. 438.

493 Iṣṭ. 139 points this out, with some justification.

494 Kremer, *Cultur.* I 299.

495 Goldziher, *Shu‘ub.* 150.

496 See p. 233 below.

497 Ibn Khaldūn IV 339f. See Ibn Faḍlān XXI f.

498 Christensen 138; see also at the end of section VIII before 435.

499 Nasr 100.

500 ‘Ulamā-i Islām (disagreements between Islam and Zoroastrianism in the ninth and tenth century), see *šcv* 8 (preface).

501 *šcv* 11f. See also Schaeder, *Vollk. Mensch.* 200, n. 3; Wesendonk 37; Sadighi 69f. (list).

502 See *šcv* 118–19 (Islam as imposed religion), 126–55 (combating Islam) with commentary 156–64, and continuation of the criticism of Islam 166–71. This book also contains

However, this Zoroastrian renaissance was the last flickering of a dying cause. This was due not so much to the 'persuasive power' of Islam as to the pressure of the state, which was especially exerted by the dynasties of Turkic descent, the Ghaznavids and the Seljuks. Just as they were able to contain Shi'ism, they apparently also paralysed the much less viable religion of Zoroaster and destroyed its literary production. Since then only remnants survived in the southeast of the country, especially in Yazd and Kirman,⁵⁰³ | which [194] in the following centuries maintained connections by letter (*rivāyāt*)⁵⁰⁴ with their compatriots in India, the Parsis.⁵⁰⁵ The demise of the fire worshippers in Fars brought the local population the gain of religious unity among other things. Only affiliation with Islam made it possible for the inhabitants to play a part in the new Western Asian culture which had developed in the preceding centuries. While there had been many Zoroastrians, they had needed to lead a separate life oriented more towards the past than the future. Now they could take part in Iran's intellectual development and that of Central Asia in general, integrating Fars into the culture-bearing regions of the country and taking it out of its centuries-long isolation. From this time onwards Fars regained its place in Iranian intellectual life on a par with the other provinces of the country.

Religious development in the second region of the Iranian settlement area that adhered to the Zoroastrian creed for a long time was based on different circumstances, for these were the regions on the southern shore of the Caspian

a defence against the Jewish faith: 176–203; against Christianity: 204–225; and against Manichaeism: 226–61 (all with commentary). Wesendonk 283f.

503 The number of fire worshippers in Iran in 1938: province of Yazd around 10,000; Kirman 3,100; Teheran around 1,750 and in the rest of the large cities of the country (Mashhad, Isfahan, Hamadan, Shiraz) together around 2,000; in the whole of Iran 16,800. In 1937 in the province of Yazd there were 1,961 Zoroastrian children in school, 292 in higher education in Tehran and 659 in Kirman. On 23–25 February 1950 they elected their own representative for the Persian parliament: *Ettelā'āt* (Tehran newspaper), Airmail edition of 20 February 1950. Edward G. Browne estimated their number (probably at the beginning of the twentieth century) to be around 8,500. See Godard, 'Les monuments du feu', 16, n. 1 (with further references and illustrations of modern fire temples). See Nasr 358–60; Houtum-Schindler, 'Die Parsen in Persien'.

504 See Nasr 107 and Unvala, *Dārâb Hormazyâr's Rivāyât*. One volume of the Rivāyât which extends from the fifteenth to the last quarter of the eighteenth century (called by Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron 'Le grand Ravaët') is currently in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Anquetil 12 – su 46). *Rivāya* roughly corresponds to the Islamic *fatwā*.

505 West, *Dâdistân-î Dînik*, intro.; Nasr 101f.; Lorimer, 'Gabri Dialect'.

Sea. They maintained political independence for centuries as well.⁵⁰⁶ More than once did their humid climate prove too much for foreign conquerors. The Zoroastrianism of the small states there, which was interspersed with remnants of older cultures,⁵⁰⁷ found its clear expression in the actions⁵⁰⁸ and the names of the rulers. If the local rulers and magnates were forced by external circumstances to convert to Islam, they always regarded this as a temporary emergency measure and had no qualms about returning to the faith of their fathers as soon as circumstances had changed.⁵⁰⁹ Of course, this attitude cost some of them their lives if they fell into the hands of the caliph's troops a second time.⁵¹⁰

However, Zoroastrianism did not survive much longer here, either. We have already seen⁵¹¹ that Zaydi propagandists in the ninth to tenth centuries succeeded in converting the population with only a few exceptions.⁵¹² As soon as the leading class in such a primitive, feudally structured society converted to a new faith, the populace would follow suit without resistance or much independent deliberation. In this way the Shi'ite version of Islam established itself here early on, as well as in Daylam to the northwest, and then gained supremacy, even if it was not universal. Admittedly, conversion to the new religion had taken place freely and spontaneously only among the members of a narrow upper class. The populace had not been influenced in its thinking by this transition. A connection to Islamic culture – which was also geographically impeded from reaching the region – was delayed here for centuries, as this region remained of little importance for the cultural development of Iran, even more so since the upper classes professed Islam merely superficially⁵¹³ and

506 See p. 33 above.

507 Cult of springs in Ṭabaristan (982): Ḥud. 135f.: Qazwīnī II 239, 270. Vasmer, 'Eroberung', 101f.; Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 7 as well as 110–35 ('Obyčai prikaspiskago naseleniya Persii v x věkē' = The customs of the residents on the shores of the Caspian Sea in Persia in the tenth century).

508 King Ardashīr of Gurgan had a fire temple built in 978: Ibn Ḥawq.² 278. Ibn Isf. 158 (857–58), 186 (around 880: Zor. cemetery). There was a fire temple in Pērōzābād (Gurgan) around 943: Mas. IV 78.

509 Around 830–35: Ibn Isf. 153; Awl. 55. See also Mas. IX 28.

510 Around 760: Dorn/Khōnd. 8. 840: Māzyār of Ṭabaristan: Mas. VII 138. See Sadighi 57–66.

511 See p. 170f. above.

512 Mas. IX 5 (944).

513 Mas. IX 10. In 935 the Ziyārid Mardāvij publicly celebrated a Zoroastrian feast in Isfahan (Misk. I 310f.), much to the lively outrage of the Muslims (al-Hamadhānī, *Rasā'il* / *Letters*, Beirut 1890, 279). The tower called 'Rādhkān' in the upper Nikā valley in the Elburz Mountains, southwest of Astarābād (see Diez, *Churasanische*, 87f.), built between 1016

the Daylamis reverted once more to their old religion⁵¹⁴ without hiding this from the caliph.⁵¹⁵ However, a renaissance of Zoroastrianism was unthinkable among this extremely primitive population and thus these provinces finally passively followed the course of the general development as well.

The Formation of Sects Influenced by Zoroastrians and Mazdakites, Khurramis and Others

[196]

Once we realize just how long Islam and Zoroastrianism lived side by side, at least in some regions, and how official Islam adopted,⁵¹⁶ or at least tolerated,⁵¹⁷ a number of things from the religion of the Magi, it does not come as a surprise that mixed forms developed out of the old and the new, Islam and Zoroastrianism, forms which did not meet with the approval of the wider public. This was intensified by two further factors: the growing sense of national Persian identity, which demanded a reconsideration of the ancient Iranian tradition,⁵¹⁸ and the fact that many – especially the educated classes (e.g. Ibn al-Rāwandī) – repeatedly changed their faith.

The Zoroastrian clergy's reform movements in the seventh and eighth centuries had already caused problems. Around 745 the Zoroastrian Bih'āfrīd (al-Majūsī al-Zawzanī),⁵¹⁹ son of (Māh-)fravardīn(ān) from Kh(a)vāf near Nishapur went beyond their aspirations. Writing a Persian 'book', he sought to achieve a far-reaching assimilation of this religion with the beliefs of Islam by suppressing all that was most repulsive to the Muslims, such as marriage between close relatives, wine consumption and the eating of deceased animals, fire worship and the 'murmuring' of the canonical books (at least during

and 1021, features a Pahlavī inscription (*ibid.* . 37, and plate 1–4); here, too, this script could have stayed alive only through Zoroastrian tradition. Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 110–35 (about Muq.² 368–70); see also Athīr VIII 241 and Krymskiy I 95.

514 Mas. IX 10.

515 In 1001 Daylami troops publicly declared in Kirman that they would rather serve under a Zoroastrian general: Hil. 411.

516 See p. 139 above. See *EI* II 1047f.; Kraus, 'Das "Kitāb az-Zumurrudh" des Ibn ar-Rāwandī', 356. However, if Moīn wants to ascribe the Islamic belief in man's free will and responsibility for his own actions to Zoroastrianism, this is (as was rightly remarked by Fritz Meier in *Artibus Asiae* XIII/3 [1950], 31) not supported by the sources and contradicts our understanding of these connections.

517 Nowruz etc., see p. 189 above.

518 See p. 233 below.

519 In some sources incorrectly called 'Bihzād'.

meals). On the other hand, he worshipped Zoroaster and, like him, advocated the protection of domestic animals as well as of bridges and roads. In order to stop such a violation of their conviction the Zoroastrians had no qualms about appealing to the Islamic authorities and the Abbasid propagandist Abū Muslim in order to achieve the suppression of this heresy. Abū Muslim of course was only too glad to seize the opportunity to intervene in Zoroastrian affairs following the wish of the community itself, and had the innovator captured near Badhghis and executed.⁵²⁰

[197] However, this did not mean that the movement as such had been quashed. The aspirations of the former Zoroastrian Sinbād, which he declared to be Mazdakite,⁵²¹ did indeed come to nothing. He was connected with Abū Muslim's movement,⁵²² which went beyond what had been achieved by the Abbasids, and he attracted some of its followers with his dream of destroying the Ka'ba (754–55).⁵²³ Similarly, the endeavours of the little known Ishāq to call forth a religious uprising, especially among the Transoxanian Turks,⁵²⁴ came to naught. The new 'prophet' Ustādhīs, on the other hand, succeeded in 767 to gather around himself religiously inspired groups of Zoroastrians in Sistan, Herat and Badhghis,⁵²⁵ as well as the remnants of the followers of Bih'āfrīd, so that some communities were able to survive into the ninth to tenth centuries. It is possible that the revolt in Bust (Sistan) at exactly that time (767) was connected with this religious turmoil.⁵²⁶ We know only a little about the beliefs of these religious communities. The (naturally hostile) Islamic tradition reports merely that Ustādhīs posed as a 'prophet', that he caused religious unrest in Herat and Khurasan, and that he led an immoral life and ended up as a highwayman.⁵²⁷

520 Fihrist 344; Tha'āl./Gab. 157v–158v; Maf. ul. 38; Shahrastānī 187; Bīr. 210f.; 'Awfī 220, no. 1624. See Houtsma, 'Bih'āfrīd' (with source references); Browne I 308f.; Sadighi 111–31; Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* I 93; Wiet 124.

521 See p. 205 below.

522 Tritton, *Theol.* 28. See pp. 40ff. above.

523 Bal. 339; Tha'āl./Gab. 170v–171v. (here Sunbād al-Majūsi); Ṭab. III 119f.; Mas. VI 188f.; Pseudo-Balkhī VI 82f.; Ibn Ḥazm II 115; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 441f.; Shahrastānī III; Siyāsat-nāma 182; Ibn Isf. 112; Athīr V 180. Sadighi 132–49; Moscati, 'Abu Muslim', I 343f.; Browne I 313f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 197.

524 Fihrist 344f.; Ṭab. III 128; Gard. See Sadighi 150–54.

525 Tha'āl./Gab. 192v–193r; Ya'q. II 457f.; Ṭab. III 354–58, 773; Jahsh. 353; Pseudo-Balkhī VI 76; Gard. See *EI* III 1084f.; Sadighi 155–62; Browne I 317f.

526 *TS* 142 and n. 3 (no further details are known).

527 Athīr V 219.

Thus while nothing can be said about the Zoroastrian influences here, they have to be considered probable on Iranian soil. This also applies to the far more important religious movement which came into being shortly afterwards. Abū Muslim's preaching⁵²⁸ had produced an effect which went beyond the target set by the Abbasids and which led the latter to the violent removal of their most powerful propagandist. However, this merely served to fan the religious fervour even further. Other creeds had an impact besides Zoroastrian beliefs, such as the teaching of the transmigration of souls (Arabic: *tanāsukh al-arwāh*), | [198] which came to influence Shi'ism as well.⁵²⁹ We may assume that immediate Buddhist influences were present here also, which would be entirely plausible in Khurasan, which at that time bordered active Buddhist regions,⁵³⁰ and where Buddhist individuals (probably also small communities) were surely present.

The doctrine of the transmigration of souls combined with the gnostic theory of emanations is named as the main feature of the religious movement based on the premise that Abū Muslim survived. The fact that we only have information about this from Islamic, and thus hostile, tradition presents – as so often is the case in religious history – a blurred picture. It is certain, however, that this was a process based on disappointment at the behaviour of the Abbasids. Its figurehead, 'Aṭā or (Hāshim ibn) Ḥakīm, a fuller by trade from Kaza near Marv, held the opinion that Abū Muslim had been the bearer of a divine emanation,⁵³¹ which previously had dwelled in Adam, Noah, Jesus Christ and others, and which put him above Muḥammad. After the death of Abū Muslim this power manifested itself in him, Hāshim, as the true and last bearer. Consequently his followers prostrated themselves before him (their *khudāh* = God). He himself, who is said to have been one-eyed and ugly, always wore a golden (or green) veil, 'since the people could not bear the radiance of his face', which was a common belief in those circles and which later led to the Prophet Muḥammad's face always being shown veiled in order not to have to depict the actual face. This prophet was called 'al-Muqanna' (the veiled one) after his veil. He appears to have had a considerable number of followers,

528 Nawb. 42f. See p. 147f. above.

529 Nawb. 32; Ibn Ḥazm IV 187. See the quotations about the transmigration of souls collated by Schwarz IX 1531 as well as p. 220 below. Admittedly, an Isma'ili such as Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī (witness his *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, ed. Henry Corbin, Paris 1949, 63–65) rejected the transition of a human soul into an animal (the 'descent' = *naskh*); see Fritz Meier in *Artibus Asiae* XIII/3 (1950), 232–34.

530 See p. 218f. below.

531 Jāhīz, Bayān III 53f. (Rescher, 34) (there is great variation in personal names).

especially among the peasantry, who were bound to him by artificial miracles, such as the rise of a make-believe moon. Important among these were the unbelieving Turks and, in Bukhara and Sogdia, the *'Ispēdhjāmagān'* or *'Mubayyiḍa'* ('wearers of white'), who were perhaps remnants of the Mazdakites⁵³² and should not be confused with the *Muḥammira*, ('wearers of red'), who appear in connection | with the Khurramis.⁵³³ The centre of this militant movement was in Daryā and the Zarafshān valley; al-Muqanna's residence was in Kish. Two of the local suburbs (*rustāq*) were expanded into fortresses, and some of the neighbouring castles fell into al-Muqanna's hands.⁵³⁴

Due to its fanatic hostility to Islam and the number of its followers it took several attempts to crush this movement. In 779–80 the fights around Bukhara were concluded after having lasted for four months and 700 of his 1,000 Mubayyiḍa supporters are said to have died. However, the losses of the Muslims were so high that the caliph sent reinforcements and his troops had to wait out the winter before being able, after a change of commander, to mount the final attack against al-Muqanna' himself. When the end was near after a longer siege of the main fortress of Sanām (or Siyām, near Kish) the majority⁵³⁵ of his followers asked for mercy and it was granted. Only 2,000 are said to have held out until the end. Before the last attack the prophet jumped into the fire with his followers, in order to ascend to heaven with them. Whether he poisoned his wives⁵³⁶ and some of his followers beforehand or whether they jumped into the fire after having taken poison themselves is reported differently; even at

532 This is highly doubtful despite Jakobovskiy's assertion ('Vosstanie Mukanny'); because the information given by Shahrastānī is not free from falsified information about sects, either, and Jakobovskiy himself has to admit (p. 41) that the 'Mazdakites' (according to his interpretation) claimed Abū Muslim after his death for themselves, despite the fact that he was not a Mazdakite.

533 Shahrastānī I 206 (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 173); Friedländer I 36, 70, and II 120f.; Fih. 345; Bīr. 211; 'Awfī 220, no. 1625; Kāshgharī III 323 (Brockelmann/*Kāshgh.* 244: their fortress Inchkand). See Browne I 318–23; Goldziher, 'Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīf'. I do not think it is correct to conclude from the fact that al-Muqanna' was suspected of secret Manichaean tendencies that he had indeed come from this religion (Guidi, *Lotta; Goitein, 'A Tuning-point'*, 131, n. 4).

534 See also Marquart, *Wehrot*, 92.

535 Athīr speaks of 30,000, certainly an exaggerated number, which nevertheless serves to show that his followers were very numerous.

536 According to Tolstov, Chor. 320f., 331–38 the 'group marriages' of al-Muqanna's followers were remnants of an earlier (matriarchal) tradition. See Wikander (apparently unknown to Tolstov), *Der arische Männerbund*, esp. 84ff.; R. Grau, 'Die Gruppenehe', in *Studien zur Völkerkunde* V (1931), as well as quotes in Schwarz IX 1470.

the time it was probably not possible to determine this, since the Muslims who moved in found only some Transoxanian followers of the new religion.⁵³⁷

Now the first extensive Persian movement in reaction to the accession of the Abbasids was at least superficially suppressed. Under the surface, however, unrest kept smouldering and, after only a short time (778–79 = AH 162), gave vent to its anger in the form of the movement of the ‘wearers of red’ (or ‘writers in red ink’,⁵³⁸ *al-muḥammira*; in the *Siyāsāt-nāma Surkh-‘alam* = red flags). Of course, the tenets of this movement, which erupted in Gurgan under the leadership of a certain ‘Abd al-Qahhār, have not been transmitted to us apart from the fact that women were shared communally. However, we may be allowed to see this as a religious – social movement with some political aspirations, which were probably influenced by the ideas of al-Muqanna‘ given the geographical and chronological proximity.⁵³⁹ Viewed externally this movement shared the fate of the earlier one and its followers were soon defeated, beginning with Mazandaran.⁵⁴⁰ Yet the fact that two campaigns, led by the caliph and the heir to the throne, Mūsā al-Hādī (782–83 and 783–84), were not sufficient to restore the reputation of the caliphate (and also of the two local dynasties ruling there),⁵⁴¹ showed that unrest persisted among the population. In 796–97 (AH 180) (under Rustamdār) and 808 new revolts of the ‘wearers of red’ erupted⁵⁴² and the fighting died down only slowly. It seems as if this movement, too, found its continuation in the Khurramīya, even though it took on a slightly different guise.⁵⁴³

537 Narsh. 64–75; Baghdādī 243–45; Bīr. 194; Pseudo-Balkhi vI 97f.; Ibn Ḥazm II 115 (= Friedländer I 36; also *ibid.* II 120f.); Maf. ul. 28; Athīr vI 13f., 17f.; Abū ‘l-Fidā II 44–46; Must. 298; Ibn Khall./Wüst. IV 136f. (= Slane I 441). Summarising see Jakubovskiy, ‘Vostanie Mukanny’; Moscati, Mahdī I 333–44; Sadighi 163–86, 217f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 199f.; Browne I 318–23; Gafurov 156–62.

538 *Siyāsāt-nāma* 199. Muir 470 and Browne, *Eclipse*, believe al-Muqanna‘ and his followers to be Manichaeans, but this is wrong. For the renewal of al-Muqanna‘’s teachings at the end of the eleventh century see ‘Awfī 220, no. 1626. We lack information about the symbolism of the colour of the rebels.

539 Wiet 107, n. 1.

540 Ṭab. III 493; Ibn Isf. 126/130; Dīn. 382; Ya‘q. Hist. II 479; Mas. VI 355 [AD: Mas., Tanb. 355]; *Siyāsāt-nāma* 199; Sam. 512 v; Athīr vI 20; Awl. 50f.; Shahrastānī I 132 (Haarbrücker I 199f.; II 410, 419); Fih. I 342. Moscati, Mahdī I 345; Schwarz VII 855; Sadighi 219–21.

541 Ṭab. III 518f.; Ibn Isf. 131f.; Dīn 382; Elias 113; Athīr vI 24f.; Awl. 51–53; Zahīr al-Dīn 154–60. Moscati, Mahdī I 347–50; Moscati, ‘al-Hādī’, 8f.

542 Ṭab. III 645f.; *Siyāsāt-nāma* 200; Ibn Isf. 133f. (the name of the ‘wearers of red’ is not mentioned here); Aghānī/Būlāq XVIII 74; Athīr vI 51.

543 *Siyāsāt-nāma* 199f.

Our attention now has to be on this Khurramiyya, the most important of these sects, although the significance of the term is by no means clear. The Abbasid propagandist ‘Ammār ibn Yazīd proposed some idiosyncratic teachings: he allowed polyandry in 736,⁵⁴⁴ abolished fasting | and substituted it with the ruling that the name of the ‘imam’ could no longer be mentioned, and declared prayer (*ṣalāt*) and pilgrimage as optional. For this he was executed by the Umayyad governor. His tenets were referred to as ‘Khurrami’ by later writers,⁵⁴⁵ apparently purely because at a later date heterodox sects with moral ideas strongly opposed to the Islamic ones were summarily denoted thus. However, the movement which is called ‘Khurrami’ in the original sense was not uniform and combined different beliefs. At its heart was the great rebellion of the years 817–38, which had its geographical centre in the castle of al-Badhdh⁵⁴⁶ on the frontier between Azerbaijan and Arrān, and Bābak (Arabic: ‘Bābak’) as its leader, who was supported by his brother.⁵⁴⁷ Bābak was believed to be the son of ‘Abd Allāh from al-Madā’in in Iraq⁵⁴⁸ and a woman from the village Bilālābādh⁵⁴⁹ in the district of Maymand. After the early death of his father in a brawl he grew up in the care of his mother and early on miraculous signs indicated his future importance. In his youth he was a pack animal drover in the mountains and a craftsman in Tabriz. More or less by chance he came into contact with the Khurramis and their leader Jāvēdhān.⁵⁵⁰

According to what the sources report, Bābak’s proclamation of faith was a collection of syncretistic ideas, which attracted followers of Abū Muslim and al-Muqanna‘ to him,⁵⁵¹ though it is not clear to what extent he himself had adopted their ideas.⁵⁵² It is highlighted repeatedly that one of the bases of his

544 It is possible that the inherited group marriage (see 199 n. above) played a role as well.

545 Athīr v 72; shorter and restricted to only the essential points in Ṭab. II 1588; Nawb. 4; Pseudo-Balkhī I 143, IV 24; Fihr. 342, 344; Baghdādī 251, 347; Ibn Ḥazm I 34; Sam. 195 v f. Sadighi 187–228.

546 Sometimes also referred to as ‘al-Badhdhayn’ (dual), see p. 61 above.

547 Sadighi 229–80. See also pp. 61–64 above.

548 When his father is said to have hummed a Nabaṭī song, we must be careful not to read too much into this (see 33 n. above); one might interpret it to mean ‘unintelligible’. E. Wright in *Moslem World* 1948 deals with the ‘Persian character of the Bābak movement’ (inaccessible to me).

549 Not to be found in the geographical reference works.

550 Fihr. 343f., following this Flügel, ‘Bābek, seine Abstammung und erstes Auftreten’.

551 In contrast to the followers of al-Muqanna‘ as the ‘wearers of white’ (*al-mubayyiḍa*) the origin of the Khurramis is ascribed to the sect of the ‘wearers of red’ (*al-muḥammira*). In addition, there are also other colours mentioned in *Fihr.* 342f., about which we do not know any more details.

552 See Pseudo-Balkhī IV (Ar.) 30f. (Fr. 28f); Fihr. 345.

proclamation was | the Zoroastrian creed,⁵⁵³ which is also confirmed by details [202] from his teachings, for instance the belief in the two principles of light and darkness, fire worship, cleanliness and the permission to marry one's own mother, sister or daughter, and probably also the existence of 'prophets' (called *firishtaḡān*). In addition we have the belief in the transmigration of souls, which linked Bābak to al-Muḡanna', but also to Buddhism,⁵⁵⁴ as well as the constant recurrence of prophetic incarnations.⁵⁵⁵ These were extended, within the framework of the imamate theory, to embrace Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima and her son Mahdī ibn Pērōz.⁵⁵⁶ Bābak was declared the incarnation of the 'soul' (*rūḡ*) of his fallen predecessor Jāvēdhān ibn Suhrak⁵⁵⁷ by the latter's widow,⁵⁵⁸ whom he married, and he claimed to be interpreting his teachings (*tafsīr*). Outwardly he adhered to the Islamic prescriptions, yet he seems to have allowed polygamy, with the number of wives having no limit, and promoted the drinking of wine as especially meritorious. The consumption of bread and wine in the course of a ritual celebration, which also included a kiss on the hand and a confession of the faith,⁵⁵⁹ may point to Christian influences, which cannot be ruled out here at the border of the Nestorian and Syrian Jacobite settlement area. According to his opinion, the different revealed religions were equal,⁵⁶⁰ and his followers are said to have been tolerant towards other religious communities and to have used weapons only for self-defence in an emergency.

One of the main aims of Bābak's interpretation was to enjoy life and the confessors of this faith are said to have called themselves Khurramis (from Persian *khurram* = joyful) for this reason.⁵⁶¹ Whether this interpretation is based on facts is debatable, however, as it smacks of folk etymology. An alternative derivation mentions a region called Khurram, near Ardabil, where the

553 Bal. 329f.; Fih. 342, 344; Pseudo-Balkhī I 143, II 20f., IV 26; Athīr VI III. Vloten, *Rech.* 131; Browne I 323–30.

554 Especially the stress on the transmigration of souls between humans and animals: Athīr VI III.

555 Shahrastānī II 76f. (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 280); Pseudo-Balkhī IV 30f.

556 *Siyāsat-nāma* 204 erroneously refers to both of these as two persons.

557 Fih. 344. Manuscripts allude to this form (short form of Suhrāb; see Justi, *Namb.* 292) as well (very kind communication by Prof. Johs. Fück in Halle/Saale, 10 May 1951); the form 'Sahl' in Ṭab. and others is corrupt.

558 Ṭab. III 1015; Athīr VI III.

559 Fih. 344.

560 Pseudo-Balkhī IV 30; *Siyāsat-nāma* 204.

561 Sam. 196 r (top of page); Athīr VI III. Sadighi 195 believes this explanation to be the most plausible (with reference to *vēh-dēn* for the religion of Zoroaster); it does sound, however, very much like folk etymology.

movement is said to have come into being.⁵⁶² Yet this is doubtful, too, since this place does not appear to have played a genuine part in the movement's existence, and the tradition refers to other locations both as its place of origin and [203] as the areas of the Khurramis' further expansion. | In any case, under Bābak's leadership the movement, which besides religious aims apparently also had social ones⁵⁶³ and which is thereby linked to Sasanid Mazdakism,⁵⁶⁴ although Iranian nationalism is not even hinted at,⁵⁶⁵ entered into open opposition to Islamic rule.

The majority of its followers were to be found in the northwest⁵⁶⁶ and in the centre of the Iranian world: in Hamadan, Isfahan,⁵⁶⁷ Māsabadhān and Mihragānkadhagh (near Şaymara).⁵⁶⁸ From Azerbaijan the movement had backing in the Caucasus, where the inaccessible mountains repeatedly offered shelter in case of emergencies, and the Byzantines supported it as well.⁵⁶⁹ Thus repeated efforts were required⁵⁷⁰ until finally, after several setbacks and a difficult and cumbersome siege,⁵⁷¹ al-Badhhdh was stormed in the year 838 by the general Afshīn – who was anything but a devout Muslim⁵⁷² – and Bābak was forced to flee. He turned towards the Armenian mountain region but was betrayed, handed over, and eventually brought to Baghdad in triumph and, despite being promised protection, was brutally executed like his brother. This was a harsh blow to the religious and social movement which Bābak had represented. However, while it did not perish, we can apprehend its continued existence only in individual instances and are even less able than before to come up with a real picture of the creed it advocated. Remarks such as that its adherents would privately indulge in libertinism (*ibāḥa*) despite outwardly adhering to Islam,⁵⁷³ or that they would congregate annually for the purpose

562 *EI* II 828f.

563 Their followers came from the lower classes of society (*Fih.* 344), thus also perhaps from among those who had been declassed by the conversion of the upper classes and the wider population.

564 *Sam.* 196 r.

565 Bābak himself spoke Persian only imperfectly: *Fih.* 344.

566 Especially in Azerbaijan: *Yāq.* 272; *Athīr* VI 68 (808), and in Media (*Jibāl*).

567 *Schwarz* v 617.

568 In the mountains to the right of the road from Hulwan to Hamadan: see *Yāq.* IV 698. *Schwarz* VII 854f.; *Wiet* 136. Arabic spelling: *Mihrajanqadhaq*.

569 *Ostrogorsky* 145.

570 *Ṭab.* III 1165 (833); 1171ff. (835); *Siyāsat-nāma* 200–5; *Athīr* VI 139f. (829).

571 See p. 62f. above.

572 See p. 140 above.

573 *Iṣṭ.* 203.

of sexual debauchery and to mourn the death of their founder,⁵⁷⁴ do not signify anything and are probably only a product of Islamic polemic. The change of the name Khurramīya to Ḥuramīya (from *ḥaram* = forbidden)⁵⁷⁵ certainly derived from such polemic.

The movement now appears to have split into several branches, or, more correctly, the different currents that had come together within it now went their separate ways again and carried their own names, which, unfortunately, | [204] cannot be reconstructed with certainty.⁵⁷⁶ In the middle of the tenth century they were spread out over Khurasan,⁵⁷⁷ Rayy, Isfahan, Azerbaijan, especially in the cities Karaj and Burj as well as the surrounding villages, and in the province of Māsabadhān (in Ṣaymara, al-Sīrvān and others). They were especially represented on flat terrain,⁵⁷⁸ but also spread into Mesopotamia with the result that the caliphs took up correspondence with the Samanids concerning them,⁵⁷⁹ as the members of the sects still believed in their future triumph.⁵⁸⁰ However, the Muslims continued to fight them. In 933 the Buyid ‘Imād al-Dawla stormed several castles near Karaj and distributed the food provisions hoarded there among the population⁵⁸¹ and in 934 (AH 322) the ‘false prophet’ Mahdī⁵⁸² from the district of Chaghāniyān became greatly popular with the ‘untaught masses’, as he appeared to be a kind of ‘magician’. Although there is no record of him having acted aggressively, he was soon surrounded in the mountains and killed.⁵⁸³ As late as 975 some of the movement’s mountain fortresses near Tīz in Makran fell into Muslim hands.⁵⁸⁴ Later, under the onslaught of Islam, the movement apparently broke up as there is no further news about it,⁵⁸⁵ although there is no doubt that some sectarians later found their way into the secret societies of the Isma‘ilis and other Shi‘ite organizations and that they brought essential aspects of their previous creed with them. The teachings of the

574 Sam. 56 r.

575 Fih. 342.

576 E.g. Kūdakiya (erroneous readings: Kurdukiya, Kūrkīya) (after Abū Muslim’s daughter Fāṭima, the sect’s ‘Kūdak-i dāna’); and Lūdaspahiya in Mas. VI 186 (in Sadighi: Nūrsā‘īya, N/Būdsā‘īya, Kurdshāhiya); see also Sam. 56 r (bottom of page): Surūniya. Sadighi 215f.

577 Here supposedly identified with the ambiguous name ‘Bāṭini’.

578 See also Fih. 342f.; Siyāsāt-nāma 204f.; Baghdādī 251f., 268.

579 See Barthold, ‘K istorii religioznych dviženiy’.

580 Mas. VI 187f.; briefly also Sharīf 30.

581 Misk. I 278, II 437; Athīr VIII 85. Sadighi 222f., 227f.

582 Interpreted as a name by Gard., but probably to be seen as the well known technical term.

583 Gard. 37f.

584 Misk. II 321.

585 They are then occasionally confused with the Karrāmīya; for these see EI II 828f.

eternal recurrence of the divine charisma in prophets certainly influenced the concept of the imamate. It was one of the ways which the Iranian mind found to introduce idiosyncratic as well as traditional concepts into the new religion brought by the Arabs. In this way it imparted to Iranian Islam the distinct and peculiar character that would continue to have an effect on Persian mysticism.

[205]

Mazdakites

Tradition⁵⁸⁶ connects the Khurramis also with the Mazdakites. It is no longer possible to say how accurate this is for certain, as it is perhaps a connection made only in the official heresiographies. After a closer analysis of the doctrine of the old and new Mazdakites it becomes more likely that remnants of the well-known sect of this name survived here and there, especially in Khurasan and as far as the Turkic settlement area. Court historiography describes it as communist, possibly unjustifiably,⁵⁸⁷ and its adherents included rebellious peasants. Later they would come into contact with other sectarians and maybe even unite with them in some cases.⁵⁸⁸ It is difficult to be more precise here, since the historical tradition does not provide any details. References are made mainly to the polygamy⁵⁸⁹ that was common among them and the Khurramis and which apparently went beyond the norm in Islamic circles.

The above-mentioned Sinbādh in Nishapur is specifically referred to as Mazdakite and, as we saw, he belonged to the line of followers of Abū Muslim. The latter, it was said, survived death as a white dove and was sitting together 'with Mazdak and the Mahdī' in a mine in the mountains.⁵⁹⁰ All this says little about the doctrines that were widespread here. The indication that, in addition to the Mazdakites, Zoroastrians and Shi'ites rallied around Sinbādh as

586 Especially Fihr. 342–44; Shahrastānī II 77 (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 280). Sadighi 107–10, 197ff. (supports the actual connection of the two movements); *Majalla* XVI (Damascus 1941), 489–97 (in connection with Abū 'l-'Alā').

587 See Christensen, 'Le règne du roi Kawādh'. Wesendonk 272–75; Sadighi 5–7; N.V. Pigulevskaja, 'Mazdakitskoe dviženie'; *EI* III 499–502. Siyāsat-nāma 166–81 dedicates a separate paragraph to it (XLV, in Schefer's edition erroneously referred to as XLIV). Schwarz VII 858. E. Kagarov's study of the 'Kommunistische Bewegung in Persien vom 6. bis 9. Jh.' in *Schidnyj Svit* V (1928), 184–91 remains inaccessible to me.

588 Sadighi 197f.

589 'Or rather communality of women' [AD].

590 Siyāsat-nāma 182f. See p. 197 above.

well,⁵⁹¹ and the fact that during his time and at the beginning of the tenth century there were movements with a tendency to wish to free themselves from Islam and Arab dominion,⁵⁹² only proves that these were syncretistic phenomena, similar to the Khurramis. It is not surprising that it resulted in an exchange of followers between individual sects at the time, as this was the case in similar situations elsewhere, too. | It seems that, unlike al-Muqanna' and Bābak, the Mazdakites did not initiate any dangerous rebellions in the Islamic period. They therefore appear to have been left in comparative peace. In the tenth century there were supporters of this sect near Ray⁵⁹³ and at the beginning of the twelfth century such supporters were in the region of Kish and Nakhshab as well as in some villages near Bukhara⁵⁹⁴ and perhaps also near Isfahan.⁵⁹⁵ They were still mentioned in the Mongol era,⁵⁹⁶ but still without any further detailed information. Thus we have a blurred picture of them at best. The most essential contribution of this heresy, and all the others, was the influence it had on the development of certain Shi'ite orientations in Iran.⁵⁹⁷ [206]

Manichaeans⁵⁹⁸

While the role of the Zoroastrians in the Persian-speaking area for centuries after the Muslim conquest was of great importance, the significance of the Manichaeans here during that period was relatively minor. This was certainly a consequence of the Sasanid policy of Zoroastrian restoration, which had suppressed Manichaeism after a period of tolerance (even though it seemed to be a religion of reconciliation, which could bridge the opposing views of

591 See also Günaltay, 'Selç.', 72.

592 Ibn Faḍlān xxi f., xxv.

593 Mas. III 27; Muq. 324; Rashid al-Dīn 273.

594 Narsh. 73 (information from the time of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad's translation of this work).

595 Bund. 124 (if the localities listed here really are situated near Isfahan).

596 Spuler, *Ilch.* 241, n. 10.

597 See Schaeder, *Vollk. Mensch.* 197¹ (on 198). A further possible way in which older religious ideas flowed into Islam, via gnosis and mysticism, is pointed out by Dietrich, 'Der Urmensch als Androgyn', 333, n. 197.

598 Generally see Burkitt, *The religion of the Manichees*; Schaeder, *Manichäische System*; id., 'Manichäismus' (with further bibliographic references); Christensen 174–200; Schaeder, 'Der Manichäismus nach neuen Funden und Forschungen'. *Wesendonk* 275–82; Sadighi 82–107; Henning, 'Zum zentralasiatischen Manichäismus'. All this early literature has in parts been made obsolete by most important new finds (near Turfan, in Egypt); the current status of research is to be found in: Puech, *Le Manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine*.

[207] different | creeds). Furthermore, Mani's teachings, with their notion of dualism, made little impression on the Zoroastrians, as the beliefs of the two religions about the origins of dualism in the world were quite dissimilar. Just as Christianity had seen very little important development under the Persians, apparently it seemed not particularly urgent to the Iranians to incorporate the person of Jesus Christ, or at least the belief of the Gnostics, into a cosmological pattern of thought and a system of consecutive revelations. We may well assume that Mani's teachings appeared to the Zoroastrians essentially as a misinterpretation of certain basic facts that had already been clarified in their religion, such as cosmogony or dualism.

Thus Manichaeism is hardly ever mentioned in Persia in the early Islamic period. After the collapse of the Sasanid Empire a larger number of Mani's followers had returned from their Central Asian refuge to Mesopotamia, but the intense persecution under the caliphs al-Mahdī (775–85)⁵⁹⁹ and al-Muqtadir (908–32), with their inquisitors and jurisdiction over all forms of heresy, compelled them to emigrate once more to Central Asia and even as far as China,⁶⁰⁰ where they had a firm support base in some states (after 762), especially in the Turkic state of the Uighurs (745–840). The Persian area was almost entirely skipped over in both directions;⁶⁰¹ only in Gurgan was there any Manichaean activity, in 794–95, due to the expulsion of their coreligionists from Mesopotamia.⁶⁰² After that we hear nothing until the tenth century, when small communities (*dēnāvārī*) in Khurasan are mentioned, especially near Nishapur⁶⁰³ and perhaps also in Īlāq⁶⁰⁴ and Samarkand in Transoxania.⁶⁰⁵ They were able to survive because in 920 the Manichaean *khān* of the remains
[208] of an | Uighur state under Chinese sovereignty⁶⁰⁶ threatened reprisals against the Muslims in his domain if the Manichaeans were to suffer at the hands of

599 Ṭab. III 517, 519, 522, 549; Ṭab./Zotenberg 447–53; Ya'q., Hist. II 482f.; Jahsh. 182; K. 'Uyūn 279; Must. 300; Athīr VI 24–26; Shahrastānī II 81–86 (= Shahr./Haarbr. I 285–91). Regarding later Manichaeism in Baghdad (around 820) see Fih. 338. Moscati, 'al-Hadī', 7f.; Goldziher, 'Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Kuddūs und das Zindīktum'.

600 Flügel, *Mani* 105f.; Barthold, Christ. 30, 40f.

601 See Schaefer, *Der Manichäismus*, 10f.; Messina, *Cristianesimo, Buddhismo, Manicheismo*.

602 Ṭab. III 64 5.

603 Muq. 336. For the expansion see Puech, *Le Manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine*, 65, for the Manichaean confession of the *dēnāvārī*: Flügel, *Mani* 97–100, 255–338.

604 Ibn Faḍlān XXII; Kremer, *Streifz.* 42.

605 Ḥud. 113 (after Iṣṭakhri/Balkhī); Fih. 337; Bīr., Chronol./Sachau 191.

606 Regarding Manichaeism among the Turks see Minorsky, 'Tamīm ibn Baḥr's Journey', 303; in parts contra Barthold, *Vorl.* 18f., 55f.; Vajda, 'Les zindiqs', 179; Ibn Faḍlān XXII (and the literature referred to there). Muq. 323.

the Samanids,⁶⁰⁷ as happened occasionally in the case of other religions at that time. This tolerance continued for some time after the demise of Central Asian Manichaeism and in Samarkand there was still a *Khānagāh-i Mānaviyān* with *nighōshāk* (auditors)⁶⁰⁸ in 982. When the Qarakhanid ruler, Aḥmad Khān, was put to death for confessing to the religion of the 'Zindīqs' in 1095,⁶⁰⁹ this can hardly be taken to refer to Manichaeans at this date.⁶¹⁰ However, the repulsion which the Muslims felt to an increasing degree against the Manichaeans, apparently mainly because of their idolatry⁶¹¹ and their dualism, led, in Iranian territory just as in Mesopotamia⁶¹² (and finally in Central Asia), in the thirteenth century to the demise of this creed in Kanchou, Gansu and Kocho (Gaochang), despite occasional attempts⁶¹³ to count its confessors among the Qur'anic 'people of the book'.

It is, however, likely that some tenets of Manichaeism had repercussions on Iranian territory as well. Some of the syncretistic endeavours which became apparent in al-Muqanna's or the Khurramis' views could have had Manichaean origins. Unlike the more clearly defined, extremely powerful Zoroastrianism,⁶¹⁴ Manichaeism was very well suited to find expression sometimes in the mystical, or political, sphere. We are not always able to grasp this in detail, yet the use of the term '*zindīq*' for 'heretic' in general | allows us to make certain sup- [209] positions.⁶¹⁵ In Mesopotamia and at the caliph's court in general, when certain theological and philosophical⁶¹⁶ opinions emerged, such as the Mu'tazila,⁶¹⁷

607 Fih. I 337; Ḥud. 352; Barthold, *Vorl.* 55f.

608 Ḥud. 113.

609 Athīr/Törnberg x 165.

610 Around 1088 this term was apparently used in Kirman in a very general sense as 'heretic': Muḥ. Ib. 24. See *ET IV* 1329f., s.v. Zindīq.

611 Around 820 Manichaeans from Baṣra had to renounce their faith by spitting on an image of Mani or kicking it with their feet: Mas. VII 12–16. In 923 an image of Mani was burned in Baghdad together with 14 sacks of heretic books, out of which gold and silver fell (the precious book decorations of the Manichaeans): Mez 167, 288 (following al-Jawzī).

612 According to Fih. there were only 5 Manichaeans in Baghdad around 988.

613 Kremer, *Cultur.* I 59.

614 See also Schaeder, 'Manichäismus', 1968f.

615 In the West the term 'Manichaean' (Bougre, Ketzler) became the general description for heretics; see most recently Puech and Vaillant, *Le traité contre les Bogomiles*, 310.

616 See Schaeder, *Vollk. Mensch.* 199f. and 199, fn. 4; 231–37, 267f.

617 See p. 156 above. Schaeder, 'Manichäer und Muslime', 77f., 80; Nyberg, *Le livre de triomphe*, 56 of the Arabic introduction, 26, 30–34, 43–49 of the text.

which came into being as a reaction against Manichaeism, the situation is much clearer;⁶¹⁸ however, this need not be discussed in this context.

Christians

If Manichaeism was a foreign religion in Persia, which never really grew roots there, this applies to Christianity to at least the same degree. For despite the fact that the administration of the Christian Church of the Sasanid Empire⁶¹⁹ had been separate from the East Roman Church since the fifth century and had formally professed Nestorianism,⁶²⁰ without there being any real clarity concerning all that this entails, it embraced mainly the Aramaic and Aramaized population of Mesopotamia insofar as Manichaeism or baptismal and gnostic sects had not established themselves among these groups. However, the Nestorian Church carried out the missionary work of the saviour in a magnificent manner, but even so the Iranian world – viewed as a whole – remained [210] unresponsive, and the | successes in northern and southern Arabia,⁶²¹ southern India and especially among the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Central Asia and as far as China outshine the result of activities in Persia to a disproportionate degree. Only in two places in Iran did the Gospel achieve a certain success:⁶²² in Fars and parts of its neighbouring district, and in the northeast, especially in the regions beyond the Syr-Darya, where other peoples lived besides Iranians.

The mission in Fars had its centre in the Sasanid capital of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, which was also the centre of the Nestorian Church of the empire. The organizational links were clearly regulated. The last traces of ‘Orthodox’ Christianity, namely that established by the Byzantine Church, were eliminated in the last decades of the Sasanid era under Khusrau II (590–628).⁶²³ Only under Arab rule were other Christians able to be active once more, at

618 See Massignon, *Hallâj*, 161ff., 186ff.

619 Map of the Nestorian bishoprics in around 500: Vine, *Nestorian*, 58. Concerning Nestorian Christians in Sasanid Persia see Christensen 261–310; Labourt *passim*; Dauvillier, ‘Les provinces chaldéennes’; Lübeck, *Die alt-persische Missionskirche*; Sachau, ‘Von den rechtlichen Verhältnissen der Christen’; Braun, ‘Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer’; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*. Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 235–49, includes information about the social structure of the Christians in the Sasanid period.

620 See Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 103.

621 Nau, *Les Arabes chrétiens de la Mésopotamie et de Syrie*.

622 See Barthold, *Christ.* 26 (Sas. era).

623 B.H. eccl. I 266–68. See also the report about the Nestorianisation of the Persian Church (around 610) in Michael Syr. I 424–29 (II 435–40).

least in Central Asia,⁶²⁴ even if the affiliation of the metropolitan of Marv is not entirely certain.⁶²⁵ The metropolitan seat of Rēv-Ardashīr on the river Ṭāb near the border with Susiana was the centre of the Nestorian Church in Fars.⁶²⁶ There was a further metropolitan seat in Gondēshāpūr⁶²⁷ as well as bishops in Shush, Ahvaz, Shushtar,⁶²⁸ and some other places whose exact position can no longer clearly be determined.⁶²⁹ We only have sporadic information on the continued existence of these ecclesiastical centres in the first centuries of Arab rule. At the time of the Arab conquest there was a vigorous Christian community and a monastery in Shush.⁶³⁰ Here as well as elsewhere the Christians do not seem to have been seriously importuned by the Muslims.⁶³¹ At the end of the tenth century a bishopric in Hamadan ‘for the province of Hulwan’ is mentioned as well.⁶³² [211]

At the end of the eighth century a conflict with the church leadership in Mesopotamia arose. The bishops of Fars had become accustomed to wearing the white clothing of priests instead of the prescribed woollen garments, and also to eat meat and marry. Attempts at reform, undertaken by the Nestorian catholicos Timotheos I (780–823), initially resulted in a schism. The clerics of Fars declared themselves as part of the south Indian ‘Thomas Christians’ and took the management of their affairs into their own hands. Long negotiations were required until they submitted again to the Catholicate and promised to adhere to its regulations in return for the right to ordain priests of their own country themselves. At that time the south Indian province became

624 The Jacobite patriarch Marutha (624–49) appointed Jacobite bishops for Sistan and Herat once more: B.H. eccl. III 126f.; Assemani II 420.

625 The statement in Bīr, Chronol./Sachau 289, 296 that he was orthodox (apparently accepted by Barthold, *Christ.* 23f.), is certainly erroneous, since orthodox Christians never came into these regions. Also, they are most unlikely to have been Jacobites (and hardly Maronites: Barthold, *Christ.* 43f.).

626 Sachau, *Christ.* 177.

627 ‘Amr/Šēlībā 63–65, 80 and more (777, 892 and more: Gondēshāpūr), into the thirteenth century (ibid. 124, 126); eventually probably merely a titular seat. Vine, *Nestorian*, 57, in addition the maps on 58 and 113; Schwarz IV 416.

628 ‘Amr/Šēlībā 72 (around 853–54: Ahvaz); 80 (around 892: Shush); 75 (892: Fars).

629 Vine, *Nestorian*, 57 (the Latin names following Assemani), 116, 119; Seybold, ‘Die Namen der zwei Bistümer’, 414f. Map of the Nestorian bishoprics in the tenth century: Vine, *Nestorian*, 121, and Dauvillier, ‘Les provinces chaldéennes’, 259.

630 Athīr II 213.

631 Sachau, *Christ.* 973f. (according to Syriac letters).

632 Elias 70, 72 (1019); Vine, *Nestorian*, 116. Around 750 there was a metropolitan in Hulwan itself: B.H. eccl. III 155. There were only few Christians in Khuzestan: Muq. 414.

independent and was removed from the leadership of the Church of Fars,⁶³³ to whose effectiveness it owed its origin. The arrangement made at that time in regards to the organisation of the Church then remained in place for centuries.

Information about the hierarchy is already rather scant, and we know hardly anything at all about the believers. Reports about individual Christian officials, such as viziers, stewards⁶³⁴ or doctors,⁶³⁵ are not sufficient to convey a complete picture, despite the importance of these notables within the community. That there were also Persians among the members is certain; however, nothing can be said about the relationship between them and the Mesopotamian immigrants. The reports from the tenth century⁶³⁶ are kept very general and only convey that the number of Christians in Fars in around 930 was larger than that of the Jews, but smaller than that of the Zoroastrians.⁶³⁷ We also know that there were Christian churches in Shiraz along with a neighbouring ‘Christian fortress’, Maryamnishīn,⁶³⁸ and that the Christians had assimilated themselves to the local population in their use of the *ṭaylasān*, a type of head-gear | (985).⁶³⁹ The influence of Zoroastrianism appears to have been discernible in their thinking and their dogmatic beliefs as well,⁶⁴⁰ which were attacked by Christian apologetic writings⁶⁴¹ with particular zeal.⁶⁴²

The rate of conversion to Islam was high from the very beginning.⁶⁴³ It encompassed ever-widening circles so that in 961 the election of a metropolitan bishop from Fars was invalidated because his brother had become a Muslim.⁶⁴⁴

633 Vine, *Nestorian*, 116f.; Sachau, *Christ.* 975, 977ff.

634 The Buyid ‘Aḍud al-Dawla had a Christian vizier: Misk. VI 511; Athīr/Tornberg VIII 518. A Ṭāhirid’s two Christian secretaries in 864: Ṭab. III 1524; Christian secretaries in the context of Maḥmūd of Ghazna: Ibn Khall./Wüst, VIII 88; a Christian from Rayy secretary to a Buyid in 934: Misk. I 299. Christian stewards of Ibn al-Furāt in 921: Ibn Faḍlān 5 and xxii, further 110; Christian tax farmers in Ahvaz in 974–75: Misk. II 356.

635 At the time of the Barmakid Faḍl ibn Yahyā the metropolitan of Shiraz was considered the best physician of his time: Athīr/Tornberg VIII 281.

636 Muq. 439 (‘few Christians’).

637 Ibn Ḥawq.² 252; Iṣṭ 139.

638 The Christian inhabitants were killed by the Seljuks after the conquest in 1064, unless they converted to Islam: Ḥus. 25.

639 Muq. 429.

640 See Taqizadeh, ‘Iranian festivals adopted by the Christians’.

641 Metropolitan Īshō‘bokht of Rēv-Ardashīr, see Baumstark 215f.

642 Sachau, *Christ.* 977. See also Elias 125 (922–23).

643 See p. 144 above. Sachau, *Christ.* 978 (ca. 835). The evasive attitude of a Christian monk in Mesopotamia in 704 – admittedly towards an al-Ḥajjāj – for example may have been a feigned conversion: Ṭab. II 1138f.

644 B.H. eccl. III 249.

While communities under the leadership of a metropolitan bishop⁶⁴⁵ survived in Fars and Isfahan⁶⁴⁶ at least until the early Seljuk period, farther east and northeast there were only a few traces remaining of the Christian mission, as it disappeared much earlier. Around 930 we hear of a church building near Herat,⁶⁴⁷ but in all likelihood this means a ruin. The 'Christian church' in Sistan was certainly a ruin, where refugees were massacred by Maḥmūd of Ghazna's troops.⁶⁴⁸ The restoration of churches was generally only possible in very rare cases, for example under the Christian vizier of the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla in about 980.⁶⁴⁹ A similar situation existed in another of the Nestorian missionary territories, on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, where Christian communities had formed in Sasanid times already.⁶⁵⁰ At the time of the Arab invasion there were completely Christian tribes in Ṭabaristan, which opposed the Arabs with armed resistance around 660, but were subdued after intense fighting and exterminated or enslaved if their survivors did not quickly accept Islam.⁶⁵¹ Around 800 a renewed attempt was made to win the inhabitants of Gilan and Daylam for belief in Christ, which was undertaken from Seleucia-Ctesiphon by the missionary Shūbhkhāl Īshō',⁶⁵² but his effort had no permanent success.

The preferential position which was granted to the Nestorian Catholicos [213] and his hierarchy,⁶⁵³ perhaps because of the fact that its dogmatic views appeared easier to accept than, for example, those of the Monophysites,⁶⁵⁴ and the temporary easing of the situation due to the rise of the Abbasids, who tried in their propaganda to be on good terms with the Christians,⁶⁵⁵ allowed this church to maintain its most important missionary territory: Central Asia. Indeed, there were even bishoprics outside this region on the southern shore

645 'Amr/Šēlibā 94 (around 1000); he is mentioned after 1110–11: *ibid.* 103.

646 See 'Amr/Šēlibā 94 (around 990 and 998); further in Gondēshāpūr and Shahrazur.

647 Ibn Ḥawq.² 438; Išt. 265.

648 TS 357.

649 Misk. VI 511; Athīr/Tornberg VIII 518.

650 Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 45ff. (Karkā dē Bēt Sēlōk = Kirkuk).

651 Awl. 37; Assemani III/2 425; Dorn/Khōnd. 10f.

652 Thomas of Margā, *Book of the Governors*, II 480; Assemani III/2 478.

653 See Buhl, *Mohammed*, 347. Around 1070 the Jacobite bishops were referred to the Nestorian catholicos for their representation vis-à-vis the state, see Assemani II/2, S. 1C f. and B.H. eccl. III 256, 332. See also Barthold, *Christ*. 23f.

654 See also Baumstark 194f., 242f.

655 Severus of Ashmunayn, *Alexandrin. Patr. Gesch.*, 188ff., 202f. See Becker, 'Das Reich der Ismailiten im koptischen Danielbuch', 42ff., 50ff.

of the Caspian Sea, for instance in Qom,⁶⁵⁶ Rayy,⁶⁵⁷ Sistan⁶⁵⁸ and in Khurasan.⁶⁵⁹ In the last-named province the Christians were still strong enough that in 744 concerns were raised that a local rebellion with Christian and Jewish support might overcome the Arab government.⁶⁶⁰ Nestorianism had spread to Kohistan⁶⁶¹ and Herat from here, where the Khurasanian influence mixed with that from Fars and where communities survived as late as the tenth century.⁶⁶² However, all these communities were far outshone by the Metropolitan seat in Marv,⁶⁶³ where (orthodox) influences, presumably from Eastern Europe, arrived via the Khazars and Khwarazmis.⁶⁶⁴ The higher dignitaries of the church there | were near-independent leaders of their communities and together with the surrounding bishoprics they formed their own metropolitan union.⁶⁶⁵ Here the *dēhkāns* were also part of the congregation.⁶⁶⁶

The main bearers of the mission in these regions were 'Syrians', primarily merchants, and consequently the script used by these Christians was Syriac in its Nestorian form.⁶⁶⁷ It had not, however, been possible to Christianise whole regions. As in early Christianity, the congregations were mainly in the cities, which corresponded to the stopping points of merchants travelling abroad, and here and there colonies of monks grew up around them.⁶⁶⁸ The Sogdians

656 Qommī 18 (unfortunately only hints in the index).

657 Founded in around 778: Vine, *Nestorian*, 118. Bishop in 892: 'Amr/Şēlībā 80 (later mentions: 103, 126, 132).

658 Assemani II (introduction) 108 (767).

659 Muq. 323. A lone Khurasani Christian in Armenia: Ṭab. III 1225. A sketch map of the Central Asian hierarchy is in Bonin, 'Notes sur les anciennes chrétientés nestoriennes', 59; *ET Turk.* v 245.

660 Athīr v 113.

661 Admittedly, there were 'fewer Christians than Jews' here around 985: Muq. 394. Nestorian bishops in Herat around 1000: 'Amr/Şēlībā 95.

662 Iṣṭ. 265.

663 'Amr/Şēlībā 72f. (848–49), 94 (around 1000); B.H. eccl. III 379 (1027); last mentioned in 1070: Vine, *Nestorian*, 117. In 1046 there is also a reference made to a metropolitan of Samarkand: Vine 119. The metropolitan of Marv took care of the slain king Yazdagird III in 651: Ṭab. I 2874, 2881.

664 Tolstov, 'Novogodnyj prazdnik "Kalandas" '; Tolstov, *Civ.* 228.

665 It was re-organised at the beginning of the eighth century: Yule, *Cathay*, I, x. See contra Assemani III/2 426 and Vine, *Nestorian*, 118.

666 In 734 a *dēhkān* had the name Kyriakos: Ṭab. III 569; see also the *dēhkāns* of Ṭarāz in 893: Narsh. 84.

667 Barthold, *Vorl.* 18.

668 Near Samarkand in the ninth-tenth centuries (Ibn Ḥawq. 372) and at Tashkent (ibid. 384; Yāqūt/Wüst. III 234).

in particular showed themselves amenable to the Christian message to some degree⁶⁶⁹ and Sogdian priests still went to Mesopotamia as church leaders in later times.⁶⁷⁰ Turkish and Mongolian tribes were approached by Christian missionaries from Sogdia and the bishopric of Ṭarāz,⁶⁷¹ and in 1007 the Kereit and the Ongud (Tenduc) converted to the Nestorian faith.⁶⁷² The strong position that Christianity held among the Central Asian Iranians is also mirrored in the fact that the Chinese, at least until the beginning of the great Uighur empire (745), referred to Nestorian clerics and monasteries as 'Persian'.⁶⁷³

We do not have exact reports for Central Asia in these centuries regarding [215] the congregational life, the relationship of the Christians with their surroundings, their numbers etc. We have much more information from the early Mongol period,⁶⁷⁴ however, and we may assume that the earlier situation was rather similar to that time. Conversion to Islam, which started in Central Asia in this early period, may not have extended as widely as would be the case two or three centuries later, at which point it was then checked for some decades by the Mongols' initial aversion to Islam.

Jews

In terms of numbers Jews were probably not as important as the Christians, with whom they had still managed to pose a threat to Muslim rule in Khurasan in 744.⁶⁷⁵ Consequently details of the life of the Israelite communities are even less concrete. The settlement of Jews on Iranian territory went back to the time even before the rule of the Sasanids,⁶⁷⁶ although Nebuchadnezzar's foundation

669 Fih. I 18 (ninth century).

670 Timotheos the Sogdian as abbot of the monastery of St Matthew (1075): B.H. eccl. III 305.

671 Only in 839 did the local emir and the *dēhkāns* there confess Islam; the churches were converted into mosques: Narsh. 84.

672 B.H. eccl. III 279f. A Nestorian grave stone of the Tenduc (Ongud) from the province Sui-yüan inscribed in Turkish but in Syriac script is discussed by Grønbech, 'Turkish inscriptions from Inner Mongolia', and 'Sprog og Skrift i Mongoliet'. Barthold, *Christ.* 51ff. Further reading: Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 58ff. Blochet, *La conquête*; id., 'Christianisme et Mazdéisme chez les Turcs Orientaux'; Togan, 'Öğuzlaryñ hırystianlygy me'eslesine 'a'id'.

673 Kuwabara, 'On P'u Shou Kêng', I 7.

674 Spuler, *Ilch.* 181ff., 198ff. Map of the Nestorian bishoprics in 1258: Vine, *Nestorian*, 122.

675 Athir v 113. See p. 213 above [AD: though Mez 33–35 implies that Jews were more numerous than Christians in Iran].

676 Generally they were treated with tolerance, see Christensen 261, 267, 278, 286.

of a Jewish quarter in Isfahan⁶⁷⁷ is of course only one of many Islamic legends. On the other hand, it is highly probable that the persecution of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire at the time of the emperor Heraclius (610–41), which was followed by similar measures among Visigoths and Franks, caused many Jews to migrate to the developing Islamic sphere⁶⁷⁸ and probably also to Persia.

Jewish congregations spread over the whole of Persia. Fars,⁶⁷⁹ Khuzistan,⁶⁸⁰ Kohistan⁶⁸¹ and Khurasan⁶⁸² are referred to as areas of particularly high density in the tenth century, while among the cities it was especially Ahvaz⁶⁸³ that [216] was the most important | centre of the Jewish trading company of the Rādhānites,⁶⁸⁴ and Shushtar⁶⁸⁵ that had larger Jewish quarters. At times the Jews, as is common in the East, occupied special city quarters, which were referred to as ‘Yahūdīya’⁶⁸⁶ and such existed in Isfahan,⁶⁸⁷ Gurgan,⁶⁸⁸ the province of Jibāl (Media),⁶⁸⁹ Gōzḡān (Faryab/Maymana)⁶⁹⁰ and in Kabul.⁶⁹¹ Occasionally it is pointed out that these were merely historical names; for

677 Muq. 388.

678 See Brătianu, ‘La fin du régime des partis à Byzance et la crise antisémite du VII^e siècle’, 64. Neubauer, *Anecdota*, especially II 89–133.

679 ‘Fewer than Zoroastrians and Christians’: Iṣṭ. 139; Ibn Ḥawq.² 292; Muq. 439; Benj. I 82 (Shiraz).

680 Muq. 414; similarly still Benj. I 73f.

681 Muq. 394 (here more numerous than the Christians).

682 Muq. 323. I do not know whether R. Patal, *Historical traditions and mortuary customs of the Jews of Meshhed*, Jerusalem 1945 (27 pages) goes as far back in time as the period under discussion here.

683 Ibn Khurd. 153; Misk. 335, 349.

684 The Rādhānites (perhaps = Rhodanici, people from Rotten [Fr. Rhône]) facilitated trade as far as western China and Europe, see Fischel, *Jews*, 31f., and the literature mentioned in n. 4. Further see Rabinowitz, *Jewish merchant adventures*; severe criticism of this by Rud. Löwenthal in *Historia Judaica* XI/2 (Oct. 1949), 163–65, and by W. Fischel in *Jewish Quarterly Review* XLII (1952), 321–25.

685 Misk. 257. Fischel, *Jews*, 31 and n. 4, 32, n. 1, 68–78 (here further information).

686 Ḥud. 107. According to Yāq. III 184 the city of Maimana was originally called Yahūdḥān.

687 Ibn Ḥawq. 366f.; Abū Nu‘aym I 16f.; Muq. 388; Ya‘q., Buld. 274; see also Browne, *Iṣf.* 437. According to Yāq. I 269 the whole city was initially called this; however see also *ibid.* 272 and VIII 531f. Schwarz v 589f.; VII 859. The account in Abū Nu‘aym I 22f. from the time of the Arab conquest (about a king who was supposed to aid the Jews in the fight against the Arabs) cannot be identified.

688 Iṣṭ. 270; Ibn Ḥawq. 362; Muq. 298; Yāq. VIII 531f.

689 Iṣṭ. 198; Qommi 18 (for Qom 987); Benj. I 81 (Hamadan, 1163).

690 Ibn Ḥawq.² 442; Ya‘q., Buld. 287; see Ḥud. 335 (= Dawlatābād).

691 Ibn Ḥawq.² 450.

instance, the quarter called 'Yahūdiya' in Isfahan was inhabited by Sunni Muslims.⁶⁹² Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in the Orient in 1163 but never went to eastern Iran, lists Shush, Hulwan, Hamadan, Isfahan, Shiraz, Ghazna and Samarkand as centres of Jewish settlements.⁶⁹³ A Jewish colony also existed in Khwarazm (possibly connected with the Khazars).⁶⁹⁴

Jews mentioned in the sources are mainly engaged in mercantile employment,⁶⁹⁵ for which Ahvaz was an important centre,⁶⁹⁶ and bankers (*jahbadh*)⁶⁹⁷ and tax farmers | are also cited.⁶⁹⁸ From Isfahan we hear about [217] Jews undertaking trades such as cupping, tanning, fulling, and slaughtering.⁶⁹⁹ We hear comparatively little about Jews as office holders in the administration within the Persian-speaking realm in contrast to other parts of the Islamic world,⁷⁰⁰ however, but they seem to have hardly been affected by restrictive measures or even persecution, apart from during the Buyid period.⁷⁰¹ Only in Balkh were they once subjected to special payments.⁷⁰² In contrast the Khurramis⁷⁰³ appear to have used the term 'Jew' in a derogatory manner, using it to describe their Muslim enemies, but why they did this is unknown to us.⁷⁰⁴ The Jews of the Persian territory were at that time subject to the exilarch (*gā'ōn*; *rōsh gālūthā*; *rōsh haggōlā*) in Mesopotamia, whose jurisdiction encompassed Armenia and Georgia, Fars, Khurasan as far as the Oxus, and India as far as Tibet.⁷⁰⁵ In the case of Persia, at least in the later Seljuk period, the exilarch

692 Muq. 388.

693 Benj. I 73–89.

694 Inostrancev, 'Note sur un point de l'histoire ancienne du Khârezm', points out the important position of the rabbis (*aḥbār*). *EI* Turk. v 245; Tolstov, 'Monety šachov drevnego Chorezma'.

695 Muq. 388; Misk. v 408; Benj. I 74, l. 4–6 (Shush); 76 (Rōdhbār, Hulwan).

696 Misk. 335, 349f.; Ibn Khurd. 153; Ibn al-Faqīh 270.

697 Misk. 349f.; 379, Hil. 81, 178.

698 *Ibid.* For a general overview see Fischel, *Jews*, 8f., 31–33.

699 Abū Nu'aym I 17.

700 As governor of Siraf (Rōzbih = clearly Yōmṭōb): Misk. II 218, 301; III 149f. Fischel, *Jews*, 32f.

701 Misk. 378. Fischel, *Jews*, 69f.

702 Ḥāfiz-i Abrū (in Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* I 157f.) after Bayhaqi (lost part); see Barthold, *Turk.* 289.

703 See pp. 200ff. above.

704 Ṭab. III 1195, 1226 (837). I do not believe that we can agree with Schwarz VIII 1188f. in his view that this was due to the 'Iranian Khurramis' recollecting earlier Jewish merchants in this region and confusing them with the Arabs.

705 Bīr. 132; Benj. I 76; Maf. ul. 34f. Kremer, *Cultur.* II 176; Benj. II 158, 245, no. 27 [AD: the exilarch (Aramaic: *rēsh gālūtā*, Hebrew: *rōsh gālūt*, Arabic: *ra's al-jālūt*) was the official head

was supported by a regional rabbi (*śar*) in Isfahan.⁷⁰⁶ The number of conversions to Islam was apparently significant from the very first, just as among the Christians and Zoroastrians, even though they were occasionally undertaken only in pretence.⁷⁰⁷

Buddhism

In addition to Zoroastrianism, the national religion of the Persians, in the east of the Iranian linguistic area Islam encountered another world religion, which had spread there in around 150 BC and found followers among the Iranians as well.⁷⁰⁸ | This was Buddhism. It appeared everywhere in Central Asia in the form of the so-called 'Great Vehicle' (Mahāyāna). Admittedly, however, this religion had begun to retreat in the sixth and early seventh centuries, especially in Transoxania,⁷⁰⁹ in the face of Zoroastrianism.⁷¹⁰ In Samarkand, around 629, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiüen-tsang found only two abandoned Buddhist monasteries, which he tried to revive in vain.⁷¹¹ In other places the situation seems to have been the same and Gözgān and Ṭāliqān have to be regarded as the most westerly locations affected by Buddhism at that time.⁷¹²

Farther south, in the Gandhāra valley near Kabul and in the region of Balkh, Buddhism might be called the more or less dominant religion.⁷¹³ There were several Buddhist teaching establishments (*vihāras*) here, whose names have

of the Jewish community and was appointed by the *geōnīm* (sing. *gā'ōn*), the religious leaders of the Talmudic academies].

706 Benj. I 32, line 4/5.

707 See Abraham Galanté, 'Marranes Iraniens', in *Hammenōra* May/June 1935 (inaccessible to me).

708 Christensen 39f. with further references. See Messina, *Cristianesimo, Buddismo, Manicheismo*; also Godard (with Godard and Hackin), *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*; H. Herās, 'The spread of Buddhism in Afghanistan', in *Journal of the University of Bombay*, VI/4, 1938 (inaccessible to me). Foucher, 'Antiquités bouddhiques de Haibāk'; Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*. Barthold, 'Der iranische Buddhismus'.

709 Regarding the Buddhist frescoes in Afrāsiyāb, the old capital of Khurasan, see S. Oldenbourg in *JA* 215 (1929), 122f.

710 Fih. 345 (= Flügel, *Mani*, 105); Barthold, *Vorl.* 44; Barthold, *Christ.* II. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, 95.

711 However, at the beginning of the eighth century we still have reports by Huei-ch'ao 451 of a Buddhist monastery in Samarkand: see also Nasafī, *Qand* I 49.

712 See Villard, *Il libro della peregrinazione*.

713 Huei-ch'ao 448–52 (details for each country at the beginning of the eighth century).

been preserved in some place names (Nawbahār = stupa,⁷¹⁴ in Balkh⁷¹⁵ and near Samarkand).⁷¹⁶ The Nawbahār gate in Bukhara owes its very name to the | [219] Uighur form – *bukhār* – of these Buddhist teaching establishments.⁷¹⁷ During the conquest there were several instances of Buddhist shrines being destroyed at the hands of the advancing Muslims.⁷¹⁸ However, this did not prevent Buddhism surviving in some places for a considerable time. For example, in Bukhara the inhabitants converted back from Islam to Buddhism four times until Qutayba ibn Muslim took the city in 712–13. The city also had a mosque built in the place of a Buddhist monastery.⁷¹⁹ In spite of all this, however, Buddhists were still found in Bukhara in the tenth century.⁷²⁰ The same is true of Old Bukhara (Rāmīthan),⁷²¹ Simingān (Khurasan) in southern Tukharistan, Bamiyan⁷²² and Kabul, where the suburb inhabited by ‘Indians’ was also home to Buddhists.⁷²³ Hindu shrines were apparently found as far as the region on the Helmand river.⁷²⁴

The religion of the ‘Enlightened One’ could no longer develop as a power or use propaganda in these regions after the rise of Islam. It did not succeed in continuing the beginnings of a mission among the Central Asian Turks, either,⁷²⁵ and it had to leave the conversion of ‘infidel’ peoples, such as the

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- 714 The predecessors of the vizier family of the Barmakids were active here as priests, see Mas. IV 49 and also Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 104; Barthold, *Vorl.* 59f.
- 715 Ibn al-Faqīh 322–324; Yāq. VIII 321f. (extensive description). Barthold, *Turk.* 77. For images from Sasanid times see Ḥud. 367.
- 716 Barthold, *Turk.* 85f.
- 717 Wilhelm Tomaschek, ‘Sogdia’ 167f. (in *SB der Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, LXXXVII, 1877); Barthold, *Turk.* 102. For further place names which are compounds of *bahār* see Villard, *Il libro della peregrinazione*, 52, and 119 for further etymological references to *vihāra*.
- 718 E.g. in al-Rūz (Sistan) 654: Bal. 394. Nawbahār in Balkh around 663–64: Bal. 408f.; Ṭab. II 1205; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 69, and *Wehrot*, 46. Paykand (Tukharistan) 705: Ṭab. II 1188; Narsh. 43 (plundering of great treasures). Samarkand 712: Ṭab. II 1246 (burning of the *aṣnam*, robbery of the treasures). Kabul 871–72: Ṭab. III 1841; Athīr VII 82. Shāh-Bahār near Kabul: Ya‘q., Buld. 291. See Tritton 11f.
- 719 Narsh. 46f. See Barthold, ‘Mesta domusul’manskoy kul’ty’.
- 720 Narsh. 18f. See ‘Awfī in Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* I 83. See Villard, *Il libro della peregrinazione*, 52, n. 118.
- 721 Muq. 282; Narsh. 6.
- 722 Ḥud. 109; Sam. 63 v; Yāq. II 49 (both describe the Buddha temple).
- 723 Iṣṭ. 280; Ibn Ḥawq. 450; Ḥud. 111.
- 724 This seems to follow from the information found in Ḥud. 285, 345, and Marquart, ‘Zābul’, 271.
- 725 Barthold, *Vorl.* 17.

Ghōrids (1011–15)⁷²⁶ and the Afghans (1018–19)⁷²⁷ to the victorious Islam, which admittedly needed centuries to assert itself in this rough mountain terrain and continues to work to do this even up to the present day. However, Buddhism did not disappear without a trace. Some scholars have suggested convincingly⁷²⁸ that the institution of the *vihāras* | lived on in the Islamic *madrasas*, those clerical academies that came into being only in the tenth and eleventh centuries under Seljuk rule, especially in the East, and later on spread to Central Asia. Besides this, the Buddhist belief in the rebirth of the soul, or the so-called transmigration of souls, apparently provided a source for the development of sects in the East early on, and this led to a more or less profound mixing of beliefs with Zoroastrianism and Islam, of which mention has already been made above.⁷²⁹

Naming

In Persia, as everywhere, religious affiliation was mirrored in the names borne by the inhabitants of the country. It was natural that everyone who converted to Islam took a Muslim name, at least if their former name had Zoroastrian significance,⁷³⁰ and if need be also on behalf of his ancestors. The sound of the previous name does not appear to have been taken into any consideration; however, Sunnis and Shi'ites already at that time differed sometimes in the choice of names for their children.⁷³¹ It was also common that new converts took on the name of a wellknown and meritorious Muslim,⁷³² or gave it to their sons.⁷³³ For instance, the administration of the popular Salm ibn Ziyād in Khurasan (since 684–85) is said to have resulted in 20,000 children being given

726 Bayh. 109; Athīr IX 75, 76.

727 Athīr IX 107.

728 Bayh. 248. See Barthold, *Vorl.* 60 and the literature listed there.

729 See pp. 196–204 above.

730 Thus the daughter of a *dēhkān* on her marriage with an Arab in around 652: Bal. 406; a Persian astrologer at the caliph's court (whose original name is still given), who was given a Muslim name by the caliph al-Ma'mūn himself: Ibn Isf. 147; the governor of Ṭabaristan who had been newly appointed by the caliph; Māhyazdyār, who received the name Muḥammad (around 820): Bal. 339. See Goldziher, Arab. 133; Gabrieli, 'Il nome proprio arabo-musulmano'.

731 A characteristic anecdote is given by Athīr VII 166 (end of the ninth century in Ṭabaristan).

732 Already in 635: Ṭab. I 2260, 2264.

733 Around 710 in Bukhara: Narsh. 8; the oldest Samanid in around 780: *ibid.* 57.

this name during his time,⁷³⁴ although we also must take into account that this was also a name from Persian heroic legend. Perhaps it was due to phenomena of this type that certain names became typical for particular places or regions. It is at any rate reported that most of the inhabitants of Gurgan were called: Abū Ṣādiq, Abū 'l-Rabi' or Abū Na'im; those of Ṭabaristan: Abū Ḥāmid;⁷³⁵ those of Qom: Abū Ja'far (presumably after the imam of the Twelver Shi'ites); those of Isfahan: Abū Muslim; and those of Qazvin: | Abū 'l-Ḥusayn.⁷³⁶ These latter [221] are all nicknames (*kunyas*), and only equals addressed one another with them, and they were used among rulers,⁷³⁷ too, while the *mawālī*, who possessed fewer rights, had no share in this practice at first.⁷³⁸

In contrast to the above-mentioned phenomena the Arabs also occasionally paid tribute to the *genius loci*. The son of the governor Salm, who was the first Arab born beyond the Oxus, was given (680–81) the name Sughdī ('the Sogdian'),⁷³⁹ and the Arab Juday' was generally called al-Kirmānī⁷⁴⁰ because he was born there⁷⁴¹ and apparently this had more significance than simply a name of origin. Occasionally a Persian would bear the same name as a region as well.⁷⁴² After the emergence of the Shu'ūbiya the Persians often deliberately took on Iranian names. This was natural for followers of the Zoroastrian doctrine, such as the rulers of the states bordering the southern Caspian Sea.⁷⁴³ However, also Muslims such as the chieftains of the Kurdish tribes (e.g. Vishtāsp)⁷⁴⁴ bore Persian or Iranicized names (e.g. names with the suffix

734 Ṭab. II 489.

735 Muq. 368 (985).

736 Ibid. 398 (985). See Fück 112.

737 Misk. II 5 (940–41); in 888 also the defeated emir of Samarkand, Naṣr, toward his victorious brother Ismā'īl: Narsh. 83.

738 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 155; Wellh., *Arab.* 309, n. 1; Goldziher, 'Kunja als Ehrenbezeugung', 267.

739 Ṭab. II 394; Athīr IV 40.

740 The well-known rebel, see pp. 38ff. above.

741 Ṭab. II 1858.

742 In 738 the *dēhkān* of Herat was called 'Khurasan': Ṭab. II 1636 (see 'Addenda' CCXXIX) and 1638.

743 After the *ispāhbadh* had taken the name 'Abd Allāh in 864 'as the first' on the occasion of his homage to the Zaydī al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (Dorn/Khönd. 10) it was only the *ispāhbadh* Ḥusām al-Dīn in Ṭabaristan (Bāvand dynasty) who was 'the first' to bear a Muslim name: Ibn Isf. 240.

744 Named in Ibn al-Balkhī 164–67 (around 1100); see Minorsky, 'Gürān', 81f. Regarding Iranian endings being added to names see Kasravī III 12.

used for 'short names': Amīrōē, Ḥasanōē, Faẓlōē).⁷⁴⁵ Bābak, the leader of the Khurramis, chose this name instead of the Muslim Ḥasan⁷⁴⁶ possibly because he wanted to pay tribute to the Persian national sentiment in this way, even though no other nationalist aims can be detected in this sect.⁷⁴⁷ Occasionally Arabic names would be modified by adding an Iranian suffix⁷⁴⁸ or in some other way.⁷⁴⁹

[222] The Turks also quickly grew accustomed to using Muslim names, although the old customs⁷⁵⁰ were never as completely suppressed among them as they had been among the Persians, even if that was only temporary. Under the later Seljuks it was the fashion even among Iranians to take Turkish names.⁷⁵¹ That the four Seljuk brothers who laid the foundations for the power of the dynasty bore names from the Old Testament (Mikā'il, Yūnus, Mūsā, Isrā'il),⁷⁵² which, with the exception of Mūsā, are hardly used among Muslims otherwise, may be connected with the fact that this Turkic tribe had stood in contact with the Khazars for some time⁷⁵³ and therefore had experienced a degree of Jewish influence in its early period.

A special case is the adoption of a nickname, such as the Abbasid propagandist 'Ammār ibn Yazīd (736) being called 'Khaddāsh' ('Scratcher').⁷⁵⁴ Changes of name seem in some way to have been the wish of the Abbasids themselves. Thus it is reported that Abū Muslim adopted this name at the explicit request of the Abbasid Ibrāhīm 'to ensure success' by giving up the Iranian name which he carried.⁷⁵⁵ Personalities in the public eye also occasionally received

745 See Nöldeke, *Persische Studien* I, 4ff.; Fück 8, n. 7.

746 Mas. VII 130.

747 See p. 203 above.

748 Thus among the inhabitants of Rayy and Hamadan: Muq. 398 (985); also the above-mentioned names of the Kurdish chieftains.

749 The mutilated forms of Bulfaḍl, Bulqāsim (instead of Abū ...) are also found in the written tradition already in 933 (Misk. I 276) and soon after: Hil. 391f.

750 For the names with Ai (moon) and Aba see Juv. II 15⁹.

751 Köprülü, 'Kay', 424¹ (equally Armenians and Georgians; see Spuler, *Ilch.* 193–97).

752 A Seljuk envoy to Mas'ūd of Ghazna in 1035 was called Dā'ūd, while his two fellow envoys both bore Turkish names: Bayh. 500.

753 Dunlop, *Beiträge zum Chasarenproblem* (MS of a paper given in 1948 in Göttingen, in the possession of Prof. H.H. Schaefer, 26), 22–25, after Bar Hebraeus and Ibn Ḥassūl's *Kitāb tafṣīr al-Atrāk 'alā ghayr al-ajnād*.

754 Ṭab. II 1588; Athīr v 72. See also p. 39 above.

755 Athīr v 94; Ibn Khall./Wüst. IV 70 = Slane 393.

laudatory,⁷⁵⁶ or indeed derogatory and insulting, nicknames⁷⁵⁷ from their subjects, which often were known by the subject of the insult as well. Following the Sasanid example,⁷⁵⁸ rulers also occasionally took titles as personal names.⁷⁵⁹ | Out of this habit, epithets among Persians and Turks evolved, first [223] arising at the caliph's court around 900.⁷⁶⁰ After the bestowal of the title 'Amīd al-Dawla ('Support of the State') on a favourite in 932,⁷⁶¹ these epithets established themselves as part of the names of the members of the Persian (Daylami) Shi'ite Buyid dynasty in particular.⁷⁶² The throne-names and taboo-names among, for example, the Qarakhanid rulers also contributed to the popularization of this custom.⁷⁶³ The caliphs soon extended the bestowal of similar titles to wider circles so that the recipients included a Daylami ruler⁷⁶⁴ and the Kurdish chieftain Badr ibn Ḥasanwayh (Ḥasanōe).⁷⁶⁵ The Samanids also claimed the right to confer these titles. It is to them that, for example, the Ghaznavids Sübüktigin⁷⁶⁶ and Maḥmūd (994) owe their titles (*laqabs*) 'Nāṣir al-Dawla' ('Protector of the State') and 'Sayf al-Dawla' ('Sword of the State'), respectively.⁷⁶⁷ Soon it became common for princes or other prominent

756 When al-Ma'mūn, who had already been declared caliph by his followers, called the victorious general Ṭāhir 'dhū 'l-yamīnayn' (with two right hands) (Ṭab. III 830; Awfi 203, no. 1385; Sam. 240 v f.) and his vizier al-Faḍl ibn Sahl 'dhū rīyāsatayn' (master of the two administrations), these are not actual 'names' anymore: Ṭab. III 841; Sam. 240 v; Athīr VI 85. The governor Ashras in Khurasan (since 727–28) was given the epithet 'al-Kāmil' because of his righteousness: Ṭab. II 1504f.

757 Thus the governor of Khurasan in around 700: Ṭab. II 1500, 1504f.; a Samanid general in 960: Athīr VIII 176.

758 See Minorsky, 'The Gūrān', 80.

759 Around 1093 the sons of Qāvurd of Kirman were called 'Kirmanshāh and Tūrānshāh': Muḥ. Ib. 13 (the latter is still used later on in the south as a personal name: Spuler, *Ilch.* 147). For the transition: official title > personal name see Justi, *Namb.* VIII, 197 (s.v. Marzbān).

760 Mez 133.

761 According to Misk. I 250¹ (= Amedroz) the first conferral of this kind.

762 984–85: Athīr IX 15; Bīr. 132–34 (table). Kramers, 'Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn' (especially frequent in the East, deals also with 'Dawla', which the Buyids liked very much).

763 Pritsak, *Karach.* unpublished section.

764 Nikbī 205.

765 Athīr IX 50.

766 For Tigin (originally Mongolian) = prince see Gabain, *Alltürkische Grammatik*, and Brockelmann/*Kāshgh.* 207.

767 Ibn Isf. 227; Nikbī 171; Gard. 56; Bayh. 197; Athīr IX 35. Other instances: Nikbī 154 (ca. 988), 206 (997). After the defeat of the Samanids the caliph confirmed Maḥmūd's title (Gard. 62) and conferred similar ones also onto other members of the dynasty in 1062 (ibid. 88).

personalities to bestow these titles upon themselves.⁷⁶⁸ The connection of *dawla* and *dīn* in honorary titles only arose under the Ghaznavids and Seljuks at the end of the tenth century.⁷⁶⁹

[224] On a different level again lies the adoption of throne names, reported for the Samanids,⁷⁷⁰ who also had posthumous names.⁷⁷¹ | The designation ‘al-Amīr al-Māḍī’ (‘Effective Commander’), which was officially conferred upon Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad after his death and upon other Samanids,⁷⁷² cannot, of course, be regarded as a posthumous name. The adoption of new totem (*ongun*) titles and new throne names as well as posthumous names among the Qarakhanids and other Turkish tribes fits into a very fixed pattern, which literary sources repeatedly discuss,⁷⁷³ and about which an extensive study has recently been published.⁷⁷⁴

768 Only for the Qarakhanids is this reported as early as 992: Mez 133. Manūchihr of Gurgan 1012–13; Athīr IX 82. A Seljuk prince in 1160: Ḥus. 99. After his father’s death the Khwarazm-Shāh Muḥammad II used his *laqab* ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (presumably as a result of his sovereignty): Juv. II 47. Siyāsāt-nāma 131–38 has a separate passage (XL1) on the *alqāb*.

769 Wiet 75, opposite 78 and 82 (however, judging from the latest woven inscriptions, the combination of *dawla* and *dīn* was apparently not exclusive to the Seljuks).

770 ‘Al-Amīr al-Ḥamīd’ is reported for Nūḥ ibn Naṣr in 943: Athīr VIII 131, 168. For the throne names of the Abbasid caliphs since 755 see Mez 132.

771 Muq. 337.

772 Narsh. 91 (907–8); Gard. 22, 47; Athīr VIII 2.

773 Ḥus. 7; Bayh. 432, 536.

774 By Pritsak, *Karach*.

The Ethnic Situation

[225]

A Sense of National Identity¹

Among the consequences of the Arab conquests during the first half of the seventh century, the integration of Persia and its population into the Islamic Empire would have the greatest impact on world history. This Islamic polity was a community of nations which had originated in entirely different historical conditions and which had belonged to different religions and cultures. Differences between Persia on the one hand and the Roman – later Byzantine – Empire on the other, which had existed for centuries and had been inherited from the Hellenic era, appeared to have been bridged by the Arab conquests and set aside when all these countries were united into one empire. However, this was merely how it appeared. Unlike the lands of the Aramaean and Aramaized populations of the Middle East, and ultimately also the Coptic population of Egypt, the Persian people remained an independent language community. This may have been due to the vastness of the space they inhabited and the inaccessibility of many areas, and maybe also to the smaller number of Arab invaders compared to Egypt for example. Mostly, however, it was a consequence of its rich culture, which had blossomed magnificently immediately before the fall of the Sasanid Empire, imparting to its people self-confidence, cultural tradition and the living memory of literary creation. The Copts, for instance, had possessed nothing comparable to this after the fall of Egyptian culture centuries earlier and their conversion to Christianity. [226]

What was essential here as well was the fact, which has already been touched upon, that social stratification was retained, particularly in the culturally most influential province of Khurasan. To continue the above comparison, among the Copts there had not been a class dedicated to preserving their culture after centuries of Hellenic–Byzantine administration. Of course the *dēhkāns* and the circles connected to them owed the survival of their social status to having given up the Zoroastrian faith. Their motive – aspiring to being accepted by the

1 For a general overview see André, *L'Islam et les races* (cf. Clément Huart in *JA* ser. 12, IV [1924] 349); Kremer, *Streifz.* 22–35; Goldziher, *Shu'ub*; Nallino, *Racc.* VI 135ff. ('Die arab. Dichter als politische Pamphletisten'). A new and well-grounded overview of the basic concept of Islam comes from Lichtenstädter, 'Race, nationality and minorities in the early Islamic Empire' (for the time after Muḥammad see 265–72).

Arab ruling class – was clearly known, as can be seen from the fact that as late as 728–29 a nobleman who had converted to Islam would be called ‘one who has become an Arab’ in Bukhara.² Consequently the national religion would play only a subordinate part in the expression of the Iranian sense of national identity. On the contrary, in the early days of Arab rule many Persians were positively anxious to follow the Arabs in religious matters, indeed to aid them in carrying out the subjugation of the population to Islam.³ There were also attempts at conforming to the Arabs’ way of life by adopting Arab family trees⁴ and by being seen to be eagerly professing Islam. Here we find the explanation of the playing up of the importance of Salmān al-Fārisī (d. ca. 656–57 = AH 35–36) to early Islam⁵ as the principal witness to the contribution of the Persian element to the formation of the Islamic community.⁶

[227] Of course, the Persians were too intelligent and far too much the highly civilized ancient nation to have been satisfied for long with playing a part of only secondary importance.⁷ We have already seen the impact this had on political and religious history. Now we must understand the part these circumstances played when the Persian element had to assert itself during the early Iranian period. The willingness to emulate the Arabs and recognize them as superior did not last long, despite the caliph Mu‘āwiya’s explicit instructions to treat the

2 Ṭab. II 1508; Athīr v 54; also Abū Nu‘aym I 9.

3 Even the captured general Hōrmizdān (see Ṭab. I 2557–60, 2801) is said to have given advice to the caliph ‘Umar I in Medina in 642: that by capturing Isfahan he would be most likely to conquer all of Persia: Ṭab. I 2642. There were similar instances in Persia itself (ibid. 2655, re. 643).

4 Thus a *mawlā* near the Daylami border: Bal. 342, and a certain Šūl (described as a Turk; see 240, n. 6) around 740: Aghānī/Cairo x 43. A former governor of Rayy, ‘Umar ibn Abī Šalt (702), provides a clear example of just how much the Arabs boasted of their superiority by saying ‘the Persians knew perfectly well that he was more noble than they’: Athīr IV 190. As for Hamadānī’s view of the Arabs (whom he preferred) see Kremer, *Cultur.* II 237.

5 Ibn Hishām 136–43; Mubarrad, Kāmil I 366, l. 5f. He was said to come from Isfahan (Browne, *Iṣf.* 440), according to others from Rāmhōrmizd (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ān* 138) (Ibn Sa’d VII/2, 64 mentions several different traditions). See also the summary in Caet. VIII 399–419; *EI* IV 124f.; Massignon, ‘Salmān Pāk’ (he argues – against Josef Horowitz in *Der Islam* XII [1921–22], 178–83 – for Salmān’s historicity).

6 The Nusayris even include him among their trinity: Browne I 203 and n. 2.

7 The emergence of this sentiment is seen clearly in a speech by a *dēhkān* of Herat of 738, who emphasises the significance of the Persians because of their intellect and their seriousness, which helped them live happily for centuries; he does, however, point out that as they did not have their ‘own prophet sent to them’ (i.e. entirely disregarding Zoroaster), the Arabs and their governor had now become superior: Ṭab. II 1636.

Persians in a friendly manner.⁸ Besides cultural and social differences, this was due to the immigration of Arab tribes⁹ during the first decades after the conquest. Not only were these tribes alien elements in every respect, but they were also by no means in agreement among themselves. Their enduring fratricidal wars during the Umayyad era¹⁰ spread to Persia, although it was clear that the Persians in fact felt a degree of 'schadenfreude' in reaction to the fighting.¹¹ The concomitant destruction and devastation contributed significantly to the ever-increasing bitterness against the invaders.¹²

Furthermore, many Persians in southern Mesopotamia, particularly Basra, were treated as second-class citizens even after they had converted to Islam. The prevalent view was that while an Arab was forbidden to marry a Christian or a Jewish woman, he could take them as his concubines; in the case of Persian women, this was prohibited,¹³ although this did not prevent the two nations mixing in practice.¹⁴ One of the reasons for this prohibition may have been the often obvious physical difference between the dark-skinned Arabs | [228] and the frequently fair-skinned and fair-haired Persians.¹⁵ The Arabs' pride in their heritage found the nickname *ṣuḥb al-sibāl*, 'wearer of red moustaches', for the Persians¹⁶ and their appearance was considered particularly repulsive among the Semites in general.¹⁷ However, as early as the year 700, pure-blood Persian women were described as sometimes being as beautiful as Arab women.¹⁸ The *mawālī* population was furthermore disparaged not only in the accusation of dishonourable character,¹⁹ but also by the form of address as

8 A.S. Tritton in *BSOS* x (1939–42), 250, in a review with reference to the following book to which I do not have access: *Il Califfo Mu'awiya I. secondo il Kitāb ansāb al-ashraf*, transl. by Olga Pinto and Giorgio Levi della Vida, Rome 1938.

9 See p. 247f. below.

10 See p. 26f. above.

11 Ṭab. II 1865.

12 See Goldziher, Arab. 103ff. with extensive sources; Hartmann, *Islam und Nationalismus*, 9–11; Nöldeke, *Or. Sk.*, 115f. ('Der Chalif Manšūr'); Browne I 232f.

13 According to Mālik ibn Anas' *Muwatta'*, in Goldziher, Arab. 127f.; Muir 181f.; Browne I 264f.

14 See e.g. Aghānī/Būlāq XII 108. Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 98f.

15 This appearance is described as typical of Khurasanis in Bal., Ans. v 130.

16 Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 254, 686.

17 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 156f.

18 'Iqd III 201 (as long as we assume the validity of this note for the year 700; otherwise it would apply to the time of composition). More generally see Gómez, 'El sentimiento de la belleza física en la poesía árabe'.

19 Goldziher, Arab. 120.

they were called by their personal name rather than their *kunya*.²⁰ Even during prayer the Iranians were segregated in Iraq, and in Basra there appears to have been a separate mosque for those considered clients of the Arab peoples during the eighth century.²¹

When Qutayba ibn Muslim, the governor of Khurasan and conqueror of Central Asia, decided to take steps against all those who were able to read and write the Khwarazmian script²² and knew and studied the traditions of their country,²³ all Iranians had cause to fear the worst. Consequently the Persians' hostile attitude grew increasingly pronounced. National movements marked by *ʿaṣabīya*²⁴ (group solidarity) emerged in several places and encountered corresponding reactions from the Arab side.²⁵ Now the Persians began to emphasise their national identity²⁶ and they deliberately followed Islamic groups who were in clear opposition to the doctrine embraced by the Umayyads.²⁷ Abbasid propaganda fell on fertile soil here, not least because Persians²⁸ were often deliberately employed as propagandists,²⁹ although members of Arab tribes were also frequently among the disenfranchised.³⁰ In those days, and until

20 See p. 221 above, Fück 14 and Goldziher, 'Kunja'.

21 Ibid. Furthermore see Levy, *Soc.* 1 84–88.

22 Concerning Khwarazmian script see most recently Frye, *Coinage*, 17ff., and 'Add. Notes', 109f.

23 Sachau, *Khwar.* 480–82, after al-Bīrūnī. Sachau sees this as a deliberate measure to exterminate Khwarazmian national consciousness.

24 *ʿAṣabīya* means 'partisanship' in general, also for instance an Arab tribe, see e.g. Aghānī/*Būlāq* XIX 29; also Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI, n. 1.

25 Bal. 426; *Ṭab.* II 1354; *Athīr* V 19 (the governor of Khurasan in 717). Tradition repeatedly accuses the Arabs of national fanaticism: Goldziher, *Arab.* 109. See entry on 'Asabiyet, in *ET* Turk. I 663f., which gives sources concerning the notion of *ʿaṣabīya* in Ibn Khaldūn.

26 Even at Hishām's court (724–43): Aghānī/*Būlāq* IV 125 (however, the caliph had him punished for the poem he recited which discussed this); Aghānī/*Būlāq* XV 35; Grünebaum 203f.

27 Wellhausen, *Opp.* 35, 40f. See p. 178f. above.

28 It is most doubtful whether Abū Muslim was in fact a Turk, as Şemseddin Günaltay maintains in 'Abbas ağulları imperatorluğunun kuruluş ve yükselişinde Türklerin rolü' (The role of the Turks in the foundation and development of the Abbasid Empire), in *Belleten* VI, 1942, 177–205, 184f. Abū Muslim spoke both Arabic and Persian well: Ibn Khall./*Wüst.* IV 73, but spoke Arabic with a Persian accent: *Jāhīz*, *Bayān* I 42 (Rescher 24).

29 *Ṭab.* II 1501 (727–28), 1507, 1937, 1954–56. There was also a certain Şūl (said to be a Turk) who was employed as a propagandist: Aghānī/*Cairo* X 43.

30 Five of the twelve Abbasid *naqibs* were of Khuzā'a origin, one was a Tayyi', four were Tamīm (three Banū Imrā'a 'l-Qays), one was of the Bakr ibn Wā'il, one of the Banū 'Amr

much later, there were recurring frictions between Arabs and Persians,³¹ and the Abbasid imams had no qualms when it came to furthering their cause in sowing anti-Arab agitation among the Persians.³² Although the Persians officially remained neutral when the Arabs fought among themselves,³³ they also exploited these quarrels with the aim of forcing the Arabs to retreat; for instance by imposing appropriate conditions of surrender on them after a successful siege.³⁴ Conversely the Arabs might be permitted to stay if they 'strove to live their lives in an emphatically Persian manner'.³⁵ This included celebrating the ancestral national and religious holidays Nowruz and Mihragān³⁶ and accepting the traditional presents on these days. Indeed, the ancient Zoroastrian calendar successfully stood its ground for centuries alongside the Islamic lunar year³⁷ for more than just economic reasons.

With their attitude so firmly focussed on all things Arabian, the Umayyads [230] did not have a genuinely successful deterrent against these developments. They might well from time to time allow a local to be appointed to the post of governor³⁸ or negotiator,³⁹ but this was no more successful in coming to terms with the Persians than the temporary alliance of the Arabs in Central Asia against the united front of the Persians.⁴⁰ Once the government was in the hands of the Abbasids, Persian national identity had established itself culturally for good. The Abbasids had no misgivings when it came to granting

ibn Shaybān: Ṭab. II 1988. (This account does not even hint that there might have been clients of these tribes among these twelve.)

31 Qommī 253–57 (Qom); Muq. 276 (Shāsh, tenth century) and elsewhere in Transoxania: *ibid.* 283, 320, 336 (western parts of the province Nishapur). It is not correct, at least not definitively, that Arabs and Persians first joined forces under pressure from enemies in the north and east in Khurasan in particular (Toynbee II 141, n. 3 [on 142]). In Mesopotamia both nations had also already joined forces, e.g. in al-Mukhtār's movement.

32 Ṭab. II 1974; see also *ibid.* 1949.

33 Bal. 424 (715–16 in the fight for Qutayba); Athīr v 6.

34 Athīr v 56 (728–29).

35 Ṭab. II 1636f.; Athīr v 79.

36 At the beginning of the ninth century these holidays became fashionable even in Baghdad: Tan. 517 (preparation of palm wine on this day); Kremer, *Streifz.* 32 and Suppl. XII (p. 70: al-Dhahabī and Aghānī/Būlāq IX 121); Sadighi 75f.; Wiet 134–36 (n. 4 mentions Persian literature not accessible to me). On the subject of Old Persian hymns chanted on these occasions see Ebermann 116.

37 See p. 492f. below.

38 In 743 a Sogdian became governor of Amul: Ṭab. II 1767.

39 Athīr v 12 (716–17).

40 *Ibid.* v 137 (746–47), 141, 149. See also a poem by Naṣr ibn Sayyār mentioned by Theodor Nöldeke and August Müller, *Delectus veterum carminum arabicorum*, Berlin 1890, 88.

the Persians absolute equality⁴¹ with the condition, of course, that the latter would profess the prevailing orthodox Islam and pursue their scientific activities in Arabic.⁴² As long as they did this, and in addition glorified (in Arabic) the ruling dynasty,⁴³ they were safe from persecution even if there were doubts concerning their personal orthodox faith, as in the case of Bashshār ibn Burd (d. 784).⁴⁴

After around only thirty years the Persians had reached the top of the administration⁴⁵ with the Barmakid family occupying the top ministerial positions, which had the title *wazīr*. This title was in all likelihood genuinely Arabic,⁴⁶ while the earlier title *ḥājib*, dating from the Umayyad era, remained in use only at the Spanish court of this dynasty. Nevertheless, however willing the Barmakids and many other Persians were to integrate completely into the hybrid Islamic culture suffused with Persian–Oriental influences found at the caliph's court,⁴⁷ the majority among them were still very conscious of their Iranian ancestry. The Barmakids in particular strove to emphasise this by claiming to be descended from an ancient Zoroastrian priestly family, even though in reality they were the descendants of Buddhist priests from the Nawbahār in Balkh.⁴⁸ The Shi'ites also set great store by the suggestion that the mother of

41 Arabs occasionally accused them of preferring the Persians: Ibn Khaldūn III 241; Ḥamza Iṣf. 216; Jāhīz, Bayān III 206. See Kremer, *Streifz.* 31f. (813) (several poems on the subject); Becker, *Islamstudien*, I 111. The jurists (Ḥanafites and Mālikites) declared Persians as having equal rights if their parents and grandparents had been Muslims and if they themselves lived in economically secure circumstances: Grünebaum 201.

42 Aghānī/Būlāq IX 104, XII 156; Mas. VI 137–55.

43 E.g. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith: Aghānī/Būlāq XX 78, 82.

44 Kremer, *Streifz.* 35 (and text supplement XIV on 70); Sharīf 54f. (examples). Bashshār's ancestors came from Tukharistan: Aghānī/Cairo III 135, 138; see Fück 32f.; Wiet 147f., 184f.

45 We read that some Persian nobles already received grants of state-owned lands in Mesopotamia under 'Umar I (see Kremer, *Cultur.* I 69), but this is certainly mere tendentious fiction.

46 As recently shown by S.D. Goitein 'The origin of the vizierate and its true character', in *IC* XVI (1942), 255–63, 380–92. (See also Helmut Ritter's account in *Oriens* I, 1948, 393). For the previous derivations of the word (according to James Darmesteter from Persian *vi-chūr[ā]*) see Browne I 255.

47 For a long time this would of course entail adopting a fictitious Arab family tree: Goldziher, Arab. 142. The Kurds even claimed that they as an entire nation were descended from the Arabs: *ibid.* 143.

48 Ṭab. II 1181 (705). 'Abd al-Jalīl Yazdī's Ta'rikh-i āl-i Barmak (1360–61) collects later anecdotes about the Barmakids, reprinted in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, II 1–54.

the fourth imam, Zayn al-Ābidīn, had been a Persian princess named Jihānshāh (= Arabic Salāfa), a grand-daughter or daughter of Yazdagird III.⁴⁹

The Arabs, of course, were not passive spectators during this development. Where traditions spoke of the Prophet's preference for the Persians and warned against disparaging them,⁵⁰ or claimed that the Persians were descended from Isaac, the brother of Ishmael, who was the ancestor of the Arabs,⁵¹ or when Persian scholars attacked Arab genealogies⁵² or when a fable emerged about a water conduit in Isfahan whose water was said to be fatal to Arabs in particular,⁵³ the Arabs would refute these with theories describing Persians as inferior⁵⁴ and emphasizing the suppleness of the Arabic language.⁵⁵ They, too, fabricated religious traditions to support their point of view.⁵⁶ Whether, [232] as has occasionally been claimed,⁵⁷ the sudden fall of the Barmakids (803) was due more to a kind of Arab reaction against the Iranians than to personal reasons seems very doubtful, since this event did not at all bring in its wake a

49 Nawb. 47f.; Ibn Khall./Eg. I 347.

50 Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* I 74 ('Das arabische Stammeswesen und der Islam'); Goldziher, Arab. 117.

51 Ibid. 144f.

52 Goldziher, *Shu'ub.* 190ff. A man like Ibn Durayd (837–933) would deliberately write his *Kitāb al-Istiqāq* (= *Genealog.-etymol. Handbuch*, ed. by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854) as an Arab against Persian claims (see 3f.).

53 Browne, *Isf.* 19. (The work was later translated. It is certain that this information dates back to the text on which it was based.)

54 Goldziher, Arab. 117ff. Al-Farazdaq uses 'Ibn al Fārisīya' as a term of abuse: *ibid.* 126; a whole list of derogatory terms directed at Persians can be found in the *Romance of 'Antar*: *ibid.* 136, n. 5. Iraqi Christians also regarded the Persians and Zoroastrianism as particularly inferior: Graf II 138.

55 A collection regarding this subject can be found in 'Iqd III 209f. See Guillaume 57f. One *ḥadīth* classifies languages in the following way: the most hated language before God is Persian, the language of the devils is that of Khuzistan (see p. 243 below), the language of Hell is that of Bukhara, and the language of Paradise is Arabic: Muq. 418. Ibn Fāris (d. 1005), who was born in Persia but found his intellectual home in Arab culture and scholarship, for his part praised the virtues of Arabic: *GAL* I 130.

56 Abū Nu'aym I 7–14. Collected in Goldziher, *Shu'ub.* 153f.

57 Sharīf 22. I am furthermore unable to believe that 'Umar I's Persian murderer should have acted from national (rather than private) motives (as Kremer states, *Cultur.* I 15; Sharīf, *loc. cit.*). Sharīf 12 also claims that some of the motives for 'Alī's murder were rooted in national politics, as there was one Persian involved in the conspiracy preceding it (Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 559–63); this is certainly incorrect.

repression of Iranian influence.⁵⁸ On the contrary, the various Iranian governors in numerous districts in the East⁵⁹ were soon succeeded by Iranian dynasties, the first of whom, the Ṭāhirids, ruled with the caliph's official approval. Al-Ma'mūn,⁶⁰ who was the son of a Persian woman, found particular favour in the East,⁶¹ and it was from here that he was able, with the aid of his vizier al-Faḍl ibn Sahl as well as Persian support, to gain the caliphate.⁶² He was soon accused of furthering an Alid's succession as a means of securing power in Persian hands, however.⁶³

By this time, the educated class in Iran had become so entwined with Islam and its culture that the conflict between the two peoples took place increasingly on the intellectual level as well. During the time when the caliph al-Ma'mūn was favouring the Persians over the Arabs in some ways,⁶⁴ important authors such as al-Jāḥiẓ,⁶⁵ and even earlier Abū Nuwās (756–814) who, however, felt himself to be a Persian,⁶⁶ had no qualms about praising the merits of the Persians⁶⁷ and disparaging the Arabs | and sometimes even presenting the latter as being the 'uneducated class'.⁶⁸ The public appears to have accepted such judgments in some cases with satisfaction.⁶⁹ Of course, there were no lack of attacks in the opposite direction, and a man like al-Jāḥiẓ had

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- 58 Bukhārī has a separate section on the fact that the positions of judge and administrative official were open to the Mawālī: Goldziher, Arab. 115.
- 59 781 in Rayy with Fars, Kirman and Ahvaz including Bahrain, Oman, Kaskar, and the mouth of the Tigris: Athīr VI 22, 24f. 782 Dunbāwand with Qom and Rayy: *ibid.* 25. 785: Gurgan, Isfahan: *ibid.* 32.
- 60 It is possible to deduce that he himself understood Persian from the fact that a Persian poem was presented to him in Marv: Barthold, *Med.* 8of.
- 61 See Donaldson 162; Aḥmad Rifā'i, *ʿAṣr al-Ma'mūn (The times of al-M.)* Cairo 1927–28 (AH 1346), vol. II 244.
- 62 Ṭab. III 631. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 310; Donaldson 163.
- 63 Jahsh. 305, 397; Ṭab. III 669; Ibn Khall. I 109. 135; Fih. 338.
- 64 Ṭab. III 1142.
- 65 Jāḥiẓ, Bayān I 203 (Rescher 27). See Ebermann *passim*.
- 66 Sharīf 56–60 (examples); EI I 108f.
- 67 For a collection of such poetic sources see Goldziher, Shu'ub. 160ff., 167ff. In addition there is the praise of Persians in Ṣā'id 49–52.
- 68 Guillaume 57f.; Grünebaum 205 and n. 79. Concerning the indeed minor interest the ancient Arabs had in intellectual matters see Browne I 261f.
- 69 For instance the physician treating the Barmakid prisoner Faḍl refused to accept payment as the latter was a member of the Persian aristocracy: Mas. VI 412 (including Barbier de Meynard's comment).

no difficulty mocking the Persians⁷⁰ just as much as the Arabs. Iranian historians began to remember their ancestral tradition as well. Men such as Ḥamza al-İşfahānī⁷¹ and Dīnavarī composed their works in a patriotic spirit. They declared their views quite openly and proved them by devoting much more space to the events of the Iranian past⁷² than to Arabian or Qur'anic history, and highlighting the prophets mentioned by the latter as predecessors of Islam. Men of letters would deliberately emphasize their Persian ancestry,⁷³ and often defend Zoroastrianism, as well as Manichaeism, from more of a nationalistic conviction than a religious one.⁷⁴ This development led ultimately to the Shu'ūbiya,⁷⁵ a specifically Persian national movement. Writing of quite diverse genres was used to attack and disparage the Arabs. They were mocked in poems, and Qur'anic passages were adduced repeatedly (49: 13: [234] 'The noblest among you is the most god-fearing of you'; 49: 10: 'The believers are brothers') to support the view that the Persians were at least equal to the Arabs (thus *ahl al-taswiya*),⁷⁶ if not superior.⁷⁷ Needless to say, the Arabs, and

70 Jāhiz, Bayān III 5–7 (Rescher 31–33); Jāhiz, Ḥay. VII 68. When he mocks the Persians because of their attributes when speaking, and also for their inadequate riding and rudimentary accomplishments in the arts of war, however, he has not understood the significance of these attributes when speaking; see Becker, 'Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam', in his *Islamstudien* I. The *Kitāb al-tāj* (see GAL S I 246/D/1) has a collection of interesting information about ancient Persian custom; concerning praise of the Turks see GAL S I 243; on the question of the authorship 346 n. 2.

71 Ḥamza İşf. 138. Bīrūnī had already noticed this, see Goldziher, Shu'ub. 209. The significance of Persian poetry in Arabic in this debate is described by Nallino, *Racc.* VI 138f.

72 Dīn. 1–75.

73 Aghānī/Cairo V 154, VII 146; Mas. VI 62; 'Iqd II 277.

74 Ibn al-Muqaffa', who defended Manichaeism, was a rationalist at heart and not really cut out to be the man to defend or attack a religion: Guidi, *Lotta*, XIII.

75 From *shu'ūb*, the tribes mentioned in Sura 49:13 together with the *qabā'il* as a legitimate sub-division of the Muslims; see Maf. ul. 122. See Barthold, 'Die persische Šu'ūbija'; Nikitin, *Nat.* 224f.; Hartmann, *Islam und Nationalismus*, II; Goldziher Shu'ub. 147 and (in the main based on it) Browne I 265–70; Sadighi 49–51.

76 Ibn Khaldūn/Quatre 211; concerning the expression see Aghānī/Cairo V 158, l. 7. Barthold, *Med.* 168–76 and the literature mentioned there; Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 108. M. Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'*, Cairo 1913, 269–295; and consider the title of Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb al-taswiya bayn al-Arab wa'l-Ajam*.

77 Aghānī/Cairo IV 412. GAL I 252; Nikitin, *Nat.* 217, 223, Moīn, *L'influence du mazdéisme dans la littérature persane*, 497, 505, occupies essentially the point of view of the old Shu'ūbiya when assessing the Iranians.

most notably Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba,⁷⁸ did not suffer such attacks without retaliating.

Closely related to these developments was the revival of literature in Persian, which, compared to Arabic literature, proved to be superior in the genre of the epic and equal in that of the lyric. The Ṭāhirids were still indifferent to Persian culture⁷⁹ at this time, and the emir ‘Abd Allāh (828–45) refused to accept a book which contained, presumably in Persian, a collection of the King Anōshirvān’s judgments. ‘Abd Allāh had the book thrown in the water declaring that his men were satisfied with reading the Qur’an and *ḥadīth*.⁸⁰ However, the Ṣaffārids were already seen as supporters of Iranian national identity.⁸¹ They liked to see Persian texts being composed at their courts⁸² or to be praised as supporters of the Persian restoration movement. Of course, it is not true that they genuinely played such a part with regards to the *belles lettres*, as they were far too ignorant to do so, as were their Buyid successors. Not until the Samanid dynasty, which claimed to be descended from the Sasanids, and even the Achaemenids,⁸³ and whose territory included Iran’s cultural centre [235] Khurasan, | do we see a genuine reawakening and encouraging of Persian intellectual culture.⁸⁴ This dynasty was to be the first truly culturally aware Persian dynasty. It was furthermore due to their influence that Turkish dynasties, such as the Ghaznavids, assimilated to Iranian culture to such a degree that they were able to succeed to the Samanids’ empire.⁸⁵ It was at this time that the Ḥanafite ‘school of law’ considered permitting a translation into Persian of the

78 828–89 [though 1Q favoured Arab-Islamic culture, he was of Khurasani extraction: RGH], *EI* II 424; *GAL* I 129–23; *S* I 184–87. His *Kitāb al-‘Arab aw al-radd ‘alā Shu‘ūbīya* is reprinted in the third edition (Cairo 1946 = AH 1365) of Kurd Ali’s *Rasā’il al-Bulaghā*, 344–77.

79 Barthold, *Med.* 82.

80 Dawl. 30. Browne I 347.

81 Dawl. 30f.; TS 210–13.

82 Thus around 870 the New Persian edition of the Middle Persian *Khvadhāy-nāmagh* (*Book of rulers*, renamed – to avoid misunderstandings due to the semantic narrowing of the word *khudāy* = ‘God’ in New Persian – *Shāh-Nāma*). See Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*; Naşr 109.

83 See Daqīqī’s *Qaṣīda* quoted in Browne I 461. Mez 15; Barthold, *Vorl.* 84.

84 This may be one reason why Persian terms appear more prominently than Arabic ones once more, such as when the ‘Īd al-aḏḥā (Feast of the Sacrifice) is called Persian ‘Īd-i guspan-d-kushān (TS 356: 1003). In all probability even the source of Muḥ. Ib. (who lived in the early seventeenth century) 93 refers to a Turkish soldier not as Qyzył Arslan but as Shēr-i surkh.

85 At the court of Bahrāmshāh of Ghazna, *Kalīlagh va Dimnagh* was translated from Arabic into Persian around 1144: Dawl. 75.

takbīr and Qur'anic verses for prayer⁸⁶ and, during the eleventh century, there were indeed some theologians who took this risk.⁸⁷

The revival of Persian national consciousness was not, however, limited to literary feuds with the Arabs, to fostering the newly emerging indigenous literature or to pervading Islam with a Persian spirit. Those circles of society who were less closely connected to the court, who had retained their military prowess more than many of the other families and who were less involved in the concerns of the leading social class, were furthermore planning the restoration of the glorious Persian Empire of the Sasanids or the Achaemenids, as they knew it from the legends of their heroes. In Ṭabaristan, where in 783, during a rebellion, even the wives of Arabs had surrendered their menfolk to the avenging swords of Persian fanaticism,⁸⁸ and in Daylam, the plan was hatched to overthrow the caliphate, preferably along with the religious and political currents⁸⁹ of the Mazdakites and Qarmaṭis,⁹⁰ and to restore the throne of the Khusraus⁹¹ in Seleucia-Ctesiphon rather than Baghdad. As early as 840 the *ispāhbadh* Māzyār of Ṭabaristan was arrested and executed because of such plans, in which he had conspired with the prince (*afshīn*) of Ustrūshana.⁹² Not quite a century later, | in around 931, the Daylami Mardāvīj had similar intentions⁹³ to revive the Persian Empire. Indeed, the lands on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea would for some time remain a centre of ancient Iranian national consciousness.⁹⁴ [236]

While it was not actually possible to fulfil such wide-ranging aspirations, the existence of a local ruling class and the blossoming of literature in the native language played a decisive part in preserving Persian linguistic independence,

86 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 88 (ca. 1000). Arnold, *Preaching*, 183, Wiet 122.

87 Ibn Khall./Slane I 425 (translation II 170 'he believed, and could express his faith in Persian' does not capture the meaning altogether correctly).

88 Ibn Isf. 126. Rehatsek 421.

89 Ibn Faḍlān XXIII, XXV (931); concerning the similarities between Zoroastrian and Judaeo-Christian millenarianism see Grünebaum 193.

90 The Qarmaṭis among the Persians also appealed to the latter's national consciousness, see Goeje, *Mémoires sur les Carmathes du Bahrain*, 33.

91 It gave Persian princes pleasure to see themselves compared with the Khusraus: Aghānī/Būlāq XVII 110.

92 Ibn Isf. 155f; Awl. 56; Ṭab. III 1274 [AD: rather Ṭab. III 1298 and in 839 not 840]; Athīr VI 175. Rehatsek 425–29.

93 Mas. IX 27f.; Misk. I 316; Athīr VIII 96, 105.

94 In the seventh and eighth centuries there were still coins with Middle Persian inscriptions: Krymskiy I 93. Even around 1200 the coronation of an *ispāhbadh* took place 'in the ancient Persian manner', as Ibn Isf. stresses specifically.

the success of which is highlighted by the example of the opposite, which was the situation of Coptic, which lacked these preconditions. However, while there was considerable achievement in the fields of poetry, historiography (Bal'amī's translation of Ṭabarī), theology⁹⁵ and natural sciences (Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn 'Alī al-Harawī's *Pharmacopeia* as rendered by Asadī in 1055), ultimately it was the *Shāh-nāma*, Firdawsī's work of world literature, which would become the milestone of the re-affirmation of Iranian national identity. The Persian people, more so even than the Arabs, live through and with their poets, and it is impossible to overestimate the significance of Firdawsī's verses and those of others after him in the conservation of the Iranian national identity.⁹⁶ With these verses, the entire Persian people, noblemen as well as town dwellers, craftsmen as well as peasants, held in their hands the very '*instrumentum*' that unified them with no regard to social differences, that mirrored their own image and that allowed them to know themselves fully as Iranians.

It was, of course, precisely during Firdawsī's time around the turn of the millennium that a new era was dawning in Iran. He had emphasized the [237] heroism of the warriors of old,⁹⁷ | but, like his predecessors⁹⁸ and conforming with the national spirit of his day, had given them a good many anti-Arab characteristics,⁹⁹ such as when he described Dahāk (Ḍahḥāk), the personification of tyranny, as an Arab.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, even in those early days, the vital matter for the Iranians was once again the battle between 'Ērān' and 'Tūrān'¹⁰¹ and all the more so since with the Seljuks' victory this battle now had to be

95 The Shi'ite Mu'tazilite Jubbā'ī (d. 915) composed a Persian Qur'anic commentary ca. 900: Wilhelm Spitta, *Zur Geschichte Abū 'l-Ḥasan Al-Ash'arī's*, Leipzig 1876, 93. The use of Persian during worship was allowed through a number of *fatwās* in the tenth century: Barthold, *Med.* 83f.; Wiet 161f. Hosain gives an overview of the books available at the time on the basis of the Fihri. ('The old-Persian literature and the Muslims'); see also Gafurov 186–203.

96 Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*; *EI* Turk. IV 643–49; Sadighi 74. Muh. Ibn 'Umar al-Rādūyānī's work on rhetoric *Tarjumān al-Balāgha*, which has in the past been attributed to the poet Farrukhī (d. 1038), was probably not composed until the second half of the eleventh century: see Ahmed Ateş, 'Tarcumān al-Balāgha' in *Oriens* I (1948), 45–62, and his edition of the text (Istanbul 1949).

97 Rustam: Firdawsī/Vullers I 207, n. 11 = v 1414 a; see also I 174, v 819, 82.

98 Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 98¹.

99 Hansen 39. Conversely an Iranian who allied himself with a Turanian would be doing wrong: Firdawsī/Vullers I 445ff.: v 208ff.: Hansen 172. See also Hugo Andersen's treaty mentioned below (p. 337, n. 8); also Berthels, 'Ferdovsi i ego tvorčestvo', in *Firdawsī Collection*; Massé, *Firdousi et l'épopée nationale*.

100 Firdawsī/Vullers, I 34ff.

101 Hansen 40, 249–51; Barthold, *Vorl.* 86f.; Wiet 162f.

fought on their home soil. While a number of Iranians would choose a Turkish name for themselves or for their children in those days,¹⁰² they retained the sense of national independence they had achieved during the conflicts with the Arabs and Islam vis-à-vis the Turks as well and reviled their *beys* as boorish, ‘uneducated barbarians.’¹⁰³ Under the Qarakhanids and the Seljuks the *dēhkāns* slowly disappeared, having served their cultural purpose by preserving the core of Iranian national identity. By not only Islamizing the Turks over the following centuries but also culturally ‘Iranizing’ them, the Iranian spirit found its place within the Islamic commonwealth and this place would be characteristic of its historic role and achievement throughout the Middle Ages and well into modern times.

The Linguistic Situation

One of the consequences of Firdawsī’s *Shāh-nāma* was that New Persian, which had evolved during the first centuries of Islam¹⁰⁴ particularly in the east of the linguistic area,¹⁰⁵ was established for good as a language of literature and culture, quite independently of the poet’s own opinion on these matters. Furthermore, the existence of this as a recognized national language contributed to Persian | gaining ground in more than one way. When the Arabs had [238] invaded Iran, the country had been linguistically much more splintered than was the case during the late Middle Ages and Modern period. Firstly, individual dialects¹⁰⁶ had a wider scope than today.¹⁰⁷ As late as the tenth century the language of the ‘Ajam is mentioned parallel to Farsi,¹⁰⁸ while the inhabitants of

102 See p. 223f. above. See F. Šalac’s new interpretation of Dahāk (connection to the ancient Babylonian sun god) in *Archiv Orientální* xviii, 1/2 (1950), 479–84.

103 Ca. 1180: Muḥ. lb. 97. Concerning the absence of a Turkish imperial idea during the Seljuk era, see Barthold, *Vorl.* 86f.; Wiet 162f.

104 Ṭab./Nöldeke viii.

105 There has been no summarising grammatical study of the remains of the New Persian language of the early days (before Firdawsī), such as the glosses on Ṭabarī (II 1492, 1494: 726–27 etc.) and others. But see Minorsky, ‘Some early documents in Persian’, who lists more original sources.

106 See Muq. 334–36; 368 (Daylam): following this, Fück 111f.; Schwarz VI 768 (Rayy).

107 Mas., Tanb. 77f. lists the dialects: *fahlavī*, *al-darī* (language of the court, see p. 245 below), *ādhari* etc.

108 Ibn Ḥawq. 2 289; Iṣṭ. 137; Ya’q., Buld. 270; Maf. ul. 117. Sam. 41 r (s.v. Iṣbahānī), 58 r centre and *passim* uses ‘*ajamī*’ as the name of the Sasanid language (see also *ibid.* 385 r). *ʿAjam*

Jibāl are occasionally distinguished as ‘Pahlavaj’.¹⁰⁹ It seems that the language of the district of Fars, and the south in general,¹¹⁰ was so unusual compared to the language that had evolved mostly in Khurasan, that is, Farsi, the continuation of the Sasanid dialect, that it required a separate name. It was not until later that the name ‘Farsi’ came to mean ‘Persian language’ in general. In the tenth and eleventh centuries it was possible to say that the vernacular of Azerbaijan was ‘Farsi’,¹¹¹ but that the pronunciation found in Marv was of the highest standard for this dialect.¹¹² Pronunciation was naturally varied according to regional dialects. In the eastern districts such as Herat,¹¹³ Kohistan¹¹⁴ and Kirman including Makran, the language sounded ‘harsh’ and was difficult to understand.¹¹⁵ This is surely an indication that these districts were close to the regions where Afghan and Baluchi were spoken, or were bordering on ancient dialects, even though the name ‘Afghans’ occurs only in 982 to describe an independent tribe.¹¹⁶ The language of the Qufş or Kufichis (‘mountain dwellers’)¹¹⁷ and the Iranian dialects of the Bāris and the Baluchis (Balūş), |
 [239] who only later moved into the region named after them,¹¹⁸ asserted themselves as individual and independent forms.¹¹⁹ Furthermore the language of the Ghōr was clearly distinct from all the other dialects of this area.¹²⁰ Sogdian¹²¹ and

has the additional meaning of ‘strange, foreign’, such as when Ya‘q., Hist. II 457, describes ‘Tammūz’ as an *‘ajam* name for a month (similarly *ibid.* 525).

109 Ṭab. I 2106, 2608; Maf. ul. 116. See also Schwarz VII 846f.

110 This manner of speaking was also understood in Kirman: Ibn Ḥawq.² 313; Iṣṭ. 167. Concerning the linguistic situation in Fars see also Schwarz III 145.

111 Goldziher, *Shu‘ub.* 170.

112 Iṣṭ. 191f.; Ya‘q., *Buld.* 270.

113 Muq. 307. See Ivanow, ‘*Tabaqat of Ansari* (d. 1088) in the old language of Herat’.

114 Muq. 321, 398.

115 Muq. 471. See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 310; Schwarz III 256–258.

116 Ḥud. 91, 349² (see entry on ‘Afghanistān’ in *EI* I 164f.).

117 Iṣṭ. 164; Ḥud 65; Yāq. VII 134–38. Schwarz III 261–66. They may have been of Brahui origin: Ḥud. 374; Nikitin, *Nat.* 215 n. 29 and the literature listed there. According to Yāq. IV 147,149, there were also some immigrant Yemenis living in this area, mostly from the Azd tribe.

118 Spiegel, *Ērān* 219; *id.*, *Ērān. Altert. Kd.* I 334, believes the Qufş to be identical with the Baluchis. Baluchi is a northwest Iranian language: Ḥud. 374. Schwarz III 260f.

119 Muq. 471; Misk. I 356 (936); Yāq. II 281.

120 Iṣṭ. 245, 281. Concerning the area they inhabited see Ibn Ḥawq.² 444, ll. 10–14. Kremer *Cultur.* I 315.

121 Aghānī/Cairo I 35 (Sogdian slaves in Persia); Muq. 262, 335 (‘similarity’ with the Bukharan language); ‘Iqd III 259 (Fergana in the Sogdian region). Barthold; ‘K voprosu o sogdiyskom

Khwarazmian¹²² were still extant in the north of the country (Ispējāb, Ṭarāz and Balāsāghūn)¹²³ and sometimes were spoken alongside Persian. Some Alans (Āṣṣ) remained on the Ustyurt (Ust-Urt) Plateau and the Mangyshlaq (Mīn Qyshlaq) peninsula at that time as well.¹²⁴

There was not yet any linguistic uniformity in western Iran either. Azerbaijan, a sparsely populated¹²⁵ region, was still part of the Persian linguistic area.¹²⁶ It was not until the Seljuks that the foundations for the 'Turkization' of this country would be laid¹²⁷ and this would then be completed during the Mongol era. Around 985 there were still around 'seventy different languages',¹²⁸ although it is probable that this refers to Caucasian languages, the speakers of which settled further to the east than where they are today, and there were not, of course, as many as seventy different languages. | The region within which [240] Armenian was spoken extended further south as well, as far as Nakhchivan¹²⁹ and Barzand in Azerbaijan.¹³⁰ Iranian dialects spoken on the southern shores

i bucharskom yazykach'. M.J. Dresden lists more recent literature on Sogdian in *Ex Oriente Lux*, Jaarb. 1942 (no. 8), 729–34, and in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* VI/1 (1949), 28–31.

122 Muq. 335. Despite the destruction of Khwarazmian cultural monuments at the hands of Qutayba ibn Muslim 712 (Barthold, *Turk.* I doubts this, while V.V. Struve presumes it to be a historical fact, *VDI* 1949/4 = 30, 137), which was first reported in *Bir.* 36, Khwarazmian was still the language of charters and documents at the court of the Khwarazm-shāh around 1000: Bayh. 669f (yet another language for which there were translators at Maḥmūd of Ghazna's court: *ibid.*). Concerning the remains of the Khwarazmian language (such as those found in the works of the Khwarazmian al-Bīrūnī) see Togan and Henning, 'Über die Sprache und Kultur der alten Chwaresmier'; A. Freimann's note on 'Chorezmiyskiy yazyk', in *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya* IV/7 (1939); and *EI Turk.* v 246f. New discoveries of Tolstov's expeditions are still awaiting examination. See also Pelliot, 'Le nom du Xwārizm dans les textes chinois'.

123 Barthold, *Vorl.* 81.

124 Tolstov, *Civ.* 49 (after *Bir.*).

125 Ṭab. I 2805. *Zapiski Vost. Otd.* XVIII 093.

126 This language was called Ādharī (Ya'q., *Buld.* 272; *Fih.* 344), just like the Turkish dialect spoken there in the present day. It is probable that Ya'q. I 160 is also referring to this language, which he did not understand. He is relying on older sources here as well.

127 Barthold, *Vorl.* 110. Concerning the Azerbaijani form of Turkish, see Mehmed F. Köprülü's summary in *EI Turk.*, II 118–51.

128 Muq. 375; see Ibn Ḥawq. 347–49. Schwarz IX 1351.

129 See Togan's summary in *EI Turk.*, II 96f. (containing some further information).

130 Muq. 378.

of the Caspian Sea in Daylam,¹³¹ Ṭabaristan¹³² and Gorgan were incomprehensible to the other Persians.¹³³ Furthermore, this was the area in which the Chöl (Ṣül)¹³⁴ survived for some time, who were possibly an isolated fragment of the Hephthalites, but whom the Arabs counted among the ‘Turks’.¹³⁵ As Islam only penetrated into this area during the ninth century, linguistic development took place along separate paths than in other areas.¹³⁶

Just as in the present day, the Iranian linguistic area bordered on the Kurdish one in the west. The latter was not limited to the region of Kurdistan, which we cannot look at in detail here. However, Kurdish tribes and parts of tribes had moved deep into Persian lands. Of course, it must be borne in mind that [241] the name ‘Kurds’ in those days was not used in such a strictly | terminological way as it is today¹³⁷ and often included the Gūrān, who lived to the south in the Zagros Mountains¹³⁸ and were not actually Kurds.¹³⁹ This group, however, is not the only one that was given this name. There is no doubt that many of

131 Ḥud. 133. Schwarz VII 865. Reference to two languages ‘existing side by side’ in Astarābād (not mentioned elsewhere; Sam. 30 r vocalises the city name as ‘Istirābād’) can be found in Ḥud. 134, 386 and *EI* Turk. II 568. This dialect was used in the Ḥurūfī sect’s propaganda, see Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfīs*. Concerning the special position of the Daylamis see also Bal., *Ans.* v 254, 262.

132 The *Marzbān-Nāma* was composed in this dialect originally, and later translated into literary Persian, see *EI* III 371f. (s.v. *Marzubān* II) and Browne II 489, as well as *The Marzubān-Nāma, a Book of Fables . . .*, ed. by Mirzā Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Vahhāb of Qazvin, Tehran 1932, I.

133 Iṣṭ. 205. Ibn Ḥawq.² 376.

134 Concerning the Chöl (Syriac: Ṭshōl, Arabic: Ṣül), who had started their incursions onto the western shore of the Caspian Sea as early as 395, see Christensen² 287; Marquart, *Ērānšāhr*, 51, and ‘Kultur und Sprachgeschichtliche Analekten’, 101–3 (including a substantial list of further literature). They are mentioned in Syriac literature in the Acts of the Martyrs of Karḳā dē Bêt Sêlôk (Kirkuk), see Carl Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, Berlin 1905, *55 (the statements on 196 in that book will have to be altered according to the above), and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*. Sam. 357 r mentions Ṣül as a town near Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb).

135 Aghānī/Cairo x 43; K. ‘Uyūn 21; Maf. ul. 119f. Concerning the true Hephthalites (Hayāṭīla) see p. 253 below as well as Alfred Hermann, ‘Die Hephthaliten und ihre Beziehungen zu China’, in *Asia Maior* II (1925), 564–80.

136 The fact that the Ziyārid Qābūs (976–1012) wrote Arabic treatises on theology and astrology (see Krymśkiy I 114) shows the fundamental nature of the change.

137 See *EI* II 1214f. s.v. ‘Kurden’. I have not been able to access Rashīd Yāsami’s *Kurd va-payvastagī-yi niẓhādī va-ta’riḳh-i u* (*The Kurds, their tribal relations and their history*), Tehran 1940.

138 To the north of the Baghdad–Kirmānshāh road.

139 In some detail: Minorsky, ‘The Gūrān’.

the numerous 'Kurdish tribes' mentioned in Western Persia were not actually part of this ethnic group, but rather remote tribes and clans, such as the Lurs,¹⁴⁰ who were culturally or otherwise considered backward and whose language was somehow antiquated and thus did not conform to New Persian. It is likely that they were called 'Kurds' because their language was incomprehensible but still recognisable as being part of the greater Iranian linguistic family.¹⁴¹

These 'Kurdish' settlements¹⁴² were particularly dense in the Zagros Mountains around Hulwan,¹⁴³ Shahrazur,¹⁴⁴ Gondēshāpūr¹⁴⁵ and Shusha (Khuzistan),¹⁴⁶ also in Azerbaijan around Ushnūh¹⁴⁷ and in Jibāl (Media).¹⁴⁸ A further dense population grouping was found in Fars, which allegedly had 50,000 tents with one to ten inhabitants each.¹⁴⁹ Such groups had been there even in pre-Islamic times¹⁵⁰ and were spread over several centres.¹⁵¹ Most notable were the five so-called 'Zumūm al-Akrād',¹⁵² which consisted of the Ismā'īlī, Rāmānī, Karzuvī, Mas'ūdī and Shakānī tribes,¹⁵³ who were found near Sābūr and the surrounding region, which was | named Shabānkāra after them. [242]

140 See Minorsky, 'Les Tsiganes Lulī et les Lurs Persans', esp. 295ff.

141 Spiegel, Êrān 78; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 301.

142 Arabic *zumm*, pl. *zumūm*, from Kurdish *zōmé*: Ibn Khurd. 47, or possibly *rumm*. Concerning similar circumstances in modern times see Nikitin, *Nat.* 214.

143 Bal., *Ans.* v 45; Ṭab. II 988 (695–96), II 1978 (747); Athīr VIII 167 (953–54); Sam. 478 r (esp. reference to the centre of population density Hulwan).

144 Iṣṭ. 200; Ibn Ḥawq.² 269; Yāq. v 312f.; Athīr VIII 233f. (979–80), IX 62 (1039–40). Schwarz IV 417f., VI 699f.

145 Muq. 408.

146 Ibn Ḥawq.² 257.

147 Ibid. 336.

148 Ibid. 370; Athīr VIII 146 (945) (List of places of settlement). Schwarz VII 859–65 (List of the tribal names). See also 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, *Ashār al-'Irāq*, II; *al-Kurdīya*, Baghdad 1947 (Table of contents can be found in *Oriens* II, 1949, 351f., by Werner Caskel).

149 Iṣṭ. 99, 114f.

150 See Ṭab. I 2543 (remark dating to the year 637), 2700 (644); Athīr II 186 (702).

151 Ibn Ḥawq.² 370f.; Iṣṭ. 145; Ṭab. III 839 (870); Athīr VII 8 (845–46). Schwarz III 135–39.

152 Muq. 435; Maf. ul. 123f. (which must be corrected accordingly); Yāq. IV 289f.; Athīr v 138 (746–47); Ibn al-Balkhī XVIII = 168 (the *zumms* = clans: Gīlōē, Dhīvān, Lavālījān, Kāriyān and Bāzinjān/Bāzījān). They were obliged to guarantee safe conduct; in return they were exempt from paying taxes, see Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Géogr.* 263f.; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 297f.

153 Ibn al-Balkhī (xv f. =) 164f. The Ismā'īlis are said to have settled here around 1040: Zark. 36f.

We are able to follow the Isma'īlīs' migration to Darabgird¹⁵⁴ in the early years of Islam.

Many of these nomad tribes¹⁵⁵ are characteristic of Iran to the present day, and their names are known to us occasionally with even more detailed information about their locales.¹⁵⁶ There are not, however, any surviving samples of their languages, with one exception only,¹⁵⁷ and consequently we are not able to confirm whether any of these tribes did in fact have a Kurdish connection.¹⁵⁸ There were similar 'Kurdish' colonies, albeit much more sparsely distributed, to the east of Fars in Kirman,¹⁵⁹ Kohistan¹⁶⁰ and Isfahan, where they lived in a separate quarter,¹⁶¹ and also in Rayy,¹⁶² Khurasan in the Faryab district¹⁶³ and Gōzġān.¹⁶⁴ It is possible that these nomad tribes were merely linguistically distinct from their surroundings and consequently seen as fitting the idea of what was 'Kurdish'.¹⁶⁵ The Indian Jhat (Arabic: Zutt) on the other hand, who had already settled in Iran during the Sasanid era, were clearly separate. They were related to the gypsies¹⁶⁶ and some of their colonies had migrated as far as Khuzistan.¹⁶⁷ They had converted to Islam, formally at least, very early on

154 Ibn al-Balkhī XVI–XVIII = 164–167 (with further information about Shabānkāra tribes).

155 In Fars 33: Muq. 446 (each of the tribes had between a hundred and a thousand 'horsemen': Išt. 114f. Schwarz III 156f.

156 See the maps at the end of the book.

157 Kākūī (Kākawayh) = maternal uncle (*khāl*): Athīr IX 171. See p. 115 above.

158 Might *qaryat al-Ās* in Fars (Muq. 447) be connected in some way to the Āṣṣ (Ossetians) – for instance a settlement of prisoners of war?

159 Ibn Khall./Wüst. I 98 (= Slane I 82) (early tenth century).

160 Ibn Ḥawq.² 446: Išt. 274.

161 Ya'q., Buld. 275.

162 Ibn Ḥawq. 370f.

163 Ibid. 443.

164 Išt. 271.

165 Of course there are to this day islands within the borders of Iran which the Kurds claim as belonging to them, thus (besides Shabānkāra) south of Shiraz, south of the city of Kirman, north of Bānpūr (in the former Quṣṣ region), on the upper reaches of the Atrek in northern Khurasan as well as eastern Baluchistan, see the map at the end of L. Rambout's book, *Les Kurdes et le droit*, Paris 1947 (Rencontres 24). Furthermore see the tradition – albeit documented only in more recent times – of the Kurdish origins of the Ormurs (on the bend on the river Logar south of Kabul) quoted in Georg Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian frontier languages: I, Parachi and Ormuri*, Oslo 1929, 307ff. and the linguistic discussion of the subject *ibid.*, and *gff.*; also Karl Hadank in *OLZ* 1931, 736–45.

166 Maf. ul. 123. See *EI* IV, 1336f., s.v. 'Zott'.

167 Ibn Ḥawq.²

and | settled predominantly in the marshes around Basra and Wāsiṭ,¹⁶⁸ playing [243] their well-known role in history from this base.

Khuzistan had another linguistic peculiarity to offer and this was the 'Khūzī' language, which contemporaries stated quite clearly as bearing no relation to either Arabic or Persian, the latter of which was understood by the majority of the population.¹⁶⁹ It was also not suitable to be written down in the Arabic script,¹⁷⁰ since, like modern languages of the Caucasus, it required many additional characters. We are unlikely to be wrong¹⁷¹ if we assume that this language was the last offshoot of the Elamite language. This must consequently be seen as an ancient indigenous language. However, many settlements of Arab tribes had sprung up in the wake of the Arab conquest and contemporaries were of course aware of their origins. There were also ancient Arab settlements along the shores of the Persian Gulf, in Fars and along the border of Mesopotamia,¹⁷² as well as, in smaller numbers, in Kirman.¹⁷³ These are certain to have spread during the Islamic era and are undoubtedly the home of the translators who played the part of interpreters for Persians during the early years,¹⁷⁴ just as was the case in southern Iraq, where the lower classes spoke Persian for a long time.¹⁷⁵

With the occupation of the country the inhabitants of several cities in the west had become half Arab (early New Persian *tāzī*).¹⁷⁶ Cities mentioned as late as the ninth and tenth centuries are Dinavar,¹⁷⁷ Zangān,¹⁷⁸ Nahavand¹⁷⁹

168 Bal. 375f. After their rebellion some of them were resettled to Khāniqīn and some to Ain Zarba.

169 Iṣṭ. 91; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 254; Maf. ul. 117; Yāq. 111 489 (see also Ya'q., Buld. 361). The reasons based on which Yāq. vi 407 counts Khūzī as well as Suryānī (Syriac) as being related to Persian (according to Hamza Iṣṭ.) are obviously geographical. Schwarz IV 401f., 406f.

170 Jāhīz, Bayān I, 16. Fück 64.

171 Kremer, *Cultur.* I 293f. only hints at this.

172 Ya'q., Buld. 269.

173 See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 307.

174 Ṭab. I 2263 (635), 2278 (636).

175 Fück 7f., 10, 46f.

176 Ibid. II 1181 (705). Later *tāzīk* came to mean 'Persian', e.g. Juv. II 50 (1202). For general information see Schaeder, 'Türkische Namen der Iranier'.

177 Ya'q., Buld. 271.

178 Ibid.

179 Ibid. 272.

[244] and Kāshān,¹⁸⁰ as well as a few smaller places.¹⁸¹ In the interior, Qom¹⁸² and Nishapur¹⁸³ were predominantly Arab and here Arabic would have been the language the nobility used in written and spoken communications. Persians would generally have been fluent in Arabic as their second language.¹⁸⁴ Khurasan, and also Gōzḡān,¹⁸⁵ had been forced to accommodate a number of Arab tribes, especially the Ṭayyi',¹⁸⁶ Azd and Tamīm,¹⁸⁷ and as a result their language acquired a particular dialect colouring.¹⁸⁸ These tribes, who are not, however, direct ancestors of the present-day Arabs of central Asia,¹⁸⁹ have already been discussed with reference to the political aspects of the region and we will present a summary of their migrations in the following section.

At first the Arab conquest had not touched the Persian administrative language either in Mesopotamia and its neighbours or further to the east. Until 697 Persian was the language employed for documents and charters in the west¹⁹⁰ and Arabic was only introduced here in connection with the change in all chancelleries (*naql al-dīwān*) throughout the Empire under the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705). This policy included even those areas where Greek was the language of the administration.¹⁹¹ In Khurasan and neighbouring Bukhara

180 Ḥud. 133.

181 See the maps at the end of the book.

182 Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *Muḥādarāt*, 155; Iṣṭ. 201; Yāq. VII 160. See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 336, II 150. Later the Persian element would predominate: Yā'q., Buld. 274; Qommī 17. According to Qommī, 16f., 23, 28, the majority of these Arabs were of Yemeni origin, with the Ash'ariyūn family pre-eminent, for whose family history – complete with boastfully glorifying accounts – see 266–305.

183 Yā'q., Buld. 278 [AD: Yā'q only says that the Nishapuris were a mixture of Arabs and Persians]; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 39.

184 Muq. 418; TS 85 (657 leader of a gang of robbers); Athīr VII 136 (884 in Ṭabaristan), IX 51 (999 in Gharshistan). It is quite probable that the ability of Ḥasan al-'Askarī, the eleventh imam, to speak Persian and Turkish is after all a pious legend (see Donaldson 218).

185 Ḥud. 108.

186 Yā'q., Buld. 277.

187 Ibid. 279.

188 This was so clear as early as ca. 800 that storytellers would caricature the idiosyncrasies of the Arabic spoken in Khurasan and Ahvaz (as for instance the dialects in the Qara-Göz play); Jāḥīz, Bayān/Rescher 38.

189 Concerning present-day Arabic in Central Asia see Cereteli, 'K charakteristike yazyka sredneaziatskich arabov'.

190 Jahsh. 33f.; Uzun. 4. Persian ordinal numbers [AD: or rather fractions] would stay in use in the administration for a long time: Bal. 301; Lökk. 113.

191 Jahsh. 35. See also Barthold, *Med.* 41, Pedersen 55; Tritton 18f. [AD: though Arabic was used from the beginning in certain spheres, notably the army registers, and this was also the case in Egypt/Syria].

commands regarding the correct posture to be assumed during prayers had to be called out in Persian as late as 712.¹⁹² The change to Arabic only took effect in 742,¹⁹³ although the majority of the officials in the administration of these areas were Zoroastrians for some time to come. Indeed, the civil service in many places, such as Syria and Egypt, would preserve the traditional religion of the regions. The coins of the governors in the East were simple imitations of Sasanid ones with Pahlavi script during the years 639–63 (AH 18–43), | after [245] which bilingual ones came into use, which were then replaced with exclusively Arabic inscriptions in 696–97.¹⁹⁴

The Arabization of the administration was enforced so rigorously that in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries Arabic in fact became the language of the administration,¹⁹⁵ to say nothing of scientific literature. Although Ṭāhir (d. 821), the founder of the dynasty that bears his name and who came from an Iranized Arab family, spoke Arabic only imperfectly¹⁹⁶ and required an interpreter, members of this dynasty in particular, such as ‘Abd Allāh,¹⁹⁷ were especially strict when it came to the keeping of records and documents in Arabic. This was done largely because it confirmed their loyalty to the Caliphate. The Buyids followed this practice as well, even though the first representatives of this dynasty spoke no Arabic at all.¹⁹⁸ Even the Samanids, who were in all other ways so open to Iranian culture, quickly abandoned an attempt at introducing the new ‘Court Persian’ (Dārīya),¹⁹⁹ which was the established written form of New Persian, into the chancelleries under Aḥmad ibn Ismā‘īl (907–12) and went back to Arabic.²⁰⁰ Similarly the noble families of their court, such as the

192 Narsh. 47. See Lökk. 110.

193 Jahsh. 64f. I have not been able to access Martin Sprengling, ‘From Persian to Arabic’, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages* LVI (1939), 175–224.

194 See p. 414 below.

195 Iṣṭ. 137; Dawl. 29. Wiet 149.

196 Ṭab. III 1063 [AD: Ṭab. here states that on his deathbed Ṭāhir voiced a Persian phrase, which his servant translated into Arabic]; Ibn Tayfūr, fol. 51b. in Krymškiy I 28.

197 He is said to have understood not a single word of Persian (Kremer, *Cultur.* I 150, after Ibn Ḥamdūn, fol. 224 r); under the circumstances this is, of course, pure invention.

198 Mez 17 incl. n. 8. Concerning the translation of Arabic books into Persian under the Samanids see Barthold, *Med.* 83.

199 Yāq. III 407; VI 406f. (after Ḥamza Iṣf.); Maf. ul. 117; Jāhīz, Bayān III 5 (Rescher 32) (al-Fārisīya al-Dārīya: according to this, this manner of speaking was most common in Ahvaz). Gafurov 173f. assumes Darī to be the predecessor of modern Tajik; this is only possible to a limited extent; see *ibid.* 187 for an etymological explanation of the word *darī*.

200 Muq. 335; Must. 381. See Ross in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, I 131. A clear illustration of the position of Arabic, including poetry, at their court, can be seen in Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik al-Tha‘ālibī’s (961–1038) anthology *Yatīmat al-dahr* (for its editions, see *GAL* I 284f., S. I 488f.). The section dealing with the Persian East is available in the translation

Mikālī, had been won over to Arab culture during their education.²⁰¹ Once Arabic had established itself in the scribes' schools and the advantages of a unified language in the administration had become clear, the scribes would [246] adhere to it | with their characteristic tenacity, as any further change would have entailed considerable difficulties. We only have to remember the importance of 'Imperial Aramaic' in these regions earlier to understand how such a process worked.

Of course, it was not possible to keep change at bay forever. It was, though, the Turkish dynasties that implemented it with regard to the Persian language, the cause of which was permanently strengthened thanks to Firdawsī's achievement, which carried the day in a spectacular fashion. In Central Asia²⁰² languages such as Sogdian, Khwarazmian and, finally, Persian, were suppressed more and more among the local population²⁰³ and finally they gave way to Turkish. This also happened in other places where the two languages met.²⁰⁴ However, the Turks recognized Persian as being a superior language of culture and accepted it in their chancelleries in a way that had never been achieved under the Iranian dynasties. At the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and his son Mas'ūd, Persian was the official language.²⁰⁵ The caliph's Arabic charters were translated into Persian;²⁰⁶ Maḥmūd himself decreed that documents destined for Baghdad should be composed in Persian and then translated into Arabic;²⁰⁷ and Persian–Arabic interpreters and secretaries²⁰⁸ were on hand at all times. The

by Casimir Barbier de Meynard ('Tableau littéraire du Khorassan et de la Transoxanie au quatrième siècle de l'Hégire', in *JA* 1853–54). More generally, see *GAL* I 284 and *S.* I 499ff.

201 Sam. 549 v (s.v. Mikālī), see also 549 r.

202 The suggestion that the urban population would have spoken Turkish here as early as the tenth century (thus Jāhīz, *Tria*, 5) is rightly rejected by Barthold, *Vorl.* 59.

203 Muq. 378 [AD: Muq. only says here that one speaks Armenian in Armenia and Arrānian in Arrān, and that the Persian of this region had sounds in common with Khurasanian]. See Barthold, *Vorl.* 45.

204 E.g. in present-day Azerbaijan, despite efforts of the Persian government.

205 For a general illustration see Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1928, II 146–47 and n. 2; Barthold, *Med.* 210.

206 Bayh. 44.

207 *Ibid.*, 291, 295 and 297–319 (publication of Arabic and Persian texts from the chancellery). Thus Arabic was in a way the official language of charters and documents, see Barthold, *Turk.* 291. It is not, however, in any way correct to say that 'Persian was grafted onto Arabic' (as Arnold Toynbee put it in *A Study of History*, 30 of the German translation by F.W. Pick, Hamburg 1949).

208 Kātib Fārisī, see Ibn Khall./Wüst. IX 53f. (= Slane III 517).

Qarakhanids²⁰⁹ and Seljuks²¹⁰ followed this practice in their chancelleries.²¹¹ And Persian travelled even further. The expansion of Islam into India was largely due to the efforts of the Turkish conquerors and the Turkish element in the Urdu language bears witness to this. The language of culture, however, | [247] that the Turks brought with them to India was Persian. In Tilak, Maḥmūd of Ghazna had a secretary and chancellor who used both 'Hindū'i' and Persian,²¹² but certainly did not use Turkish. Thus, once the Persian language had cast off the chains with which Arabic had shackled it, it gained definitive ascendancy at the very moment when the Persian nation came under the dominion of Turkish rulers for centuries to come. The Persian language was, as it were, a symbol of the fact that the importance of the Iranian people within the Islamic world consisted less in its political and military might than in its inexhaustible cultural force.

Population Distribution and Movement²¹³

We know hardly anything about the ethnic movements and migrations within the Persian linguistic realm during the early days of Islam. In general we have information only on the results of these movements and migrations, that is, on the ethnic composition of individual places.

1 *Arabs*

We have no clear evidence concerning the individual stages in the invasion of Iran by Arab tribes.²¹⁴ During the first decades the main tide of settlers flowed into the three regions mentioned above, namely Fars, Kirman and Khurasan. Subsequently we find more scattered settlement of individuals, such as

209 Concerning these and later circumstances see Barthold, *Vorl.* 133f.

210 The favourite wife of the Seljuk Sultan Muḥammad also had a Persian name: Dawl. 74. The Seljuks in Asia Minor used Arabic until the thirteenth century, see Barthold, *Vorl.* 133.

211 Dawl. 30 (ca. 1050). See the characteristic episode of 1134: Bund. 174f. The Assassins in Alamūt also spoke Arabic alongside Persian, 1164: Juv. III 227.

212 Bayh. 413.

213 See the representation on the map below and Volgin, 'K istorii sredneaziatskich Arabov', esp. 123–25.

214 Münejjim Bashi I 77–95; for basic information see Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien*, Göttingen 1852.

merchants²¹⁵ and later also missionaries.²¹⁶ The southern regions, Fars and, to a lesser extent, Kirman as well,²¹⁷ were often the destination of immigrants, such as the tribe ‘Abd al-Qays²¹⁸ from Bahrain²¹⁹ and Oman on the opposite Arabian shore, and the main settlement was on the coastal regions in particular. The new inhabitants frequently | established themselves on lands which the Persian nobles had abandoned and whose yield they increased by the construction of canals.²²⁰

The Arabs’ second main destination was Khurasan and, on the way there, Isfahan, Qom and Kohistan.²²¹ Many Arab tribal groups arrived here especially during the years around 683. These were mainly northern Arabs (Tamīm,²²² Rabī’a, Muḍar,²²³ Tayyī,²²⁴ Azd, Bakr ibn Wā’il,²²⁵ who also came to Kohistan as well, and the ‘Anbarī²²⁶ in Isfahan) as well as people who had previously settled in Egypt or Mesopotamia.²²⁷ In Transoxania, namely in Samarkand²²⁸ and Bukhara,²²⁹ and also in Fergana and Shāsh,²³⁰ the Arab element, which had been present here since the early eighth century, was usually part of the garrison and consequently not tied to a certain place, at least in the beginning.

Considering the rivalry between individual tribes during the Umayyad era it was a matter of course that, as long as they were accessible to the Arabs at all, the different districts would be transformed into the dominion of either one

215 Ca. 650 an Arab perfume merchant settled near Isfahan: Bal. 314 [AD: read Hamadan]; ibid. 409f. (Marv ca. 666).

216 Such as the father of Hasan-i Šabbāḥ: Juv. III 197.

217 Here Māhān (Bardsēr district) is referred to as an Arab city as late as 985: Muq. 462.

218 Bal. 386 (640).

219 Iṣṭakhr: Iṣṭ. 142.

220 Bal. 392; Athīr III 49 (651–52).

221 See p. 26 above.

222 Bal. 426; Browne, *Iṣf.* 27; Athīr v 15 (715); Muq. 303 (985).

223 Narsh. 52 (ca. 705).

224 Ya’q., Buld. 277 (ca. 820).

225 Bal. 403. Athīr v 6 has the following figures for 715: in Khurasan there were 9,000 Basrans; 7,000 Bakr; 10,000 Tamīm; 4,000 ‘Abd al-Qays; 10,000 Azd; 7,000 Kufans. In addition there were 7,000 *mawālī* of these tribes.

226 Bal. 314.

227 Bal. 410 (allegedly 50,000 were settled on the banks of the Oxus in 671); Ṭab. II 1564; Muq. 315 (985); Athīr III 194 (671) [AD: it seems unlikely that men from Egypt were settled in Khurasan; Bal. 410 speaks of ‘ahl al-miṣrayn’, meaning Kufa and Basra; Muq. 315 says that Egyptians and Iraqis adorned themselves with the silks of Nishapur].

228 Bal. 421 (707ff.), 422.

229 Narsh. 52 (clearing half of the houses for Arabs after the fourth ‘rebellion’ of the city).

230 Bal. 431 (ca. 715; from Qutayba ibn Muslim).

particular tribe or, at the very least, a tribal federation. This development was predetermined by the fact that the governors and other leading officials were members of a certain tribe and would then appoint their subordinate officials from among their fellow tribesmen.²³¹ Northern Arab tribes were the masters in Khurasan, and, since they suffered very little interference, they were in perfect agreement with Umayyad rule and consequently in favour of maintaining the status quo, unlike regions further to the west. It was not, however, possible to keep the southern Arabs in check forever.²³² When an attempt at separating the settlers according to their tribes failed, the fighting between the Arabs soon spread into Khurasan and contributed significantly to the fall of Umayyad rule.²³³ The fighting even continued into the early Abbasid era.²³⁴ Due to a number of expulsions the Arabs suffered a setback after the overthrow of the years 747–50, changing the conditions in Khurasan significantly. | The Persian [249] character of the province would henceforth be preserved, all the more so as there were repeated revolts in neighbouring Ṭabaristan during the following decades (757–58,²³⁵ ca. 783,²³⁶ 839²³⁷) which further decimated the Arab element.²³⁸ Some of the tribes, however, survived until the eleventh century.²³⁹

Arab settlement in Azerbaijan was less systematic and was brought about by the activities of individual governors or minor princes who were followed by their fellow countrymen, such as Yemenis and members of the Ṭayyi',²⁴⁰ Azd, Nizār²⁴¹ and Kinda.²⁴² Settlement took place mainly during the eighth and ninth centuries,²⁴³ so later than in the other regions mentioned above, and furthermore at a time when the opposition between individual tribes had mostly faded. The majority of these settlers came from the cities founded in the seventh century, such as Kūfa and Basra, or from Syria.²⁴⁴ They came prepared

231 See p. 335f. below.

232 See Kremer, *Cultur.* II 143² on 144. Wellh, *Arab.* 307, calculates a total of 200,000 Arabs.

233 See p. 38f. above.

234 904: TS 276 (for Sistan).

235 Ibn Isf. 122f.

236 Ibid. 126.

237 Ṭab. III 1274.

238 There were only 'a few Arabs' in Isfahan around 891: Ya'q., *Buld.* 274.

239 Ḥud./Barthold 216 (Arab tribes in Gözğān). Volgin, 'K istorii sredneaziatskich Arabov', 124.

240 Bal. 331. Schwarz VIII 1181–85.

241 Ya'q., *Hist.* II 446; Ṭab. III 1386 [AD: Ya'q says only two persons from Nizār and Ṭab. doesn't seem to mention it].

242 Ibn Ḥawq. 353.

243 See Togan's summary in *Et Turk.*, II 95f.

244 Ca. 660: Bal. 328f.; Ṭab. I 2805 (649–50); Aghānī/Būlāq XI 59.

to increase their properties by buying land from the Persians.²⁴⁵ Due to gradual immigration from Mesopotamia the Arab colonies in the Zagros Mountains declined over time. Fleeing Khārijites settled there only temporarily²⁴⁶ and did not establish unified settlements.

From 750 onwards it was the Persians, and not the Arabs anymore, who were the masters of Iran. This was due only in part to the changed political position of the new dynasty and the expulsion and sometimes extermination of Arab tribal groups. Once religious boundaries had been removed, these factors were supplemented by the syncretizing power of Persian culture. Much was achieved through mixed marriages, although we have definitive evidence of only a few cases among the upper classes of the population. In an Iranian environment the children from these marriages would often join the ranks of the regional gentry, inheriting its honours and properties, and furthermore being granted privileges by the caliph's court to affirm their leading position. Because of their mother tongue, however, they had become Persians,²⁴⁷ while the children of mixed marriages, along with others as well, in an Arab environment, especially Mesopotamia, were linguistically 'Semiticized'. In addition there appear to have been cases where Arabs were Iranized without any physical union with the indigenous population,²⁴⁸ but rather underwent this transformation due to encouragement by the resurgence of Iranian national culture, which was aided by the growing sense of a Persian national identity that would tolerate Arabs only if they were prepared to adopt Persian culture and consequently the Persian language as well.²⁴⁹ Even in the most recent times it is extremely difficult to keep track of similar developments anywhere and considering the lack of written documents from the time described it is practically impossible. The result, however, is clear: the Arabic element survived only in a few densely populated centres, namely some places in Transoxania²⁵⁰ and

245 Bal. 329.

246 See e.g. TS 213 (868).

247 See Ṭab. III 51, 64, 65, and Aghānī/Būlāq XVII 69, as well as the related, typical family history from the first half of the tenth century found in Ibn al-Balkhī XIX f. = 116f.; finally the history of the Ash'arī in Qom reported by Qommī 266–305.

248 Jāhīz, *Tria*, 40 (ninth century). See Aghānī/Būlāq XIV 102 (= Goldziher, Arab. 103; eighth century according to Iṣṭakhr, the poet Ziyād al-A'jam).

249 See p. 229 above (gifts for an Arab who had assumed the demeanour of a Persian).

250 Nārsh. 77 (874 in Bukhara); in later times in e.g. Bayhaq (Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Funduq's *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaq*, MS Soviet Academy of Sciences fol. 28 r–30 v, 34 v–68v); also I.P. Petrushevskiy, 'Gorodskaja znat' v gosudarstvo chulaguidov' (Urban intelligence in the Ilkhan empire) in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* v, 1948, 88; in Qazvin around 1330: *ibid.* 91, after Must. I 842.

Khurasan,²⁵¹ in Qom²⁵² and in the coastal regions of Fars. Everywhere else it was absorbed over time into the Persian language and disappeared entirely in the course of some centuries.

2 *Turks*

While the Arab immigrants did not fundamentally change the Iranian settlement area, Turkish migration left an imprint on Iran that can be seen to the present day. Transoxania became nearly an entirely Turkish land and has been called 'Turkestan' since that time; Azerbaijan, as well as Asia Minor, was nearly entirely Turkicized; and even within the Iranian linguistic area there are various Turkic islands of different sizes, often inhabited by nomadic or semi-nomadic Turkish tribes. Describing this process of settlement does not fall within the scope of the present study. It was essentially a result of Seljuk, Ilkhanid and Safavid, and in part Qajar, politics. The Turkish element of Central Asia, with whom the Arabs had come into contact early on,²⁵³ | but whom they did not [251] really come to know until the eighth century, reached in the tenth century as far as the border of Gurgan/Kohistan,²⁵⁴ the border of Gurgan at Ribāṭ Dehistān²⁵⁵ north of Ābaskūn,²⁵⁶ Jit on the lower reaches of the Oxus near Khwarazm,²⁵⁷ Osh (Üsh) in Transoxania,²⁵⁸ Munk, a district of Balkh,²⁵⁹ Vāshgird, another district of Balkh,²⁶⁰ Chaghāniyān near Tirmidh,²⁶¹ and Badakhshan.²⁶²

The Turks had been on the move for some time,²⁶³ but it was the Kirghiz destruction of the Uighur Empire in 840, with all its consequences,²⁶⁴ that

251 Yāq. Irsh. v 65. See Fück 91.

252 See p. 179 above.

253 Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, 'Türklere dair arapça şiirler' (Arabic poems on the Turks) (up to the thirteenth century), in *Türkiyat mecmuası* v (1935), 307–36 (incl. many quotations); Barthold, *Vorl.* 41ff.

254 Athīr v 11 (716–17).

255 Işt. 214; Ibn Ḥawq. 383.

256 This was also home to pirates: Işt. 219; Ibn Ḥawq. 389.

257 Muq. 289.

258 Muq. 282.

259 Ya'q., Buld. 290.

260 Ya'q., Buld., 292.

261 Muq. 283.

262 Muq., 303; Sam. 69 v.

263 Barthold, *Vorl.* 100ff.

264 For general information see Ḥud. 94–101 and 263–317; Rashīd al-Dīn 52⁷⁰ and 52–54. M.F. Köprülü, 'Oğuz etnolojisine dā'ir ta'rīhi notlar' (Historical remarks on the ethnology of the Oghuz) in *Türkiyat meğmū'asy* I (1925), 185–211; Brockelmann, 'Maḥmūd al-Kašgharī über die Sprachen und Stämme der Türken'; Gabain, 'Steppe und Stadt im

began to have a genuine impact on the Iranian settlement area. Now the Qarluqs under their Qarakhanid or Ilig-Khanid rulers began to move, overthrowing the Samanid Empire and subsequently conquering Transoxania and forcing the Iranian population back into the cities. Finally the Seljuks²⁶⁵ set into motion those Oghuz masses, who, fired by the nomad's greed for the possessions of the sedentary population, spread out southwards and westwards marking the start of the decisive battle between the nomadic 'poor' Turks and the wealthy 'well-to-do' Persians.²⁶⁶

All this, however, lies beyond the limits of the period discussed here. After a first failed attempt at settling in Fars²⁶⁷ around 840, only a few splinter groups of the Qarluqs,²⁶⁸ who came to Tukharistan, and the tribe of the Khalaj Turks,²⁶⁹ who found purchase in Sistan and around Ghazna, Balkh, Tukharistan, Bust and Gözgan,²⁷⁰ succeeded in penetrating into Persian lands during the tenth century. These groups were the avant-garde of a great movement. Of course, [252] the trickle of Turkish tribes into Iran and into the Arabic-speaking regions | was not limited to these groups. They were joined by Turkish warriors who were drafted as mercenaries first by the caliph's court²⁷¹ and then throughout Mesopotamia, Egypt and elsewhere. They soon developed into the leading military class here, acquiring political power in Mesopotamia around the death of al-Ma'mūn in 833,²⁷² and under the Tulunids (868–905) on the banks of the Nile.²⁷³ Local Iranian princes soon imitated the politics of creating fighting troops firstly from Turkish prisoners of war and then from purchased Turkish

Leben der Türken'. An overview of the development of Central Asia and the interdependences prevailing at that time has been attempted in Spuler, 'Mittelasiens', 339f.

265 Barthold, *Vorl.* 101ff.

266 These are the words with which Muḥ. Ib., 104–106, describes the relationship between the two nations only a little later (referring to the time around 1180).

267 Iṣṫ. 142f.

268 Ḥud. 108.

269 On the reading of this name (Yāqūt has Khullaj or Khilj) see Ḥud. 111; concerning the frequent confusion with the Khallukh (Qarluq) *ibid.* 347f.

270 Iṣṫ. 245, 281; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 419.

271 See Karabacek, 'Das erste urkundliche Auftreten der Türken'.

272 Şemseddin Günaltay, 'İslâm dünyasının sebebi Selçuk istilâsı mıdır?' (Is the Seljuk conquest the reason for the decay of the Islamic World?), in *Bellekten* 11 (1938), 73–88, maintains that the Turks who settled in Basra (Bal. 376) in particular produced a number of eminent 'representatives of Muslim theology'; there is not, however, any proof of this. Walter Hellige's study *Die Regentschaft al-Muwaffaq: Ein Wendepunkt in der Abbâsiden-Geschichte*, Berlin 1936, hints at the Turkish question in the introduction, but fails to elaborate on it in the actual study.

273 See *EI* IV 903–5, s.v. 'Tūlūniden'.

slaves, who were later generally called *mamlūk*, and finally entire Turkish units. The Samanids in particular, in around 912,²⁷⁴ 927,²⁷⁵ and 998,²⁷⁶ deployed large numbers of Turks in their wars against Ṭabaristan,²⁷⁷ Gurgan²⁷⁸ and Daylam. The princes of these regions had no choice but to follow their example,²⁷⁹ which in turn the Buyids would later do as well.²⁸⁰

By surrendering their southern districts to Sübüktingin, the Samanids contributed substantially to the rise of the first Turkish dynasty east of the Islamic territory. The Ghaznavids for their part drafted large numbers of Turks,²⁸¹ as well as Arabs,²⁸² into their service,²⁸³ all of which would facilitate the expansion of the Turkish people.²⁸⁴ Of course, | a deliberate policy of Turkicization, [253] or even a conscious favouring of the Turks, would have been alien to the Ghaznavids, as they would shortly be culturally, and presumably also linguistically, Iranized, at least from 1040 onwards. While the deployment of these Turkish mercenaries in the services of Muslim princes brought the Turks into contact with Islam²⁸⁵ and transplanted the Turkish element to many places in Western Asia, this was by no means a process of colonisation, such as the Arab influx had been. Except for a few areas in eastern Iran there were no regions where there was sustained Turkish settlement. Those Khazars and Oghuz who had moved from the northern Caucasus into Azerbaijan could not have been more than an insignificant percentage of the population.²⁸⁶ The Seljuk advance radically changed this picture and the presence of the Turkish garrisons, who joined the invaders, was an essential component of their success.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, the hastily Islamized mercenaries helped spread Islam to the Central Asian Turks much more quickly than might otherwise have been the

274 Ibn Isf. 201.

275 Ibid., 213, 226.

276 Ibid., 230. Summarised in Barthold, *Vorl.* 104.

277 Ibn Isf. 198 (909–10).

278 Ibid. 206 (ca. 920).

279 Ca. 930: Mas. IX 26ff.; Misk. v 482; Athīr VIII 60.

280 Ibn al-Balkhī 118 (ca. 1040).

281 Nikbī 220.

282 See Volgin, 'K istorii areadneziatskich Arabov', 125.

283 Some of them later migrated further to Kirman (1020–21): Athīr IX III. Concerning later Seljuk settlements here and in Khurasan, see Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 14f.

284 The first Turkish invasion in Sistan took place in 1037–38 or shortly afterwards: TS 364.

285 Sam. 105.

286 Further information can be found in *ET Turk.*, II 101f. (also for the subsequent centuries).

287 Documented e.g. ca. 1135: Bund. 177. Also later during the Mongol era: Spuler, *Ilch.* 28.

case. Thus, since the eleventh century, the Turkish *mamlūks* were in a way the avant-garde of the great tide of immigration.²⁸⁸

The last surviving Hephthalites (Arabic: Hayṭal, pl. Hayāṭila; by no means only a misspelling of Habṭal)²⁸⁹ did not play a part in Persian history at this time, although it was still remembered that their capital had been near or in Badhghis.²⁹⁰ Russian advances into Persian lands did not result in any colonies. These took place in 880 and 909–10 in Ābaskūn in Ṭabaristan;²⁹¹ in 913–14 [254] with ‘50,000’ soldiers | again in Ābaskūn²⁹² as well as Gilan, Daylam as far as the surroundings of Ardabil, Ṭabaristan, and the region around Baku;²⁹³ and in 944 in Barda‘a (Arm. Partavi) in eastern Caucasia and as far as Maragha.²⁹⁴

3 *Persians*

Important shifts within the Persian population ran parallel to the invasion of alien peoples into the Iranian linguistic area. The caliphs had subjugated the country and the vast majority of its inhabitants had consequently become subjects of the central administration in Damascus, Kufa or Basra and would soon convert to Islam. The newly converted subjects were settled as the clients of individual Arab tribes (as so-called *asāwira*).²⁹⁵ However, there were always some who could not adapt to this situation and who did not wish to have the status of a ‘protected person’. They fled the country before or just after

288 Concerning the Turks in the Abbasid Empire see Günaltay, ‘Abbas oğulları imperatorluğunun kuruluşu’ (as p. 228 n. above); ca. 820, Jāḥiẓ saw the Arabs, the Khurasanis and the Turks as the three pillars of the caliphate. He also wrote a treatise (in his *Tria Opuscula*) ‘On the merits of the Turks’ (*Kitāb faḍā’il al-Atrāk*) (he was in favour of employing them as soldiers). Furthermore Mubārakhshāh has praise for the Turks, 37f., 48–52.

289 In the seventh century they were still living in the region of Balkh and Nishapur (where the Arabs waged war on them 651 (Ṭab. I 2885), and Yazdagird III’s son Pērōz ca. 660: Ibn Qut., ‘Uyūn II 1467). They are still mentioned in Khwarazm and Gurgan in the tenth century: ‘Their appearance and language were different from those of the other inhabitants and similar to the Turks’: Muq. 284, 286f., 291.

290 Sam. 58 r.

291 Dorn, *Casp.* xxviii, xxxii; 17.

292 Dorn, *Casp.* vii, xxviii; *ibid.* 3f. (text and translation by Ibn Isf.), 4–25.

293 Mas. II 20–24. Dorn, *Casp.* ivf. (explanations based on his own travel accounts), *ibid.* 18. As the Russians, who had been given permission by the Khān of the Khazars, were very nearly wiped out in this campaign, they did not attempt any further invasions; see Barthold, *Vorl.* 63.

294 Dorn, *Casp.* vi, xxxi; *ibid.* 285–303; list of the sources. Barthold, *Vorl.* 63; Kunik, ‘Sur l’expédition des Russes normands en 944’.

295 Bal. 373f. [The *asāwira* were Persian cavalrymen who allied with the Arabs, not Persian converts in general: RGH]

the arrival of the Arabs; for instance some left from Isfahan in 642,²⁹⁶ from the region around Kabul around 662–63,²⁹⁷ and from Tirmidh around 720.²⁹⁸ Most of them went to the southeast, to Kirman²⁹⁹ or even further to Makran,³⁰⁰ and a group of particularly devoted Zoroastrians even found their way to India.³⁰¹ Other groups fled only after they had come to know Arab rule.

When at the beginning of the eighth century the Arabs began another advance, this time into Central Asia, there was renewed unrest among the peoples on the Iranian periphery. Despite their ruler's warnings, a considerable proportion of the Sogdians left a number of cities, such as Bayärkath, Sabaskath, Bunjikath, and Ishtëkhän near Samarkand, for Fergana, where they intended to settle 'by the dwellings of their ancestors'. Not even the Arabs' offer of appointing a governor of the Sogdians' choice could sway them from their determination. Of course, | the inhabitants of their chosen home did not receive them in an altogether friendly manner either, with the result that they were banished to the mountainous regions around Khojand.³⁰² [255]

However, looking at the bigger picture, there was only a small number of Iranians who rejected the Muslims entirely. The majority resigned themselves to the course of events. A considerable number soon followed the Arabs on their military campaigns, which resulted in the well-known arguments over the fairness or otherwise of the distribution of rewards and the levying of taxes.³⁰³ On the other hand Persian participation in the Arab expansion resulted in the Persian linguistic and settlement areas expanding into Central Asia as well,³⁰⁴ usually at the expense of the smaller resident Iranian peoples such as the Sogdians and Khwarazmians. Persian soldiers, merchants and others settling in these regions, together with the blossoming of New Persian literature, were the main reasons why these languages soon faded and never developed any notable literature, even though Khwarazmian at least was used as the language of the administration for a long time to come.³⁰⁵ Thus, wherever Turkish did not prevail, New Persian took root in Central Asia in the only slightly different

296 Ṭab. I 2640.

297 Bal. 396.

298 Ibid. 418.

299 Northwest of Gurganj.

300 Bal. 391. Inostrancev, 'Balādhuri and Ḥamza Iṣfahānī on the migration of the Parsees'.

301 See p. 188 above.

302 Ṭab. II 1439–1441 (see Iṣṭ. 334; Ibn Ḥawq. 395, 397). Marquart, *Inchr.* 60; Kračkovskiy, *Sogd. Sbornik* 65f., 70–73.

303 See p. 141 above.

304 See Barthold, *Vorl.* 45, 61.

305 See p. 239 above.

form of Tajik, and a few mountain valleys were the only exception to this state of affairs. This situation considerably extended the Persian linguistic area.

Persian expansion was not, however, limited to the east and southeast; there were also shifts within the country itself. There were colonies of merchants who settled³⁰⁶ in often far-distant places, including China,³⁰⁷ and we also see instances where one ruler, such as the Ispāhbadh of Ṭabaristan in ca. 755,³⁰⁸ would collect 'skilful artists', who were, in fact, mostly craftsmen. 'Kurdish tribes'³⁰⁹ would migrate, and sometimes be resettled³¹⁰ for military reasons, as happened in 839 in Ṭabaristan³¹¹ and 972 in Baluchistan where the newly subject resident population was replaced by labourers and farmers from different parts of the Buyid territory.³¹² | All this contributed to internal population shifts, which must be borne in mind when we now try to determine the position of individual dialects within the Iranian language family, and which also laid the way for the inclusion of western and southern Iran into the collective Iranian culture.

The migration of Persians to Western Asia also came to be significant. There had been Persian settlements here as early as the time of Sasanid rule in Mesopotamia, which was not only part of the state but also home to the capital at that time. Due to the Arab conquest, many of these Persians later migrated back to the East,³¹³ but some stayed in the country where they were now concentrated, especially in the newly founded cities in the south: Basra³¹⁴ and Kufa.³¹⁵ Slaves and prisoners from the Iranian uplands soon increased the

306 Ca. 900 there were around 10,000 Isfahanis living on the upper reaches of the Talās (see Wilhelm Tomaschek in *WZKM* III [1889], 106); Muq. 275. Barthold, *Vorl.* 61, has information on Transoxania.

307 Concerning Persian cults in China see *JAOS* V (1856), 302f.

308 Ibn Isf. 115.

309 See p. 240f. above.

310 Ca. 960 the Kurds of Fars were expelled from the region around Isfahan by the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla: Balkhī 168.

311 10,000 inhabitants of Sāriya and Amul were resettled in the mountains: Ṭab. III 1273f.; Athīr VI 168.

312 Misk. II 300; Athīr VI 203.

313 680–81: the new governor of Khurasan took many Persians from Basra along with him: Ṭab. II 393.

314 Bal. 117, 373–75 (so-called *asāvira* from Yazd and later Zuṭṭ), 410f. (ca. 678 from Chaghāniyān).

315 Bal. 321 (ca. 645). Concerning the *mawālī* movement here see Wellhausen, *Opp.* 72.

Iranian element here.³¹⁶ It has been assumed that more than half the population of these cities was Persian and at times Persian was the language spoken in the bazaar.³¹⁷ Still during the Sasanid era the Persians advanced even further: as far as the Syrian coast to Antioch, Baalbek, Tyre, and Homs,³¹⁸ the borderlands of Asia Minor, Arabia and Egypt.³¹⁹ During the early years of Islam, these colonies would be increased as well by new settlers, including those who were resettled by force,³²⁰ such as those who came in 757 to Maṣṣīṣa in Asia Minor.³²¹ In Egypt, too, there would be Persians in influential positions for several centuries.³²² Of course, the Persian linguistic element was soon absorbed into the Arab one here. In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, Persian retained its importance at least until the early Abbasid era³²³ and as late as the tenth century | there was a Persian organisation with its own head (*raʿīs*) and leader [257] (*qāʿid*).³²⁴ It is not necessary to emphasize that these Persian inhabitants of Iraq were to be important ambassadors for the blossoming Persian culture,³²⁵ even though when speaking or writing most of them would use Arabic. This topic shall be discussed briefly,³²⁶ although a more detailed discussion³²⁷ would be out of place in this study, which is dedicated to Iran itself.

316 Thus in 925–26, for instance, 5,000 captured Qufṣ were brought to Fars and from there sold on to Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and Basra: Athīr VIII 50. More generally see Kremer, *Cultur.* I 207.

317 Müller I 327.

318 Bal. II 7. 148 (662).

319 Iṣṭ. 19 (Jeddah).

320 For Syria see Yaʿq., Buld. 327.

321 Bal. 166 (there were slaves and Nabaṭī Christians besides them).

322 1044–47: Mez 54f., 449 (after al-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara II 129). Kindī/Guest 402 (eighth century); Guest, 'Relations between Persia and Egypt', 163–74 (list of remarks on individual Persians and Persian communities on the banks of the Nile).

323 For parallel Arabic and Persian exegesis of the Qurʾan in Mesopotamia in the eighth century see Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 116.

324 Yaʿq., Buld. 248f.

325 In particular during the first century of Abbasid rule, see also Kremer, *Streifz.* 32; id., *Cultur.* II 155; Goldziher, Arab. 109, 113ff. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* I 272 ('Arabisierte Perser als arabische Dichter').

326 See p. 289f. below.

327 For even more far-reaching Persian influences see Max Semper, 'Der persische Anteil und Wolframs Parzival', in *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte* XII (1934), 92–123; Georg Jacob, *Der Einfluss des Morgenlands auf das Abendland während des Mittelalters*, Hanover 1924; Walter Henning in *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 2.

4 *Interrelations between the Different Peoples*

The close proximity between the three great Islamic nations inevitably influenced the relations between these peoples. At the same time it served to make everyone more aware of their own ethnic and cultural identity and to appreciate the significance of their own culture. Peoples who did not possess this were publicly made out to be uncultured, and their names would from time to time be used as a term of abuse, as for instance the name ‘Kurds’.³²⁸ The Turks did not have much of a reputation among the Persians either.³²⁹ This is all the less surprising if we bear in mind the entirely different nature of these two nations and also the ancient opposition between nomadic and sedentary populations. The latter flared up once again here and obviously guided the pen of al-Ghazzālī from Ṭus (1059–1111), the famous Persian theologian, when he wrote that ‘whoever looks like a Turk or a Bedouin’ was sure not to have come by his possessions legally, by which he means, of course ‘in the manner customary among the sedentary population’.³³⁰ | Nobody, however, could deny the military superiority of the Turks. Consequently we soon find a tradition (*ḥadīth*) circulating that stated that God had settled the Turks in the East in order that they would ‘come down on the sinful peoples like a scourge’,³³¹ which was a sentiment hardly ever found elsewhere in Islamic thought – in contrast to Orthodox Russian thinking,³³² though it had already appealed to the Persians at the time when the Arabs conquered them.³³³

The significance of the close proximity between peoples in raising the sense of national identity has already been discussed above.³³⁴ It is necessary, however, to add a few words concerning how individual Persian tribes, and Iranian tribes in general, judged one another. Here we are dealing with

328 Abū Nu‘aym 1 7. See Minorsky, ‘Gūrān’, 75f.

329 Lists of the different opinions on individual tribes, but also on other nations, were compiled by Tha‘alibī, Laṭ 92–130 (for the entire empire of Islam; for Iran: 107–30), and also in the Qābūs-Nāma/Diez 542–45. See Zajaczkowski, ‘Charakterystyka Turków w świetle piśmennictwa arabskiego’.

330 Bauer, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut*, 100.

331 Kāshgharī 1 294. The principal source for information concerning the position of the Turks within Islam at the time is Jāḥiẓ’s treatise ‘On the merits of the Turks’ (in *Tria opuscula*, 1–56; see *GAL*, s 1 243/111/18); Ibn Ḥassūl; C. Snouck-Hurgronje, ‘L’Islam et le problème des races’, in *Verspreide Geschriften* 1, Bonn and Leipzig 1923, 413–30; Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 149 and n. 3.

332 For a general overview, see Werner Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiewer Russland*, Breslau 1940.

333 Browne, *Eclipse*, 88f.

334 See p. 225 above.

incidental remarks and figures of speech, but they are still of cultural-historical interest. Once more the culturally backward tribes are judged most unfavourably, such as the Khuzistanis, who had not been Iranized fully in those days³³⁵ and who were, with the support of relevant traditions, depicted as corrupt and depraved, as well as being avaricious and miserly. People would deny firmly even suggestions that they might come from this district,³³⁶ but in general it was thought that there were similarities between its inhabitants and those of Iraq.³³⁷ Their neighbours, the Lurs, were judged in a similar way; indeed, they were believed to be partly descended from the devil.³³⁸ The Sogdians were judged just as unfavourably by their neighbours in Fergana, which may well have been due to their attempts at invading it in 721–22.³³⁹ On the other hand, the poet Bashshār ibn Burd boasted of his Tukharian roots, as this nation was home to the greatest number of cavalymen.³⁴⁰

The inhabitants of Isfahan, on the other hand, were seen in a favourable light, not only in texts dedicated to the glorification of their city, where this kind of judgment would, of course, be expected,³⁴¹ but also by authors who were quite critical elsewhere.³⁴² The Hamadanis were renowned for their loyalty to their friends and their charity towards the poor.³⁴³ The inhabitants of Fars, and similarly those of Kirman,³⁴⁴ were seen as obedient and patient,³⁴⁵ eloquent and acute,³⁴⁶ but also miserly and deceitful.³⁴⁷ The women of Siraf were judged most unfavourably.³⁴⁸ Further north, Rayy was called the ‘city of perfidy’,³⁴⁹ while the inhabitants of Jibāl (Media) were seen as handsome and

335 See p. 243 above. Their language is described as being that of the devil: Muq. 418.

336 Muq. 403, 410; Ibn Ḥawq.² 254; Ḥud. 130; Mas. III 128f.; Yāq. I 318f.; III 487. All the same, (besides other cities) Ahvaz was also called ‘the navel of the world’: ‘Iqd II 148 (after the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim). Schwarz IV 401–411.

337 Muq. 416.

338 Must. I; Yāq. I 596 (concerning Burūgird in Luristān).

339 Ṭab. II 1442.

340 Aghānī/Būlāq III 21. Sharīf 51.

341 Browne, *Isf.* 37ff., 414f., 661–68.

342 Ibn Ḥawq.² 367; Tha‘ālibī, Laṭ. 110. Schwarz V 615.

343 See Rashīd al-Dīn I 220, n. 66.

344 Muq. 469.

345 Ibid. 448f. (incl. laudatory traditions about them).

346 Ḥud. 126 (after Iṣṭ.); Jāhīz, Bayān III 5 (Rescher 32).

347 Mas. III 128f.

348 Muq. 427.

349 Mez after *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, Paris MS, fol. 15a, which also contains a number of opinions about nations outside Persia.

cultured,³⁵⁰ but ‘because of the changeable climate’ they tended to have base inclinations.³⁵¹ The Khurasanis generally enjoyed a good reputation. They were not only powerfully built but also particularly discriminating, high-minded, possessed of seriousness and critical gifts,³⁵² however, they were also seen as difficult to have a friendly relationship with and restless.³⁵³ They were proudly conscious of their intelligence and they were chivalrous, but also avaricious.³⁵⁴ Citizens of Marv were thought to be miserly.³⁵⁵ Nishapur, the capital city of Khurasan, was described as being exceptionally ‘sinful’,³⁵⁶ and the women of Herat³⁵⁷ as well as the inhabitants of the Garmsēr in Kirman were said to be particularly dissolute.³⁵⁸ The inhabitants of Kohistan were preceded by their reputation as a moderate and intelligent people, but they were also inclined to extremes and consequently, especially since the appearance of the Assassins, were frequently suspected of heresy.³⁵⁹

[260] The population of the regions on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, namely Daylam, Gurgān, Gilan and Ṭabaristan, as well as the inhabitants | of the mountainous regions to the east, among them the Ghōr³⁶⁰ and the Qufṣ,³⁶¹ were thought, undoubtedly justly, to be courageous,³⁶² but also devious,³⁶³ fickle³⁶⁴ and culturally backward.³⁶⁵ In 988–89 their treacherousness led to a violent dispute between their own people and the Turks in the Buyid army,

350 Ḥud. 131. Schwarz VII 829, 847–51. The list of positive statements about the inhabitants of Qom, in particular by Shi‘ite imams, is of no value as it is found in the city’s history (Qommī 90–100); consequently it must not be seen as equivalent to the (comparatively neutral) descriptions of the whole of Persia.

351 Mas. III 128.

352 Ibid.

353 Ṭab. II 1355 (717); Yāq. III 408.

354 Iṣṭ. 282; Ibn Ḥawq.² 453. Mez 387 after *Ta’riḫ Baghdad*. [AD thinks the mention of ‘avaricious’ here is a misunderstanding of the expression *mā yasa’uhum* which appears in both Iṣṭ. 282 and Ibn Ḥawq.² 453].

355 Jāhīz, Bukhalā’, 18ff. (Rescher 281ff.); Yāq. VIII 34; ‘Iqd I 231, 242 (on all Khurasanis), III 227 (Marv).

356 Mez 387.

357 Muq. 436.

358 Muq. 469.

359 Rashīd al-Dīn I 157, n. 42 (on 158, after an Herat historiographer).

360 Qābūs-Nāma/Diez 542ff.

361 Ḥud. 124 (after Iṣṭ.).

362 Ḥud. 133, 136.

363 Ṭab. I 2706 (the caliph Mu‘āwiya I on the inhabitants of Amul 661ff.).

364 Ibn Ḥawq.² 376f., 381.

365 Ḥamza Iṣṭ. 151. See *EI* Turk. III 569.

which ended in a bloodbath among the Daylamis.³⁶⁶ Of course, all this information tends to rest on momentary personal impressions of some author or other. Some characterisations are repeated again and again, especially in works of geography, but such repetition is by no means a guarantee of the reliability of any of these statements. After all, we find remarks on different characteristics among other groups of the population as well. The Arabs also showered one another with praise and criticism³⁶⁷ and the Persian literature of the opposition frequently quotes statements depicting these sentiments.³⁶⁸

Physical differences played a certain part in the mutual relations between ethnic groups as well and even had an impact on legal matters.³⁶⁹ Of course, it is not actually possible to make generally true statements concerning people's looks. While the Buyid 'Aḍuḍ al-Dawla (d. 983) had blue eyes and reddish hair,³⁷⁰ like many Persians at that time, the Ṣaffārid 'Amr ibn Layth's (d. 902) dark skin was specifically commented on,³⁷¹ and while the local prince Rāfi' ibn Harthama (881) had a long beard which was seen as worth mentioning,³⁷² the sparse beards of the Daylamis and Ṭabaristanis are emphasised as having been noticeable.³⁷³ The Indians were thought to be ugly, while the Turks are generally referred to as being shapely³⁷⁴ and their hair, which they wore 'in the manner of women', was described as long and flowing and excited much amazement.³⁷⁵ The Khurasanis are said to have looked similar to the Turks as early as the tenth century³⁷⁶ and in all probability this is due to an increase in physical union between the indigenous population and the Turkish invaders.

366 Athīr IX 21f.

367 See e.g. Ṭab. II 1495: the attacks of the governor of Khurasan against the Muḍar, whom he detested.

368 See p. 232f. above (the Shu'ūbīya making use of genealogies in their attacks). The question of the relations between Persians and Arabs would later be asked with reference to other nations as well. Thus the Persian poet al-Habbāriya (d. 1105 in Kirman) wrote a poem in which a Persian and an Indian debate the advantages of their respective nations: *GAL I* 252 (German translation of some parts by Josef Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall in *Wiener Jahrbücher* no. 90, 67–123).

369 See p. 227 above (prohibition of marriages between Arabs and Persians).

370 Yāq., Irsh. v 349.

371 Athīr VII 165.

372 Ibid. VII 122.

373 Ibn Ḥawq.² 376f., 381.

374 Qābūs-Nāma/Diez 543.

375 Matthew 41 (1018–19).

376 Muq. 285. Barthold, *Vorl.* 139.

[261] **Intellectual and Cultural Life****Sciences**

During the first centuries of Islam the intellectual significance of Persian culture manifested itself nearly exclusively at the centre of the caliph's empire. All great intellects were attracted so strongly by the splendour of the capital that in the provinces, with the exception of independent Spain, only very limited intellectual life could evolve within the scope of Islamic culture. In the early years of the Abbasid era countries such as Arabia, Egypt, Syria (after the fall of the Umayyads) and Persia retreated from the stage as places of intellectual productivity. This was due not only to the attraction of the capital but also to the fact that 'like the Teutons, the Iranians were stronger in the appropriation and creative imitation of cultural tradition than in pure original creativity'.¹ They thus needed some time to establish themselves in the new cultural circle in Baghdad, although a significant part of the establishment of this centre was due to their fellow-countrymen.

Should an Arab governor in Persia possess an interest in science and scholarship,² he would engage on the level of culture at most with Arabic poetry or religious affairs, although such reports may be no more than courtly hyperbole.³ The importance of the school of medicine in Gondēshāpūr, which could look back on a long tradition dating from the Sasanid era, was in continuous decline at this time. Texts which had been translated into Middle Persian here and elsewhere⁴ were translated into Arabic not at the place of their origin but in Mesopotamia. Consequently they, as well as translations from Syriac and Greek, contributed to the emerging Islamic scholarship, which included natural history.⁵ They did not, however, stimulate *Persian* intellectual life. | This did not really change until the tenth century. Nishapur had indeed been a centre of scholarship before this. The grammatical, historiographical

1 Schaeder, 'Der Osten im West-Östlichen Divan', 810–15.

2 See TS 115 (ca. 702).

3 See what Grünebaum, 254f., has to say on the subject.

4 See Hans H. Schaeder, 'Der Orient und das griechische Erbe', in *Die Antike* IV (1928), 254; Klinge, 'Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen', 349, n. 16, and the literature listed there.

5 Concerning Persian tradition in this context, see Ruska, 'Chemie in 'Irāq und Persien', 289; Stapleton et al., 'Chemistry in 'Irāq and Persia'.

and genealogical research carried out by the followers of the Shu'ūbiya⁶ had developed a high degree of academic understanding. However, it was only under the Samanids that an independent cultural life received real support;⁷ only then that colleges,⁸ for theology in particular, but also for the religious law connected with it, were founded in the East while the intellectual development of the west and southwest of the country, such as in Fars, lagged behind.⁹ From the beginning of the ninth century onwards we find mention of a number of theologians and scholars of law, who were usually Shāfi'ite and only rarely Ḥanafite.¹⁰ Besides these, there were, above all, the traditionist Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 875), who was from Nishapur,¹¹ and al-Bīrūnī (973–1048)¹² [263] from Khwarazm, as well as Avicenna (980–1037) from Balkh but educated in

6 Goldziher, *Shu'ub.* 190ff.

7 Must. I 381 (Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl, 907–12). Mez 16. This does not, however, mean that I do not consider (unlike Ernst Herzfeld; see Barthold, 'Vostočno-iranskiy vopros', 370f.) eastern Iran to have been the intellectually more advanced part of the country even in early Islamic times, despite the fact that this is not supported by surviving written documents.

8 Nāṣir-i Khosrow, 281. Mez 166–70 lists various independent centres of learning.

9 This fact, characteristic of those centuries, is also emphasized in e.g. Muq. 421, 448. See also the list in Schwarz III 149f.

10 Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh (Rāhōē) from Marv (777–78 or shortly after 853): Fih. 230; Ibn Khall./Wüst. I 114 = Slane I 94. On the name see Justi, *Namb.* 257 r // Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān al-Sijistānī (817–89): Ibn Khall./Wüst. III 86 = Slane I 300f. // Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ... b. Abī Hurayra, the imam of the Shāfi'ites in Arabian and Persian Iraq (d. 956): *ibid.* II 89 = Slane I 94. // Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (903–76): *ibid.* VI 106 = Slane I 643f. (see also *ibid.* VI 111 = Slane I 647; tenth century) // Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ... b. Ḥalīm, called al-Ḥalīm, from Gurgan (ca. 945–1012): *ibid.* II 119 = Slane I 215f. // Abū Bakr ibn Furāk from Isfahan, who practised as a jurist and exegete in Bukhara in a school custom-built for him personally. Later he would be a frequent guest in Ghazna (d. 1015): *ibid.* VII 5f. Slane I 675. // Abū Muḥammad al-Juvaynī, who studied in Nishapur and Marv and taught in Nishapur as a Shāfi'ite jurisconsult, dogmatist and also grammarian (from ca. 1010 onwards, d. 1042 or 1047): *ibid.* IV 18 = Slane I 354; Sam. 144 v. // Abū Bakr Muḥammad ... al-Bayhaqī (994–1066): *ibid.* I 36 = Slane I 29. // al-Fūrānī in Marv (d. 1069): *ibid.* IV 63 = Slane I 387. // Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī taught in Baghdad and Nishapur (986–1072): *ibid.* IV 106ff. = Slane I 416–18 (see also *ibid.* V 115 = Slane I 452f.: 1058–1110. // Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn al-Rūyānī, who taught in Bukhara, Ghazna and Nishapur (1025–1108): *ibid.* IV 102f. = Slane I 413f. // Abū Zayd al-Dabūsī, a Ḥanafite and 'founder of Islamic dialectics' (*ilm al-khilāf*), came from Dabūs between Bukhara and Samarkand and lived in Bukhara (d. 1038/39): *ibid.* IV 19 = Slane I 355. A list of scholars such as these may also be found in Wiet 148–153.

11 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 96f.

12 VJ. Zachidov published an appreciation of 'al-Bīrūnī's significance as a thinker' in Tolstov, *Bīrūnī*, 30–54.

Bukhara.¹³ They could make use of great libraries, especially in Nishapur, Marv, whose treasures¹⁴ dated back to pre-Islamic times and were still praised by Yāqūt as late as 1217,¹⁵ and Bukhara, where Avicenna worked.¹⁶

The Samanids' example would soon find imitators. Less august dynasties in Khwarazm,¹⁷ Gurgan,¹⁸ Sistan,¹⁹ and Kirman²⁰ began to compete in showing their favour to scholars, in supporting their work and in providing them with the conditions they needed to be able to work. Even more significant was the Buyids' interest in scholarship, which fell within the Persian linguistic area. Thus, for instance, there was one of 'Aḍud al-Dawla's representatives in Rāmhōrmīz in ca. 970²¹ and Sharaf al-Dawla founded a library in Shiraz ca. 1020,²² as did the vizier of the last Buyid ruler in Fars, who founded his library in Pērōzābād ca. 1055.²³ The greatest member of this dynasty, 'Aḍud al-Dawla (d. 983), surrounded himself with theologians, scholars of law, philologists, physicians, mathematicians, and master mechanics.²⁴ The Buyids also took in hand the teaching and education of boys, and occasionally girls as was the case in Shushtar.²⁵ It appears that at times there was a general obligation for children to go to school.²⁶ One Persian noble, obviously following the ancient Persian ideals of education recorded by Herodotus, defined the aims [264] of this education in 738 | as being for the young Persians to become 'broad of chest and strong of hand, and also discreet'.²⁷ The ideal expressed by the

13 Ibn Khall./Wüst. II 130ff. = Slane I 224ff.

14 Krymśkiy I 842, n. 3.

15 Ya'q. Buld. IV 590f.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa III 80; Nāšir-i Khosrow 274. Mez 164 and n. 4; Wiet 158, 160f.

16 See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a II 4, or Ibn Khall./Eg. I 152f. = Slane I 441. Pinto, 'Libraries' (of which 225f. refers to Iranian cities in particular); Ḥabīb Zayyāt, 'Al-wirāqa wa-'l-warrāqūn fī 'l-Islām', in *Mashriq* XLII/3 (VII–IX 1947), 305–50. I do not know whether Sulaymān Zāhīr, 'Les bibliothèques de l'Iran', in *Revue de l'Acad. arabe de Damas* XXI/2 (I. IV. 1948) 382–401, also discusses the past.

17 Tolstov, *Civ.* 267–70.

18 Ḥud. 5 (ca. 980). *GAL* I 334; Krymśkiy I 114.

19 TS 342 (984ff.); Ibn al-Athīr IX 60 (1003ff.).

20 Muḥ. Ib. 29 (1142: astronomy), 32f. (library).

21 Muq. 413; Fih. 139.

22 Zark. 35.

23 Ibn al-Balkhī xiv; Ibn al-Athīr IX 173.

24 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VI 30 = Slane I 581; Mez 22 (after Ibn al-Jawzī 120 r); Ibn al-Athīr VIII 518. Mez 23; Kremer *Cultur.* II 482f. (information on the facilities available in the libraries).

25 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 132f.

26 Ibid.

27 Ṭab. II 1636.

Qābūs-Nāma (1080) is very similar:²⁸ 'Once he has been circumcised, a young Persian must be sent to an instructor who will teach him to read the Qur'an and recite it by heart; later he will go to a fencing master and learn discretion. Finally he must learn a craft, so he will be able to support himself if need be.'

We have already mentioned several times that Persian intellectual culture had a lasting influence on the Turks. This is also true of the fields of scholarship and teaching. In his youth Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who was the son of a Turkish freedman, the general Sübüktigin, had lessons in reading and writing as well as the sciences of the Qur'an.²⁹ In fact he,³⁰ like most of the nobles at his court, was able to write letters himself³¹ and this in turn awakened his interest in calligraphy,³² an entirely indispensable necessity of oriental education, which reaches seamlessly into the realm of art. The Ghaznavids, too, did not nurture only poetry, through patronising Firdawsī, for instance, but also took an interest in supporting the sciences, and thus men like al-Bīrūnī.³³ It is true that they ordered the burning of books suspected of being insufficiently orthodox, which included subjects like philosophy, astrology and Mu'tazilite dogmatic texts, in Rayy,³⁴ but also they indulged in the custom of stealing books.³⁵ As for resettling scholars in their capital Ghazna,³⁶ they had a precursor in the Ṭabaristani *ispāhbadh* who had already practised this around 765.³⁷

The Seljuks assumed the Ghaznavids' inheritance on a grandiose scale,³⁸ thanks to the flowering of scholarship that had reached eastern Persia in

28 Qābūs-Nāma/Diez 578, 582, 587f., 590f.

29 Bayh. 106f. Qābūs-Nāma/Diez, 638–47, discusses scholarship and its significance for mankind as well as its appreciation.

30 Bayh. 8., 117.

31 Bayh. 295 (1032).

32 Mas'ūd of Ghazna: Ibn al-Athīr IX 168; Qābūs of Gurgan (d. 1012): Ibn Khall./Wüst. VI 46 = Slane I 595. On the art of Persian calligraphy in ancient times as well as Middle Persian script see Fih. 12f.; Ernst Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin–Leipzig 1942, with many illustrations.

33 Athīr IX 139 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna), 168 (Mas'ūd).

34 Misk. II 224, V 237; Yāq., Irsh. II 315; Athīr IX 128 (1029).

35 Ḥus. 5 (from Isfahan to Ghazna, ca. 1037).

36 Athīr IX 151 (1034). Pope and Ackerman, *Survey* III 1940; Pinto, 'Libraries', 10, 21.

37 Ibn Isf. 115. Pinto 16; Pope and Ackerman, *Survey* III 1940.

38 I agree with Günaltay (as p. 252 n. above) in his positive evaluation of the Seljuks' significance for scholarship. The Turks' active contribution to scholarly life, however, should not be rated quite so highly, as on the one hand the Turkish descent of a number of scholars (Günaltay 75f.) is dubious and on the other much in scholarly life depends on the environment. Tolstov, *Bīrūnī*, 3–39, paints a picture of 'the position of Bīrūnī the Khwarazmian' within the courtly life around Maḥmūd of Ghazna.

[265] particular around the turn of the millennium, | and frequently led by ministers of Persian origin such as Niẓām al-Mulk, to mention but one. Now Nishapur became a true centre of scholarship for the whole of Western Asia. It was here that scholars were first given honorific titles³⁹ and here that we first see the title Shaykh al-Islam.⁴⁰ Here in the East a type of ‘madrasa’,⁴¹ which was briefly mentioned above, emerged which would later, thanks to Niẓām al-Mulk’s⁴² foundations and those of individual *atabegs*,⁴³ spread through the entire realm of Islam, culminating in the most resplendent Niẓāmiya in Baghdad.⁴⁴ Building on the foundations laid by the Samanids and Ghaznavids, Persia had now once more become a full member of the Western Asian, and now Islamized, family of nations. To discuss the individual details from this time would go far beyond the limits of the present discussion and neither is it possible to write a history of scholarship devoted to individual questions, as they can only be understood within the Islamic framework as a whole.⁴⁵

Medicine⁴⁶

Detailed information concerning the medicine of those days must not be expected in this study, the main reason for this being that, at least since the Nestorians from the Eastern Roman Empire had been admitted into Western [266] Persia, the practitioners of the medical profession had in the main been

39 Wüstenfeld, *Ärzte* 37, no. 316.

40 Subkī III 47, 117 = Mez 179.

41 Mez 172 with reference to Subkī III III, 137.

42 Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Türk. I 492.

43 Shiraz: Zark. 44 (eleventh century).

44 See also Ḥus. 46f. Concerning the Seljuk Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad (from 1118 onwards) see *ibid.* 47; concerning Sanjar (d. 1157): *ibid.* 88.

45 Heinrich Suter, *Die Mathematik und Astronomie der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900; Aldo Mieli, *La science arabe et son rôle dans l'évolution scientifique mondiale*, Leiden 1938.

46 Elgood, *A medical history of Persia* (early Islamic times 58–96, 97–134, 135–209, with an overview of the political development without sources). See also Edward G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921. Meyerhof, ‘Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad’; *id.*, ‘Alī ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī’. Alfred Siggel edited the Indian books of ‘Alī ibn Rabban’s *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, in *Abh. der Mainzer Akademie*, 1951. G.R. Rachmati, ‘Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren’, *ibid.* xxiv (1931), 451–73.

Aramaean Christians⁴⁷ and Jews.⁴⁸ Medical Schools of the Sasanid era, especially the one in Gondēshāpūr,⁴⁹ would for a long time restrict medical teaching to these two religious communities, although of course many Muslim students graduated from their schools.⁵⁰ It was not, however, until the Ghaznavid era that a man from the Iranian cultural sphere⁵¹ appeared, and this is Avicenna (Arabic: Ibn Sīnā).⁵² His works within the field, written in Arabic, marked the beginning of the golden age of Oriental medicine, which went far beyond the confines of the tradition as it had previously existed.

Naturally, popular remedies were still in use. The people would use medicinal herbs,⁵³ occasionally mixed with human milk,⁵⁴ to be used internally⁵⁵ or externally. Poison was also often administered in this way and it was believed that its effect was shown⁵⁶ by excessive diarrhoea.⁵⁷ While it seems that bath-houses did not exist in the Sasanid era,⁵⁸ later | in the tenth century hot springs [267] were used to treat ulcers, stomach diseases and other ills.⁵⁹ Some very famous springs near Isfahan were said to be effective only during one particular month of summer and were named *Tīr* after the Persian calendar.⁶⁰ Oil would

47 The fame of some among them, e.g. the Metropolitan Paul of Fars at the time of the Barmakid Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā (Nizāmī-yi 85–87), spread far and wide. See also the medical anecdotes found in ‘Awfi, 183f., nos. 1041–55.

48 According to Ibn Ḥawq. there were many good doctors among the inhabitants of Azerbaijan as well, see *EI* Turk. II 96 and Tritton, 155–58.

49 Christensen 417f.; Kremer, *Cultur.* II 179f. On the Sasanid era see also Mez 365f.

50 See e.g. the painstaking (if incorrect) prognosis by a doctor in Biṣṭām: Tanūkhī II 103f. Ṣā‘id 50, 107 believes the Persians to be particularly competent in the field of medicine.

51 It is not sure whether he had some Turkish blood as well (as Turkish scholarship assumes, e.g. A. Süheyl Ünver in *Bellesten* I, 1937, 272–78); it is also of minor importance, compared to the significance of his environment (see p. 263 n. above).

52 Biographical sketch in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a II 2–9; Wüstenfeld, *Ärzte*, 64–71.

53 Ibn Rustah 157. More generally see also Alfred Siggel, ‘Medizinisch-Hygienisches im Königsbuch des iranischen Dichters Firdausi’, in *Medizinische Welt* XIV (1940), 356–71 (discussing the caesarean section, among other things).

54 Muḥ. Ib. 162. (1195).

55 Ḥud. 104 (982: against poison and scorpion stings). In the place of a lost eye, people would wear a tuft of cotton: Bal. 429 (ca. 730).

56 Juv. III 249 (1221).

57 Laxatives were also known: Ḥus. 73. (1133).

58 Thus Ya‘q., Hist. I 199 ‘according to the statement of an Arab doctor’ [AD: the reference to an Arab doctor seems to be absent in Ya‘q.].

59 Ibn Ḥawq. 366; Ibn Rustah 158. Schwarz VII 869.

60 Ibn Rustah 158. Schwarz VII 857.

be rubbed in medicinally to treat scorpion stings⁶¹ and peanut oil was used against diseases of the bones.⁶² People were furthermore aware of the healing effects of a change of climate⁶³ and recreational travel (*sabil-i tafarruj*)⁶⁴ and understood that an unhealthy climate might be fatal.⁶⁵ However, the frequently applied treatment of bloodletting⁶⁶ could have fatal consequences as well.⁶⁷ Besides all this, the belief, which was professed by Ya‘qūb ibn Layth among others, that saintly men were able to cure disease through prayer, played an important part.⁶⁸ To care for the sick, princes and viziers such as ‘Aḍud al-Dawla⁶⁹ or the minister of a ruler in Kirman⁷⁰ (ca. 1160) endowed hospitals.⁷¹ Other parts of the Islamic world were already home to numerous hospitals, often inherited from Antiquity, or having been built following the Christian example. The fact that neither these rules for a healthy life nor the continuing development of the medical profession⁷² were able to control plagues and epidemics⁷³ was a fact that was also acknowledged beyond Muslim lands.

Belles Lettres and Music

While it is not possible within the present framework to write a history of the [268] beginnings of New Persian *belles lettres*,⁷⁴ it is | at least necessary to point out

61 Ibn Rustah 157 (ca. 905).

62 See p. 399 below.

63 Narsh. 90f. (ca. 903).

64 ‘Utbī 107.

65 Yāq. I 382 (Ahvaz); Muḥ. Ib. 47 (ca. 1160). On the other hand, there were some places which were thought to be completely free from certain diseases: Muq. 323.

66 Rav. 159 (ca. 1110).

67 Juv. III 250 (ca. 1227).

68 Muḥ. Ib. 39 (there was a permanent staff of physicians who practised here). See Mez 357.

69 ‘Awfi 216, no. 1566.

70 Muq. 430; Zark. 33f. (Shiraz).

71 Ahmed Issa, *Histoire des Bimaristans à l’époque islamique*, Cairo 1928 (Arabic: *Ta’rikh al-bimaristānāt fi’l-Islām*, Damascus 1939); Sh. Inayatullah, ‘Contribution to the historical study of hospitals in medieval Islam’, in *IC XVIII* (1944), 1–14 (‘Aḍud al-Dawla 7).

72 A considerable amount of information regarding physicians and medical doctors and their reputation among the people can be found in Qābūs-Nāma/Diez 685–707 (1080).

73 A list (including Persia) can be found in Kremer, *Cultur*. II 490–92.

74 Persian poetry is mentioned in Azerbaijan as early as 850, see W. Barthold in *BSOS* II (1923), 836–38.

that encouraging literary development was a matter just as close to the hearts of the Samanids,⁷⁵ Buyids,⁷⁶ and Ghaznavids⁷⁷ as was scholarship. Consequently they patronised a great number of poets,⁷⁸ among whom Rūdhagī (d. 940)⁷⁹ was pre-eminent. Here we see repeated instances of acts of spontaneous largesse which Oriental princes would always show⁸⁰ to their court poets⁸¹ and which the poets came to expect.⁸² Of course, there were also instances, as in the case of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, of broken promises or when the sum agreed, as in the case of Firdawsī, turned out not to be economically viable.⁸³ However, Maḥmūd of Ghazna, as well as his son Mas'ūd,⁸⁴ was always open-handed towards the poets, and it was generally assumed that not only they knew and appreciated works of poetry⁸⁵ but that their contemporaries would share this interest.⁸⁶ Minor princes, such as the rulers of Ṭabaristan,⁸⁷ and later also the

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- 75 Must. 382: here Rūdhagī's famous poem, which recalled the Samanid Naṣr ibn Aḥmad to his capital Bukhara (on the varied criticism of this work in later times see Browne II 15–17). Among the sources of early New Persian *belles lettres* the most important are: Dawl.; Nizāmī-yi; 'Awfī, and also Barthold, *Turk.* 9).
- 76 Ibn Khall./Wüst. III 63 = Slane I 283 (the Buyid vizier Sābūr 948–1026). Concerning 'Aḍud al-Dawla see Mez 23 and the sources listed there.
- 77 Bayh. 125 (Maḥmūd); *ibid.* 667 for the contemporary Khwarazm-Shāhs.
- 78 For all details see Browne I 355–58; 445–80.
- 79 Besides Browne I 455–58 see also *EI* III 1261f., and Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Rūdhagī-ji Samarqandī* (with historical sections).
- 80 Aghānī/Būlāq xv 19; XIX 147; Athīr VII 136 (al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd of Ṭabaristan, d. 884). TS 102, 146 (Sistan ca. 682, or 768ff.), 324 (Rūdhagī 932), 'Awfī 200, no. 1346 (ca. 830: 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhīr); Muḥ. Ib. 18–20 (Kirman ca. 1086).
- 81 They celebrated Maḥmūd's victory over the Ilig-Khan near Balkh in 1006–7 (Athīr IX 66) and were also present during court celebrations in order to present poems, see Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Farrukhī-ji Sistanī, ed. 'Alī Āban, Tehran 1933–34, 390f. For general information see 'Awfī 187f., nos. 1107–25.
- 82 See Grünebaum 214 and n. 110. As a reward for a poet, Abū 'l-'Abbās awarded the latter's friend the fief of Ahvaz: Aghānī/Cairo VII 246.
- 83 Dawl. 53.
- 84 Athīr IX 168.
- 85 One general (d. 970) was singled out because he knew more Arabic poems than another: Athīr IX 200.
- 86 See the conversation between Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Buyid Majd al-Dawla of Rayy, which assumes the latter to be familiar with the Shāh-nāma: Athīr IX 125 (1029).
- 87 Athīr VII 136; TS 171 (Sistan 809–10).

[269] Seljuks,⁸⁸ emulated them in this respect, | and many a ruler in those days wrote poetry himself.⁸⁹

Besides listening to music, the enjoyment of musical⁹⁰ performances, which would occasionally be presented by poets,⁹¹ was an established part of the life-style of the educated classes, despite the hostile attitude of some dogmatists.⁹² It is sufficient to point out the role played by female singers at the caliph's court, but also in other centres of social life.⁹³ In these circumstances there can be no doubt that musical performance was important in Persia as well. Tradition does not report this very frequently, but mentions some Persian melodies [270] (*alḥān*) from Fars⁹⁴ and numerous musical instruments.⁹⁵ Besides the lute | (*'ūd*)⁹⁶ and the dulcimer (*ṣanj*),⁹⁷ of which the inhabitants of Khurasan had a particular version (*muwannaj*) with seven strings, much-loved instruments in Persia⁹⁸ included the tambourine (*tanābīr*, also spelled *ṭanābīr*), *barābīt*, a lute

88 Examples from the eleventh and twelfth centuries can be found in Dawl. 71, 75, 84, 93, 129f.; Nizāmī-yi 40f., 43; Rav. 30iff; Juv. II 18, 27.

89 E.g. the Samanid Naṣr (d. 892): Athīr VII 151; the Buyid Rukn al-Dawla (d. 976): Must. I 418; Qābūs of Gurgan (1012–13): Athīr IX 82. See also the information on the subject of poetry found in the Qābūs-Nāma/Diez 718–25.

90 For general information see the studies of Henry Farmer listed in the Secondary Bibliography below; F.M. Faddegon, 'Sur la gamme persane-arabe', in *JA*, ser. 12, VIII (1926), 168ff. Muḥammad al-Ḥefnī, *Ibn Sina's Musiklehre*, PhD, Berlin 1931. Eilhard Wiedemann, 'Beiträge LXVI: Zur Geschichte der Musik' (after Maf. ul. 235–46), in *SB der phys.-med. Societät Erlangen*, LIV (1922–23), 7–22. Re'ūf Jektā, 'Eski türk musiqine dā'ir ta'riḥi tetebbü'ler (Studies in ancient Turkish musical history) I: Kökler (string instruments)', in *Mülli tetebbü'ler meḡmü'asy* I (1913 = 1331 H), 135–41 and 233–39 (including the illustration facing 241).

91 Rūdhagī (d. 940–41) was a musician as well as a poet: Dawl. 31.

92 Wensinck, Handbook 173; James Robson, 'Tracts on listening to music' (translation of two treatises of opposing views), London 1938 (Or. Transl. fund, n.s. XXXI) (also Hans Wehr in *OLZ* XLIII, 1940, 36–39).

93 Aghānī/Cairo I 48, 51ff (Ahvaz). See Mez 154, 378f.; Nallino, *Racc.* VI 160. Farmer 44–46, 48f., 53f., 69f.

94 Aghānī/Cairo I 378f.; v 294; Schwarz v 621 (Isfahan).

95 On the subject of musical instruments see Hans Hickmann, *Terminologie arabe des instruments de musique*, Cairo 1947 (referred to in the next few footnotes), and James Robson, *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments, as described by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (ninth century)*, Glasgow 1938 (summary in *EI* III 809–16, s.v. Mūsīkī).

96 Hickmann 29. Henry Farmer, 'The structure of the Arabian and Persian lute', in *JRAS* 1939, 41–51.

97 Farmer 16, 155; Hickmann 22; Farmer 16, 73, 149.

98 Ṭab. III 6 (748–49). Hickmann 6; Farmer 16.

with a wooden box,⁹⁹ and the flute (*nāi; mizmār*). In 743 the caliphs had musical instruments together with dulcimer players (*ṣannāj*) come from Khurasan to Damascus¹⁰⁰ in order to have a complete band of musicians at court.

When receiving allied princes¹⁰¹ and ambassadors, the Ghaznavids had their musicians play fiddles (*rabāb[a]*)¹⁰² and harps (*chang*),¹⁰³ or beat on drums (*duhl*) and tambourines (*dabdaba*).¹⁰⁴ Military triumphs were also celebrated with music,¹⁰⁵ and there are reports that the soldiers of the Khurramite leader Bābak used a kind of oboe or flute to identify themselves.¹⁰⁶ The Assassin prince Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 1124) on the other hand was opposed to music, or at least to the playing of trumpets,¹⁰⁷ perhaps for religious reasons. Music would maintain a particular rhythm (*īqāʿat*) and was recorded as a melody of notes.¹⁰⁸ If a concert was being held, which was also recommended during feasts,¹⁰⁹ there would be certain guidelines recommending a particular choice of songs to be performed (e.g. 'now reunion, now separation – now faithfulness, now heartache'). Praising the Prophet and virtue as well as lamenting the vanity of the world were also among the subjects recommended for songs.

Visual Arts¹¹⁰

[271]

Just as in the case of scholarship and *belles lettres*, it is not possible to discuss the history of art here in any technical detail. We will simply mention a few

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- 99 Mas. VIII 90f. Hickmann 20f. Concerning the Sasanid era see Christensen 476f.
- 100 Ṭab. II 1766. See also Farmer 76f.
- 101 Ḥus., 'Urāḍa/Türk. I 283 (on the occasion of the Seljuk Isrāʿīl being received by Maḥmūd of Ghazna).
- 102 Hickmann 25.
- 103 Ibid. 26.
- 104 Bayh. 291 (1031).
- 105 Ṭab. III 1700 (869).
- 106 *Surnāi*, also written as *ṣurnāi*, from Pers. *sūr*, 'celebration' and *nāi*, 'flute', see Dozy, *Suppl.* I 831; Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. and also *shāhnāy*; Hickmann 8: *surnā*.
- 107 He once banished one of his followers from Alamūt forever, for blowing the trumpet, since which time people there were afraid to play this instrument: Juv. III 210.
- 108 See Farmer, 'Ibn Khurdādhbih on musical instruments'. *Naghma*, 'note, melody'. Al-Kindī's alphabetical system of musical notation is called *abjad*.
- 109 Qābūs-nāma/Diez 726–33 (1080); Awfi 188f., nos. 1126–40.
- 110 For general information see the following sections in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*: I 106–28 Arthur Pope, 'The relation between geography and art in Persia' / 129–33 E.D. Ross, 'The influence of early Islam upon Persian art' / 716–30 Josef Orbeli, 'Sāsānian and early Islamic metalwork' / II 930–66 Eric Schroeder, 'Standing monuments of the first period' (earliest

phenomena which are significant for the understanding of the Persian people. What becomes immediately apparent is that the Arab conquest of Iran did not cause any upheaval in the field of art. The precious-metalwork of the early Islamic years, for instance, retained the Sasanid style to such a high degree that it is often difficult to state whether a piece was made in the Sasanid or early Islamic period.

The art of Sasanid goldsmiths included shallow circular (occasionally oval) dishes, usually with figural decorations on the inside, handled jugs with high [272] bases, and egg-shaped vases. They might have been ordered | by the imperial court, by major Fire Shrines and by high-ranking dignitaries.¹¹¹ Consequently there must have been court-sponsored factories as well as local ones. It is not certain whether there were separate workshops for sacred vessels, or whether these were manufactured in one of the other factories. After 642, or 651 at the latest, the court factories must have ceased production. We may assume that only limited production continued in 'church' workshops if and where these existed. Further artistic development must have taken place in the local factories, particularly those situated away from the centre. This is confirmed by archaeological evidence. Dishes decorated with images of the king, called 'hunting or throne dishes', were now manufactured only as copies of older pieces.

From the seventh century onwards, pieces that can be said with certainty to be sacred vessels become rare. Only the production of 'animal dishes' was being maintained and, in these, late Sasanid artistic development continued without much of a break. It seems surprising that the items copied most frequently were not dishes from the sixth and seventh centuries but those from the third and fourth centuries, but this was probably due to the greater numbers as well as the simpler compositional style of these early pieces. However,

time to 949; lists the surviving monuments, ground plans etc.: Nāyin, Nayrīz etc.) / 967–74 André Godard, 'Gurgan and the Gunbad-i-Qābūs' / 975–80 Arthur Pope, 'Architecture in the early periods according to contemporary documents' / 1446–1666 Id., 'The Ceramic art in Islamic times' (1466–1511; early Islamic period) / 1995–2024 Phyllis Ackerman, 'Textiles of the Islamic periods, A: History (The early Islamic and Seljūq Periods)' / 2227–56 Hermann Goetz, 'The history of Persian costume' (2236–39: Abbasid and Seljuk periods); further sections of this fundamental work will be referred to in the relevant places in the present book. Ross, *Persian Art*; Pope, *Persian Art*; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* II; Gray, *Persian Painting*. Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean art in Persian painting*. Tattersall, *The Carpets of Persia*. Reith and Sachs, *Persian Textiles*. Ḥasan, *Al-funūn al-irānīya*. The differences between East and West within Iranian culture are discussed in Minorski, 'Geographical Factors', 644–52.

111 Kurt Erdmann, 'Eber-Darstellung', 358, n. 2. Goldziher, 'Heiligen-Verehrung', 360f.

the continuation of Sasanid tradition must be of some cultural significance in itself, and consequently the copying of older patterns should be seen as a distinctive characteristic. It is probable that the great men of the time when the empire was founded took an interest in the artists who re-created these pieces. This would indicate national motifs, and must be seen as connected to the telling and re-telling of heroic legends, which was a tradition especially among the Khurasani gentry. This, indeed, is the very class who kept this national artistic tradition alive and even at that time a hunting dish required a patron or customer from these circles.

A late Sasanid dish decorated with a goddess and now in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg belonged, according to a later inscription, to a certain Dādburzmihr, who was, according to Ernst Herzfeld, originally from Gilan and became *ispāhbadh* of Khurasan around 730. A hunting dish from the same collection, which is based on two different models from the third or fourth century, bears an inscription stating it was manufactured for Sharvīn, the Mas-i Moghān of Damavand,¹¹² whom Herzfeld places in the first half of the eighth century AD. | Going by the addition of Chinese motifs in a large number of these silver pieces, an important production centre must have been in Turkestan. Evidence of many years of continuation of the style has also been found in northern India. Dating these finds exactly, however, will not be possible until the question of their localization has been solved more satisfactorily. There is no doubt that their development took different forms in different regions. Generally it is possible to say that its steps followed a gradual weakening of the original symbolic and cosmological contents, then their obscuration and finally their disappearance.¹¹³ We can furthermore see forms becoming gradually more ornamental under the influence of Chinese forms in the East and stylistic principles of Islamic art in the West. [273]

In Persia itself this process appears to have come to a conclusion in the ninth century, while in the East Sasanid forms continued to exist until the tenth century and would only during the course of the eleventh century be replaced by tendrils and blossoms in the Chinese style and Arabic inscriptions. There are too few pieces surviving in the West for us to be able to determine a clear development beyond the fact that here the various signs of degeneration and assimilation flow into the universal Seljuk style. This marks the point at which the Persian goldsmiths' art renounced its own style as an independent art form. The prohibition of vessels and utensils made from precious metals

112 See p. 310 below.

113 See Ibn al-Faḳīh 178.

led to Islamic art creating substitutes by developing special techniques and processes, such as damascening, enamelling, gilding and lustring.

An important role is played by ceramics,¹¹⁴ which, while remaining simple earthenware, bore stunning decorations. The first major development of this kind took place in Mesopotamia at the caliph's court and included the use of 'overflow' glazes based on Chinese originals, white glazes in imitations of porcelain, some of which had blue under-glaze painting, and lustring in imitations of gold vessels. Perhaps because of the less strict adherence to the prohibition of precious metals or maybe because of the simpler cultural conditions, these inventions were at first used only rarely in Persia.¹¹⁵ Only in Seljuk times do we see the emergence of ceramics that are definitely luxury wares, although there is an exception to this in Nishapur and the Samanid district, of which more will be said below. Until then most of the ceramics used were coarser pieces, in northern and western Persia especially, which differed significantly from one place to another. They frequently had figured decorations, usually animals [274] carved under a single- or multi-coloured glaze, | which continued many of the motifs from Sasanid silverware.

Once Abbasid luxury ware came into the country from Baghdad and Cairo to Rayy, Kāshān, Sāva, etc. during the twelfth century, these particular Sasanid reminiscences vanished. Instead, new motifs began to appear at the beginning of the thirteenth century, using more eclectic Sasanid motifs, such as Bahrām Gōr's hunt, but these may have originated as miniature illustrations of the Shāh-nāma, although there are no surviving examples from this early time to prove this.

As for bronze, the situation is very similar to that of precious-metalwork in that the pieces created in Persia during the early years of Islam continue the Sasanid tradition so faithfully that it is often impossible to decide whether a piece was created before or after the Islamic conquest. The number of surviving pieces is as yet too small to be able to determine exact dates or stylistic groups. Judging by the circumstances in which they were found it appears that during the seventh and eighth centuries there was a centre of production in the Caucasus in Dagestan. An individual Persian Islamic style of metalwork only emerges in the Seljuk era. Thus, as in the field of literature, the concessions made to Islam by bronze and ceramics in the early Islamic period were rather small and superficial. Both convey the feeling that these concessions

114 Pedersen 92ff.

115 Illustration: Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, IV pls. 555–87.

are only external, while those who were part of this culture saw the continuation of ancient traditions as being at the heart of their efforts.¹¹⁶ In this way the genuinely Iranian class of the *dēhkāns*, who upheld the civilization, comes remarkably alive for us. Historical traditions, on the other hand, maintained an, obviously deliberate, silence on the subject; and their role in religious history can only be inferred from the sources.

Architectural remains of these early days confirm this picture. Foremost among them is the mausoleum of the Samanid Ismā'īl, near Bukhara,¹¹⁷ which was built with clear reminiscences of the form of Sasanid fire shrines.¹¹⁸ Thus once again we see the continuation of ancient tradition.¹¹⁹ The art historian Kurt Erdmann has the following notes on the subject:

The number of mosques surviving from the first centuries AH in Persia is small and includes those in Dāmghān, Nāyin, and Nayrīz.¹²⁰ Some additional information can be found in | written accounts. The most important source [275] describes the existence of Sasanid motifs on the Seljuk mosques surviving in greater number, but it remains to be determined whether this is indeed a continuation or rather a renaissance.

The Sasanid heritage includes the following formal elements that would become important for the mosque:

1. The *chahār ṭāq*: a dome on four arches on pillars or columns without or with surrounding, usually narrow, corridors, isolated or standing within a courtyard.
2. A five-dome construction: joining the larger dome of the *chahār ṭāq* to four smaller domes in the corners of the surrounding corridors.
3. The *ayvān* (*īwān*): a portico open to the front, with one nave or three, which in the latter case the middle of the building would be higher.
4. The blending of a domed building (also in *chahār ṭāq* style) and *ayvān* (as portico).

116 On the survival of ornamental style in Persian arabesque see Ernst Kühnel, *Die Arabeske*, Wiesbaden 1949, 10.

117 See also p. 166 n. above.

118 Erdmann, *Feuerheiligtum*.

119 See Kühnel, 'Kunst und Volkstum', 129; Barthold, 'Vostočno-iranskiy vopros', 340f.

120 Pope and Ackerman, *Survey* 1 898.

By analyzing the possibilities from the information concerning early Islamic mosques in Persia mentioned above,¹²¹ we arrive at the following types:

1. A mosque with a courtyard, of Western Arabian character
 - a) using Western methods with wooden pillars (only found in the sources, for example in Marv, Bukhara and others);
 - b) using Persian methods with squat round pillars (in Dāmghān, Tārīk Khāna in the late eighth century), or stucco-covered pillars (in Nāyin in the tenth century).
2. *Ayvān* mosque, where the *ḥaram* is a type of *ayvān* (Nayrīz 951; more recently also Nishapur, see below).
3. ‘Pavilion’ mosque, where the *ḥaram* is a type of *chahār ṭāq*; possibly with an *ayvān* as a portico. This type can be reconstructed out of the Seljuk mosques such as the Friday mosque in Isfahan, the Friday mosque and Ḥaydarīya in Qazvin, and the mosques in Gulpāyghān and Ardistān.
4. Courtyard-and-*ayvān* mosque of the developed Seljuk type. This combines a court with four *ayvāns*, which may be the porticoes of pavilions (*chahār ṭāqs*), that form the *ḥaram* in a narrower sense (the examples of this are the same as in number 3).

Of these four types, 2 and 3 are at present only indirectly comprehensible. The [276] development might be imagined in the following way:

Stage A: A foreign type, the Arabian ‘courtyard mosque’ dominates.

Stage B: Native Iranian forms begin to emerge.

Stage C: The foreign ‘courtyard’ form is joined to the Iranian elements of *chahār ṭāq* and *ayvān* to form the Seljuk type of ‘courtyard-and-*ayvān*’ mosque.

Besides this sequence, which led to the Seljuk ‘courtyard mosque’, there are other styles which continue certain forms of the fire shrines:

- a) Continuation of the ‘five-dome’ style, which is probably representative of the style of the great Sasanid fire shrines. Examples are: the cave near Haybak in Afghanistan (mosque, or Christian, or possibly Buddhist shrine); the mosque in Hazāra near Bukhara; and the mausoleum of the

121 See Godard, ‘Les anciennes mosques de l’Iran’, and ‘Notes sur d’anciennes mosques de l’Iran’. Illustration of the earliest surviving architecture: Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, IV 258–60; ornaments: v 511.

Samanid Ismā'īl (d. 907) in Bukhara (the five-dome style is particularly frequent in Islamic mausoleums built during the Mughal era). This type does not appear to have influenced mosque building, but it re-emerges in the great Shi'ite pilgrimage sites, such as Karbala, Najaf, etc., in connection with the ceremony of translation. The number of domes above the corridors may be increased. The Blue Mosque in Tabriz, dating from the fifteenth century, was probably modelled on Byzantine cross-in-square churches, which, however, might in turn have been influenced by the five-dome style of the fire shrine.

- b) Continued veneration of Zoroastrian places of worship.¹²²
- c) Free-standing *chahār tāq* inside a courtyard.¹²³
- d) A combination of fire shrine and imams' graves seems likely in several places due to local proximity and typological closeness'.

The remains of weaving dating back to the seventh through tenth centuries¹²⁴ are too few to convey a detailed picture of those centuries, | but they do [277] show a close connection with Sasanid production. There is no doubt that the renowned and extensive activity in this field, which found expression in the great carpets of the Sasanid palaces in Seleucia-Ctesiphon¹²⁵ or in valuable textiles, would show the same picture here.¹²⁶ As Byzantine silk weaving during the ninth-tenth centuries was entirely in the Sasanid style, we might be justified in concluding that at least until the ninth century the old styles were retained in Persian silk weaving as well. An independent Islamic style emerges only during the Seljuk era (end of Erdmann's notes).

The subject of painting is rather more complex because we are unable to make definitive statements concerning the existence of Sasanid miniature

122 There is evidence of this up to the nineteenth century at the fire altar in Tang-i Karam and on the plateau of Alvand.

123 Some *chahār tāq* style buildings survive, for instance in the eighteenth-century fire shrine in Baku and the Muşallā in Yazd (1551/958 AH) where, however, we might be looking at the remains of an old fire shrine, and in the courtyard of the Ḥusaynīya in Taft, where there are some in other places as well. Fires are lit and circled there to this day in connection with the lamentation ceremony for Ḥusayn (see M. Siroux in *Athār-é Iran* 1938, 89ff.).

124 Mas. VII 290 records great carpets in Persian Sōzangird embroidery, representing human portraits from the Sasanid and Umayyad eras, but showing Persian inscriptions. See Wiet; illustrations in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, VI, pls. 981–83.

125 See individual references in Athīr II 199–201, and also Minorsky, 'Geographical Factors', 622.

126 Ibn Khaldūn II 58 emphasizes that the use of the *firāz* (see EI IV 850–58 and s 265–67) originated with the Persian kings.

painting.¹²⁷ However, the frequent references to precious illustrated, mainly Manichaean, manuscripts¹²⁸ and the prolific development of miniature painting during the Islamic era, which was at first cultivated mostly in illustrations of Arabic texts and later also used to adorn the works of poets such as Firdawsi and Nizami, shows clearly that there was no dearth of models from which to copy. Indeed, during the battle for Samarkand in 708 the governor al-Ḥajjāj had a picture¹²⁹ of the city painted,¹³⁰ on which he then based his orders for the attack,¹³¹ furnishing literary proof that painting was used for secular ends as well.

[278] In Islamic art, the oldest surviving miniatures date only from the thirteenth century, from the Baghdad school and in Persia only from the fourteenth century. The gap between these first originals and Sasanid painting is slowly beginning to close. It has long been understood that the so-called Minā'ī ceramics of the early thirteenth century, which feature decorations including a wealth of figures, would be unthinkable without contemporary miniature painting. It is interesting that Sasanid subject matter is once more a favourite in the decoration of these ceramics. Finds in Nishapur prove that monumental painting, which was of such great importance during the Sasanid era, continued to exist.¹³²

All this confirms the view that we must see visual art as a factor of the first importance when it came to preserving and reviving the Iranian national consciousness. Its impact does not, however, end here, for in general it became the model for Islamic art per se. The caliphs' building projects in Baghdad, Samarra¹³³ and elsewhere were often carried out by Iranian artists and master craftsmen, but in many cases the latter also influenced artists of non-Iranian

127 Erdmann, 'Eber-Darstellung', 368; Hans H. Schaeder in *Jahrbuch der preuß. Kunstsammlungen* 57 (1936), 231f.

128 Mani possessed a very educated understanding of art, to which his followers owe the carefully cultivated artistic tradition in the field of illumination; see U.M. de Villard, 'The relations of Manichaean art to Iranian art', in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, III 1820–28; W. Bang Kaup, 'Manichäische Miniaturen', in *Muséon* xxxvii (1924) 1/2, 109–15, citing Albert von LeCoq, *Die manichäischen Miniaturen*, Berlin 1923.

129 This is certainly what is meant by *šūra*, not 'plan'; after all, it would have been hardly possible to produce a plan of a city one could not enter.

130 Ṭab. II 1199; Athīr IV 204.

131 See also Kurt Halter, *Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, Leipzig 1937. Stchoukine, 'La peinture iranienne', on which see Lorey, 'Peinture musulmane ou peinture iranienne?'; Sakisian, *La miniature persane* (containing very debateable theories, see Ernst Kühnel in *OLZ* 1930, 467–69; Lucien Bouvat in *JA* ser. 12, XVI, 1930, 167ff.).

132 Erdmann, 'Eber-Darstellung', 351.

133 Herzfeld, *Sam*.

background to such a degree that the Iranian understanding of art would be the standard in this region for centuries to come, even though it was blended with other influences, such as those from Byzantium.

On this subject Kurt Erdmann has the following remarks, principally in connection with Samarra, since Baghdad has not been studied.

Of Sasanid elements we must mention: In architecture: There is the use of terraces and the principle of directed sequences in the layout of rooms, *ayvāns* for gatehouses, and main rooms with a dome. There is also the covering of the skirting inside the rooms with stucco (orthostats) and the development of the Samarra stucco-style out of the late Sasanid stucco-style. Finally, there is a direct continuation of the Sasanid tradition in painting.

In ceramics: There is a continuation of the Sasanid tradition which at the same time incorporates strong East Asian influences, such as overflow glazes and imitation porcelain. There is also an evolution in lustring as an independent style technique in order to turn ceramics into luxury objects. Early pieces in this technique clearly show their relation to vessels made from precious metals, even though the exact type has so far not been found among the Sasanid material. There is a continuation of individual Sasanid motifs in the simpler 'stamped ceramics' and ceramics with blue painting on a white base. In ca. 800 we also see figured motifs, some of them originally Sasanid, appearing in the decoration of degenerating lustre ware. [279]

Glass: The prolific production of this material is likely to be a direct technical as well as artistic continuation of the local Sasanid workshop tradition (end of Erdmann's notes).

Despite this far-reaching influence, Iranian artistic sense had to fight a constant battle against Islam's hostility to images once this had become established. In Iran the representation of animals and humans, as shown by the abovementioned precious-metalwork from Maḥmūd's palace in Ghazna,¹³⁴ never stopped, and henceforth the hostility to images displayed by the rest of the Islamic world became more vacillating. The Shi'a's more favourable attitude

134 The excavations of the French archaeological mission in Afghanistan under Daniel Schlumberger in 1949 unearthed a palace of this ruler which contained 48 painted figures (perhaps of the bodyguard) in the 'great audience chamber'. See his account in the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* after the *Manchester Guardian*, reprinted in the *New York Times* of 28 July 1950 (information kindly passed to me by Dr Rudolf Loewenthal of Cornell University in Ithaca, NY). S. Flury, 'Le décor des monuments de Ghazna', in *Syria* VI (1925), 61–90.

towards images¹³⁵ is certainly in part due to the fact that over time Shi'ism became an essentially Iranian religion. Of course, the Persian artistic sense did not remain entirely untouched by foreign influences. These came from China via Ṭarāz (Talās), where we find not only ceramics showing a Chinese influence but also Iranian ware from Samarkand in the tenth through twelfth centuries,¹³⁶ in the wake of the continuous import of silk. This material had been known since the Arsacid era, and was produced in Persia itself during the fifth and sixth centuries. Chinese imports also included their increasingly famous porcelain¹³⁷ and paper, and may well have been boosted by the fact that Buddhism had earlier taken root in the East of Iran,¹³⁸ bringing with it Indian [280] as well as Chinese influences,¹³⁹ but on this, | as on all the other individual questions and stylistic analyses, art history will have the final say.

This section will conclude with the following contribution by K. Erdmann, who has studied the significance of the recent excavations in Nishapur for early Islamic Iranian art.

Our knowledge of early Islamic art in the East so far rests mainly on the excavations of Samarra, whose finds may be assumed to be valid for Baghdad as well. Here, early Islamic art may be seen without preliminary stages, and clearly belonging to the court. While various other digs in Iraq and Iran have cut into Islamic layers, none of them has unearthed a site of similar importance. The excavations undertaken by the Metropolitan Museum (New York) in Nishapur are the first stage of a dig that may turn out to be equal to Samarra.¹⁴⁰ Unlike Samarra, Nishapur is a naturally grown city. Founded in the Sasanid era, it remained an important centre until the middle of the twelfth century. So far

135 Kühnel, 'Kunst und Volkstum', 129–31. Henri Lammens, 'L'attitude de l'Islam primitif en face des arts figurés', in id., *Om.* 351–89. K.A.C. Creswell, 'The lawfulness of painting in early Islam', in *IC* xxiv (1950), 218–25.

136 See A.N. Bernstamm's ('Bernštam') report on the excavation: *Kratkie soobščeniya o dokladyach i polevykh issledovaniyakh instituta istorii mat. kul't* (*Short papers on the reports and excavations of the Inst. of Hist. of Mat. Culture*), I, Moscow and Leningrad 1939, 31.

137 Athīr v 170. See Paul Kahle, 'Islamische Quellen zum chinesischen Porzellan', in *ZDMG* LXXXVIII (1934), 5ff. and 45 (addendum). Concerning T'ang ceramics in Nishapur in the ninth century see Hauser in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* xxxvii/2 (New York 1942), 109.

138 Albert von LeCoq, *Die buddhistische Spät-Antike in Mittelasien IV: Atlas zu den Wandmalereien*, Berlin 1924.

139 Athīr ix 175 (1042–43: Seljuks' rich loot of porcelain vases filled with precious stones and jewel-encrusted gold rings in Rayy).

140 *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, (1937) II 1–39; (1938) II 1–23; (1942) I 82–119.

excavations have exposed a few mounds only, and the Sasanid city has not yet been found. However, there are clear indications of the city's cultural heyday under the Tāhirids, which continued, after the interlude of the Šaffārid occupation, under the Samanids, who were succeeded by the Ghaznavids and Seljuks. The earthquake of 1140 and the destruction of the city by the Oghuz Turks in 1153 appears to have been the final point, at least for this period. No ruins survive above ground. The buildings excavated are not comparable to Samarra. One palace is of only modest size. Of two small mosques one is a room with two pillars, the other one is an *ayvān*. Most of the ruins are private houses.

The focus of the excavation has so far been on interior furnishings and small pieces of art. The overall image is similar to that in Samarra, with the skirting, in some rooms only, covered with stucco panels, while the higher wall surfaces are decorated with paintings. As in Samarra the stucco decorations are purely ornamental, but unlike Samarra Style C they are not cast in moulds but, like Samarra Style A and B, carved with a knife. As in Samarra, figurative motifs are used only in painting, but the paintings in Nishapur are more strongly influenced by Sasanid style than in Samarra, where the style is a combination of Sasanid and Hellenistic features. Some wall paintings in the style of the stucco decoration were found in Nishapur, while there are no similar ones in Samarra. | [281] Thus the furnishings of the rooms show that, while there is basic similarity, the starting point was fundamentally different and characterized by the more deliberate continuation of Sasanid elements and also central Asian influence.

Finds of small pieces of art include, as in Samarra, mainly ceramics and glass. Of these, the glass finds in which the glass flux is proof of local production are of particular significance, as they are the first proof of glass production in Iran. The picture we have so far is not as diverse as that in Samarra, but individual pieces are of surprising quality. The technical analysis appears to correspond to that of Samarra. The overall picture of the ceramics, however, is quite unlike that of Samarra's ceramics, where the defining pieces are imitations of Chinese ware. While there are some of these among the finds in Nishapur, and there are some Chinese imports, they are of only minor importance. The second large group of Samarra ceramics, lustre ware, is not found in Nishapur. The technique was obviously not known there, proof of which is found in the imitation of Iraqi lustre ware using other techniques. The ceramics typical of Samarra and Iraq, which have dark blue painted decoration on a white slip, appear to be unknown in Nishapur as well.

Even so, the variety of ceramic finds in Nishapur is particularly wide and is richer than in Samarra, albeit less precious. In the main the style is under-glaze painting. There are a large number of technical and artistic variations. Figural decoration is hardly used, with the exception of a group discussed below, and

plant motifs are used only in strongly stylized forms. A major role is played by script, which is used as ornament and reaches a perfection never again attained. The majority of the ceramics found in Nishapur are also known from finds in Samarkand-Afrāsiyāb¹⁴¹ and are consequently classed as 'Samanid'. According to the coin finds in Nishapur, however, a number of the pieces found there date from the Ṭāhirid and Ṣaffārid eras. This leads to the conclusion that the ceramics found in Afrāsiyāb, which had previously been thought to date mainly from the tenth century, may in fact be dated across all of the ninth and tenth centuries. Indeed, the question arises whether the term 'Samanid' is used with any justification, or whether the ceramics in question are in fact generic Turkestanian ware which are only called 'Samanid' because of a chronological coincidence.

[282] No wasters have been found in Nishapur to date. All of the discovered kilns were used for low-quality ware only and consequently there is no proof that these ceramics were manufactured in Nishapur at all. We do, on the other hand, have a number of wasters of diverse styles from Afrāsiyāb, which confirm that they were manufactured there. Thus so far, there is much evidence in favour of the theory that Afrāsiyāb was the centre of this prolific ceramic production, and that ceramics were sent to Nishapur from there. It is surprising that this should have happened on such a large scale, but it is not impossible. This assumption is furthermore supported by the fact that there are styles of ceramics found in Nishapur of which no specimens have been found in Afrāsiyāb so far and that among these there is at least one group whose stylistic principles are so unlike Afrāsiyāb ceramics as to contradict the latter. This group comprises ceramics which are technically remarkable, because of the use of a brilliant yellow, and artistically unusual, because of their decorations, which closely cover the background in big and small figures that are occasionally human and are often drawn rather crudely. This might be a special Ṭāhirid form, possibly manufactured in Nishapur itself, although no wasters of this have yet been found either. It is remarkable that the reminiscences of Sasanid pieces are very strong in these ceramics. However, this is not so with regards to the techniques used, for there is no extant Sasanid ceramic style that could represent an earlier stage, but the selection of the motifs used do reflect Sasanid styles.

In summary we can say:

Stucco: The earliest stucco art in Nishapur is to some degree related to the middle stage (Sam. B) in Samarra, but shows a noticeably distinctive touch. Nishapur does not take the next step to the third stage (Sam. C), which is the

141 Kurt Erdmann in: *Faenza* xxv (1937), 125–37; Berliner Museen XIII (1942), 18–28; *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute* vi (New York 1946), 102–10.

Samarra style in the true sense of the word, on either the technical or the artistic level. Casting from moulds is unknown. Consequently the relationship between the two styles of stucco work is still unclear. The evidence from Nishapur is at this point too limited to allow a conclusion. The three possibilities are: (1.) The Nishapur stucco derives from *Sam. B*. Arguing against this are the clearly individual traits and the fact that style B was obviously a transitional stage in Samarra. If the influence went from Samarra to Nishapur, we would have to assume that style C must also have been known in Nishapur. (2.) Nishapur stucco is an earlier stage in relation to Samarra stucco. Arguing against this is the fact that development starts in Samarra at an earlier stylistic point than the stucco in Nishapur. Furthermore, the development of *Sam. A–C* is so self-contained that an external influence at a time later than A is highly unlikely. (3.) The development of stucco decoration in Samarra and Nishapur takes place independently, connected only by the common late Sasanid starting point. At present this is the most probable of our theories.

Painting: The use of painting besides ornamental stucco shows a clear connection to Samarra where, however, there are no finds of larger-scale | figurative frescoes of historical subjects, and, going by the finds to date, none are likely to emerge. In this field Nishapur paintings follow Sasanid tradition more closely, just as the figures in the frescoes show clearly Sasanid characteristics mixed with Central Asian influences. What is important is that the Nishapur paintings allow us to follow the development from a first stylistic (Umayyad) stage showing strong Sasanid influences to a second stylistic (Abbasid) stage, which is much more strongly Islamized. [283]

Glass: The record so far essentially corresponds to that of Samarra, although the finds from Nishapur do not show a similar wealth of production. It is certain that there was local glass manufacture, but we cannot be sure of what styles exactly were produced.

Ceramics: The immense wealth of the finds shows that there was completely independent manufacture that was hardly influenced by Samarra. However, the centre of this manufacture must be assumed to have been in Samanid Samarkand. That it must have been significant is supported by the fact that the ceramic finds of Shusha include several instances of Turkestanian ware, while the import of Iraqi ware into Afrāsiyāb as well as Nishapur appears to have been negligible¹⁴² (end of Erdmann's notes).

142 We now have to add the results of the Russian excavations in Khwarazm: see the articles by Tolstov in the Secondary Bibliography below. An overview of the results can be found in Bertold Spuler, 'Chwārizms (Choresmiens) Kultur nach S.P. Tolstovs Forschungen', in *Historia* 1/4 (Baden-Baden 1950), 601–15.

Architecture¹⁴³

While a significant number of small pieces of art survive to the present day, the situation in the field of architecture is quite different. This is due above all to the fact that the archaeological investigation of Iran has emerged only over the most recent decades¹⁴⁴ and has focussed in the main on ancient Persian [284] monuments, but also to the fact | that everyday dwellings in those days were constructed from mud in nearly all the districts of the country.¹⁴⁵ The sources state this explicitly and excavations of dwellings dating from early Islamic times provide clear confirmation.¹⁴⁶ They also show that the mud buildings were often resting on stone foundations,¹⁴⁷ which is well known from tradition. Furthermore there were numerous houses and public buildings¹⁴⁸ constructed from bricks (called by an Akkadian–Arabic word: *ājurr*),¹⁴⁹ for instance in Hulwan¹⁵⁰ and Şaymara.¹⁵¹ Buildings made from stone were also known,¹⁵² especially for monumental purposes,¹⁵³ and these monumental structures, especially those from the early times, were soon the focus of public interest, because stone was a naturally occurring building material in Iran, unlike, for

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- 143 See Ernst Diez, *Baukunst in Chorâsân*. Žukovskiy, 'Drevnosti Zakapiyskago Kraja'. Vjatkin, *Afrasiyab*. A. Semënov, *Po Zakaspiyskin razvalinam (By Transcaspiian ruins)*, Tashkent 1928 (not accessible to me). Camilla Trever, *Terracottas from Afrasiab*, Leningrad 1934.
- 144 Herzfeld, Khor., has a map of buildings and information about buildings throughout the Islamic era in Iran facing p. 128. For a list of the architectural monuments between the Islamic conquest and the Mongol era see *ibid.*, 163–71. See also Tolstov, *Civ.* 235f.
- 145 Khurasan: Muq. 278, 282, 288; Išt. 254. Sistan: Muq. 304, 307f.; Išt. 247f. Present-day Afghanistan: Muq. 308; Išt. 264, 268–74. Marv: Išt. 258. Rayy: Išt. 207. Isfahan: Muq. 388f.; Išt. 198. Kirman: Muq. 464f. Fars (where there were in fact many stone buildings): Muq. 278. Azerbaijan: Muq. 278, 377. / Hulwan: Išt. 200. Schwarz III 142–44 (Fars), VII 836f. (Jibāl).
- 146 'The Iranian Expedition 1937', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XXXIII (New York 1938), II, 8f.
- 147 A list of the topographical distribution of building materials in Iran can be found in Herzfeld, Khor. 160–62.
- 148 Mosques in Nishapur and surrounding towns: Muq. 316–18; in Ġiruft: *ibid.* 466.
- 149 The bazaar in Tirmidh: Muq. 291; Nishapur: Rav. 182 (at the time of the destruction 1154); Rayy: Išt. 207; Ṭabaristan: Ĥud. 134; Azerbaijan: Ibn Ĥawq. 237.
- 150 Išt. 200.
- 151 *Ibid.*
- 152 In Sistan: Muq. 306; Fars: *ibid.* 441, Ibn Ĥawq. 278.
- 153 The two Friday mosques in Marv: Muq. 310.

example, in Mesopotamia.¹⁵⁴ However, as far as we know, hardly any of the brick buildings survive, with the exception of the tomb of the Samanid Ismāʿīl and some very early mosque domes.¹⁵⁵

Our knowledge of the architecture of those days can only be sketchy. Besides fires and the influences of the elements, the frequent destructions of entire cities played a part in this as well. We hear of the occurrence of destruction during the Arab conquest, for instance in Rayy,¹⁵⁶ but also in later times. However, such destruction is offset by the conquerors building | many towns,¹⁵⁷ [285] frequently in the neighbourhood of destroyed places, with the result that there are many ancient, ruined towns next to new settlements.¹⁵⁸ As is always the case, the older buildings were heavily used as a source of building materials. Princes and governors who are known as great sponsors of building work,¹⁵⁹ in which personal glory, of course, played a major role,¹⁶⁰ would certainly have contributed to stripping ancient monuments for this purpose, and as later generations did the same, there is not much that survives above ground. Thus archaeology still has an open field here. Confirmation of this is provided by the

154 The ancient buildings in Shiraz and other places in Fars are home to many legends: Mas. IV 79 (ca. 944). Concerning stone buildings in Iran see, generally, Susa, *Rayy Sāmārā*, 333f.; on traditions of local legends Massé, *Croyances*, II 374ff.

155 See p. 274 above.

156 Ṭab. I 2655. Despite al-Mahdī's buildings most of the city was still in ruins as late as 930: Iṣṭ. 208; Ibn Ḥawq. 371. Nevertheless, it was the most populous city of the Islamic East beyond Baghdad (Iṣṭ. 207), while Nishapur covered a larger area (ibid. 202). In the eleventh century the circumference of Isfahan was 11 km: Barthold, *Med.* 97.

157 Shiraz (founded as a Muslim army camp on the occasion of Iṣṭakhr's siege): Ibn Ḥawq.² 279; Reitemeyer 91f. Qazvīn: Bal. 323; Reitemeyer 90. Qom 702: Sam. 461v; Abū ʿl-Fidā, *Geogr.* II/2 159; see Schwarz 557f.; Ivanow, *Founder*, 15. Balkh 725–26: Ṭab. II 1490. Rayy (the future caliph al-Mahdī): Bal. 319; Yāq. VII 399; Reitemeyer 88f. Isfahan 767: Browne, *Iṣṭ.* 9. Rebuilt by the Persians: Panā(h) Khusrau near Shiraz by Panā(h)-Khusrau, a son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (settles craftsmen in the town): Muq. 431; Yāq. VII 236f.; Rud. 68. Mez 390. Rayy by the Seljuk Tughril Beg 1042–43: Athīr IX 75.

158 E.g. in Rayy: Ṭab. I 2655, and in Ṭus.: Ibn Khall/Wüst. I 50 = Slane I 41.

159 Ca. 765 in Ṭabaristan: Ibn Iṣṭ. 124f. The governor Layth ibn Ashʿāth in Sistan 815–19: TS 176. ʿAḍud al-Dawla: Muq. 449; Zark. 33. Malikshāh: Rav. 132; Ḥus., ʿUrāḍa/Türk. II 243. An *atabeg* in Fars in the twelfth century: Ibn al-Balkhī XIII.

160 Muḥ. Ib. 164 (the new ruler of Kirman is asked by his vizier to build a madrasa and a tomb for his father, 'as he had to do something'). In 1042 Mawḍūd of Ghazna built Fathābād ('City of Victory') in the place where he defeated his uncle Muḥammad (his father's murderer): Athīr IX 168.

few excavations of early Islamic times already being carried out in Khwarazm,¹⁶¹ Marv¹⁶² and in Afrāsiyāb/Nishapur.¹⁶³

The foundation walls of dwellings and of public buildings, some of which were built from stone, some from clay, were richly decorated¹⁶⁴ and provided a wide scope for artistic activity. Buildings usually had two floors¹⁶⁵ and were laid out, for example, according to the following plan: at the rear of a small roofed terrace (*aywān*) we find the entrance to a floor containing seven small chambers of twelve to sixteen square metres. One of the rooms, obviously the kitchen, contained a cooking pot and a small stove, a second room an oven and a hearth made from fired bricks. There were also small braziers (*mangal*) for heating.¹⁶⁶ The third chamber was mostly occupied by a bed and the fourth contained a raised mud platform, which evidently served as a table. In a corner of the fifth room was a hearth and half of the sixth room was taken up by a heating stove (Turk. *oçaq*) and a washbasin. One of the rooms stood empty. These chambers were connected by doors.¹⁶⁷ Beneath the house there would have been a cellar cooled by means of water basins, where people would stay during the hot season and bathe as well.¹⁶⁸ In higher regions the roofs were usually flat and used as sleeping quarters during the hot season. In rainy areas, such as Amul, the roofs were sloping.¹⁶⁹ There was also a heating system and a latrine.¹⁷⁰

Of course we cannot simply draw conclusions from these Khwarazmi constructions to the style of architecture found in other parts of the country, as climatic differences have to be taken into consideration, which also have an impact on the use of building materials. On the southern shore of the Caspian

161 Terenožkin 183f. Tolstov, Chor.; Tolstov, *Civ.* 240ff.

162 See Žukovskiy, 'Drevnosti Zakapiyskago Kraja'.

163 See Vjatkin, *Afrasiyab*, and Walter Hauser, 'The Iranian Expedition 1936: The plaster dado from Sabz Pūshān', in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* xxxi (New York 1937), 27f.

164 Hauser (as previous note) 27f. See p. 277f. above.

165 Terenožkin 183f.

166 Wood was usually used for heating. In wooded regions, such as Ṭabaristan 864, there were 'firewood forests': Ṭab. III 1524.

167 Terenožkin 184–87.

168 Walter Hauser, in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* xxxvii (New York 1942), 85–87 (with ill.), shows the layout of a shower-bath (from the excavations in Afrāsiyāb). Similar facts are reported by Aleksandr J. Jakubovskiy from Panjikent: *VDI* 1948, 159f.

169 Išt. 211.

170 'The Iranian Expedition 1937', in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1938), 8f. Further information on buildings in Jibāl are summarized in Schwarz VII 845f.

Sea, especially in Gilan, Mazandaran,¹⁷¹ although less in Gurgan,¹⁷² but also in Ghazna,¹⁷³ and in some cases also in Samarkand¹⁷⁴ and Bukhara¹⁷⁵ as well as in Fars,¹⁷⁶ we find old, traditional wooden houses, construction of which dates back to the most ancient of designs¹⁷⁷ and which were not suitable for other regions, such as Sistan,¹⁷⁸ but which were, due to the materials used, even more short-lived than mud and stone houses. However, ancient tradition and the character of the raw material led to these basic forms being retained for longer than they were with houses built with mud or stone. In other regions, underground dwellings, which perhaps served as a refuge or a shelter against the elements, were characteristic, for example, in parts of Azerbaijan¹⁷⁹ and Arraghān.¹⁸⁰

Some city plans are known to us thanks to excavations. They are laid out at right angles and have narrow streets¹⁸¹ that gave a lot of shade | because of projecting oriel windows. They had running water from reservoirs,¹⁸² some of which were in open canals, others in underground conduits. In addition, some houses had a giant barrel containing ice-cold water¹⁸³ in order to supply the water needed by the household.¹⁸⁴ In earlier times a city would usually

171 Išt. 211; Yāq. I 183.

172 Išt. 212.

173 Muq. 304.

174 Muq. 278. Gafurov 182–85.

175 Muq. 282. See V.A. Šiškin, *Archeologičeskie raboty 1937 g. v. zapadno časti Bucharskogo oazisa* (*Archaeological work in the western part of the oasis of Bukhara 1937*), Tashkent 1940, and B.P. Denike on the excavations in Tirmidh in *Kul'tura Vostoka I–II* (Moscow 1927–28); G.V. Grigor'ev, 'Tali-Barzu' (near Samarkand), in *Trudy Otdela Vostoka Gos. Ermitaža* 1.

176 Muq. 426; Ibn Ḥawq. 281.

177 Herzfeld, Khor. 157.

178 Išt. 241; Ibn Ḥawq.² 414.

179 Muq. 375.

180 Nāšir-i Khosraw 91.

181 Muq. 429 (Shiraz).

182 Bal. 319 (Rayy ca. 660). Concerning canals see *EI* II 759f.

183 In Samarkand: Išt. 290; Ibn Ḥawq.² 339.

184 The oldest cities possessing this facility are named in the tenth century as Zarang in Afghanistan and Arraghān: Ibn Ḥawq. 299, see *Mez* 359. Also e.g. Qom (Yā'q., *Buld.* 274); Nishapur (Nāšir-i Khosraw 278; Išt. 255; Ibn Ḥawq. 312; Yāqūt IV 857); Dinavar: Muq. 394. For Samarkand see Išt. 216; Ibn Ḥawq.² 366 (the civil servants supervising this facility, which dated from pre-Islamic times, were Zoroastrians who were exempt from paying taxes in return, see *Mez* 392 and n. 6).

be arranged around a fortress (called *diž* = *diz*)¹⁸⁵ and the residential quarter (*shahristān*).¹⁸⁶ Arab influence brought the suburbs (*rabaḡ*; *bērūn*) and the merchant quarter,¹⁸⁷ which had originally been outside the town, although, as in Qom, it was possible for more than one to be joined together to form a city,¹⁸⁸ inside the town walls. They would soon become the centre of public life and the foundation had been laid from which the bazaar would evolve.¹⁸⁹ Towns were the centres of regions ([*i*]stān, Arabic *kūra* from Greek *χώρα*), which were divided into districts (*tassūj* pl. *tasāsij*) and municipal areas (*rustāq* pl. *rasātīq*).¹⁹⁰ City gates were made from wood¹⁹¹ or iron,¹⁹² which presumably means iron fittings. In Shiraz, ‘Aḡud al-Dawla had the doors of his palace covered with felt and sprayed with water for a cooling effect.¹⁹³ We hear only rarely of gardens and parks near cities,¹⁹⁴ but these certainly existed in large numbers.

Cultural Influence

We shall say a few words in conclusion on the influence Persian culture had outside of Persia, though this must be a very brief sketch only, as Islamic culture outside Persia cannot be discussed here in its entire extent. No proof is needed of the fact that even during the pre-Islamic era Iranian culture was influential in all of Western Asia. This influence could also be felt in Arabia, starting in Mesopotamia and the Persian colonies in South Arabia. The

185 Quhandiz/Kuhandiz denotes specific localities, see Wolff, *Glossar*, Index 676b: 1. the fortress of Nishapur; 2. the name of a city.

186 Nowadays administrative district; evidence also found in names of various towns. It may also mean ‘fortification, fortified town’. Parthian *shahristān* probably also means provincial capital (Friedrich C. Andreas, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, ed. by W. Henning, Berlin 1934, III 861 c. 26, SB Akad. Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse XXVII), refers to Mani’s death in Bēlābād (= Gondēshāpūr), the *shahristān* (‘capital’) of Khuzistan.

187 Bal., Ans. v 162; Yāq. VII 19f. Mez 390; Barthold, *Turk.*, 78; Nikitin, Nat. 221.

188 Qommī 24.

189 Barthold, *Med.* 39f.

190 Muq. 133; Lökk. 164–66 (and n. 206 on p. 256); Susa, *Rayy Sāmarā’* I 164–65 and n. 1.

191 Iṣṭ. 265–67 (Herat); Qommī 33f. (city wall of Qom).

192 Isfahan: Iṣṭ. 198; a city gate in Herat: *ibid.* 265

193 Muq. 449.

194 E.g. the one Maḥmūd of Ghazna had planted near Balkh. Its upkeep was a great burden on the population for a long time: Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū/Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* I 157f. citing Bayhaqī (lost section; see ‘Awfī 155, no. 409; 163, no. 611 = 197, no. 1289). Bust was also famous for its parks (Sam. 80 v), probably linked to the Ghaznavids’ palaces here; see p. 279 above.

Prophet had at least some degree of knowledge of the Persians and their religion of Zoroastrianism.¹⁹⁵ We may assume with some certainty that there were Persians among the people around him, even though the legends about Salmān al-Fārisī are mostly pure fiction. Under the early caliphs there were also Iranians in Medina, some of whom had come there as prisoners, such as Hōrmiz(d)ān, but others who had reached it of their own free will, and occasionally they would enter there the actual presence of a caliph, such as 'Umar.¹⁹⁶

The significance of these details pales beside the fact that even at that time the Arabs had a firm hold of Mesopotamia as well as Iran. During the first decades the self-contained structure of the Arab ruling class and their sense of superiority, generated mostly by their profession of the 'true faith', stood as barriers against the influx of Iranian ideas. However, not even the Umayyad court remained completely untouched by Iranian influences.¹⁹⁷ Of course, Iranian manners might still have met with rejection in those days, as we can see from an instance in which an Arab was punished for dressing in Persian garments.¹⁹⁸ During the last years of Umayyad rule in Western Asia, however, some people would deliberately dress in the Persian style and imitate the Persian way of life.¹⁹⁹ They expressed a liking for Persian customs and | even in the adminis- [289] tration we see the first signs of Persian ideas.²⁰⁰

In the Abbasid era all this made way for an almost unfettered invasion of Persian ideas, Persian customs and Persian taste. The Abbasid caliphs set the example for the population. They deliberately followed the example of the Sasanid rulers: they used the latter's ceremonial books²⁰¹ in order to regulate the life at court and with the 'vizier' they created a counterpart²⁰² to the Umayyad *ḥājib*, whose office had been more or less that of a mere gatekeeper previously.²⁰³ In this way they distanced themselves from the public²⁰⁴ to such

195 See Goldziher, *Rel.* 120.

196 Aghānī/Būlāq XI 24. See Goldziher, 'Islamisme et Parsisme', 123, n. 1; Lammens, *Om.* 102, n. 1 (also mentions the book of Persian kings from which Mu'āwiya I had someone read to him every day: *Mas.* v 77).

197 Ibn Khaldūn I. See Ebermann, 'Persy sredi arabskich poetov'.

198 Aghānī/Būlāq XIV 104.

199 Around 740 a certain drink was consumed at the caliph's court over seven weeks because it was Persian: Aghānī/Būlāq VI 130. The game of polo is also already mentioned here: K. 'Uyūn 114.

200 Ibn Khaldūn I 312. Kremer, *Cultur.* I 148; Lökk. 145.

201 Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 100; Pedersen 64f.

202 See Pedersen 73. See p. 230 above on the word *vizier*.

203 This title retained its authority among the Spanish Umayyads.

204 Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 100.

a degree that loud protests ensued.²⁰⁵ Soon they introduced the office of the executioner who was employed at court and who was a symbol of their absolute rule – a rule that had no more need of the advice of the aristocrats around them. Noble or pure Arab descent no longer counted for anything; physical mixing with Iranians became so common among the ruling classes²⁰⁶ that we find a man such as Abū 'l-‘Alā' al-Ma‘arrī writing satirical verses about the situation.²⁰⁷ Besides the originally Zoroastrian influences on the Islamic faith,²⁰⁸ the idea of the ruler as the guardian of orthodoxy, which had been entirely foreign to Arabian thought, was derived from the Persian model.²⁰⁹ Unlike the Umayyads,²¹⁰ the Abbasids were only too happy to be compared with the Sasanids.²¹¹ It is probable that Sasanid chronicles were among the influences on early historiography,²¹² even though its main source can be found elsewhere.^[290] Coins bore the image of the ruler in Persian attire | in the Sasanid style,²¹³ which was still very much alive in Persia in those days.²¹⁴

The opulence and pomp of the court influenced the way of life of the ruling class all the more because over several decades the leading figures were Persians. Under the Barmakids²¹⁵ the post of the chief secretary was also frequently held by the descendants of the ancient Iranian dynasties of civil servants.²¹⁶ It comes as no surprise that these perpetuated the customs and usages of the Iranian administration and founded the various *dīwāns*²¹⁷ or administrative departments. In addition there was the Persian system of titles and the bestowing of 'garments of honour' (*khil'a*).²¹⁸ The organisation of

205 Goldziher, Had. 18.

206 *Dīwān des Abū Nuwās, des größten lyrischen Dichters der Araber*, ed. Alfred Kremer, Vienna 1855, 11. On the subject in general see the summary in Guidi, 'Il contributo della Persia alla civiltà musulmana'.

207 Namely in his *Luzūmiyāt* II 446 (Cairo, 1891–95).

208 See p. 138 above and Goldziher, 'Islamisme et Parsisme', 127ff. Corbin, *Les motifs zoroastriens dans la philosophie de Sohrawardi*.

209 Goldziher, Rel. 120–22 (comparisons with Dēnkard); Goldziher, 'Islamisme et Parsisme', 124f.

210 Aghānī/Būlāq IV 158.

211 Goldziher, 'Islamisme et Parsisme', 124f.

212 Ibid. 122 and (referring to it) *GAL* I 134.

213 The caliph al-Mutawakkil: Kremer, *Streifz.* 33.

214 See p. 272 above.

215 Pedersen 74, 84ff.: Browne I 258; Marquart, *Wehrot*, 180. See Nadvi, 'The origin of the Barmakids'.

216 Early ninth century under Hārūn al-Rashīd, see Jahsh. 285.

217 Kremer, *Streifz.* XII: Kremer *Cultur.* I 65.

218 Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, 100.

housekeeping at the caliph's court, as well as the accepted etiquette at public spectacles etc.,²¹⁹ was entirely dependent on Iranian models and the lifestyles of the courtiers followed this example as well. The Arabs had been introduced to Persian singing early on,²²⁰ and soon Persian singers, at first from Ḥīra, came to Damascus and then to Baghdad²²¹ and the Persian art of singing and performing began to dominate the caliph's court. Persian fashions, such as wearing the *shāshīya*²²² and weaponry,²²³ found widespread favour as early as ca. 800.²²⁴ Similarly Persian feast days, especially Nowruz, became customs in Mesopotamia and beyond at an early date.²²⁵ In Caucasia, on the other hand, in Armenia and Georgia, the previously strong influence of Iranian culture²²⁶ was to recede with the Christianization of these countries and give way to Western ideas, even though a text such as Šot'a Rust'aveli's *Vep'kh(v)is tqaosani* ('The Man in the Tiger Skin', ca. 1200) still reflects an entirely oriental spirit.

In the intellectual field Persian influence is incalculable²²⁷ because a ^[291] large number of the theologians, historians, grammarians and poets writing in Arabic were of Persian origin and several among them were still fluent in Persian after they had established themselves in Baghdad.²²⁸ Many Iranian characteristics have thus become integral components of Arabic literature, but some Arab concepts were also brought closer to the Persians, such as can be seen in Ṭabarī's historiography.²²⁹ Furthermore, through translation, a selection of Middle Persian literature became known among the Arabs. Let it suffice to remember the work of (Dādh) Rōzbih from Fars, a Zoroastrian²³⁰ by birth,

219 Kremer, *Streifz.* 28f.

220 Kremer, *Cultur.* I 44. See p. 269 above (section 'Music' with references).

221 Aghānī/Cairo I 251; Aghānī/Būlāq xvI 13; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 40–42.

222 The so-called 'Tashkent hat'; nowadays muslin.

223 Ibn Khald. III 275.

224 Jahsh. 329.

225 Šūlī 132 (= Šūlī/Canard 198) (939); Athīr/Tornberg x 28 (1064). See Kremer, *Cultur.* II 268 and p. 482 below; Guest, 'Relations'.

226 See Rice, 'Iranian influences in the Caucasus'.

227 Wesendonk 14. A man such as Ibn Khaldūn (III 270–74) was well aware of the importance the Persian element had in Islamic culture, even though he remained firmly within the framework of the traditional Islamic idea of history and its perception of the *jāhiliya*. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Arabisch* (Göttingen 1919), lists only words borrowed from Persian in pre-Islamic times; see also Fück 10f.

228 Šūlī 249 (993/44).

229 See Gustav Grünebaum, 'Islam and Hellenism', in *Scientia* ser. 6, XLIV (1950), 25.

230 He also wrote a polemic against Islam, see Guidi, *Lotta*, and *GAL*, S I 237 (8). Guidi, 'Il contributo della Persia alla civiltà musulmana', assumes that his true faith was Manichaean.

who took the name of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and created an Arabic version of the *Khodāy-nāma*,²³¹ the very book that was ultimately the model for Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*.²³² It is joined by many more translations, of which the *Kalīla and Dimna*, derived from the Indian *Panchatantra*, as well as the extensive moral – didactic literature of the style characteristic of the Iranian cultural sphere, are also worth mentioning.²³³ We still know the titles of some of these,²³⁴ even though the books themselves have mostly been lost. Some fragments are still [292] just about perceptible in the Persian elements of the Arabian Nights as well.²³⁵ It is not necessary to explain that the Persian influence, which has only begun to be appreciated in more recent times,²³⁶ was constantly accompanied by the Hellenistic one.²³⁷ Both these components had already permeated one another during Late Antiquity²³⁸ and consequently some things were adopted into Islam in their Hellenistic and late Judaean form, although they were originally Iranian.²³⁹ Together, and through their mutual influences as well as their interplay with ancient Western Asian and genuinely Arab-Islamic ideas, they created the culture that would grow to such great importance under the Prophet's banner.

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- 231 Ibn Khall./Wüst. II 125 = Slane I 121. Iqbāl, *Ibn al-Muqaffa'*; *EI* Turk. VI 864–68; Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 25–31; Sadighi 71–71 (list of translated books). For further details see *GAL*, Suppl. I 234–37; Fück 31f.
- 232 The title was changed in this way because the Middle Persian word *khvadhāy* ('lord') narrowed semantically in New Persian to mean 'God', which might have led to dangerous misunderstandings; see p. 234, n. 7 above.
- 233 Composed in verses for Ja'far al-Barmakī, *Jahsh.* 259. See Ross, 'Ibn Muqaffa', 503–5 (quotes a note of Bīrūnī's on a relevant insertion made by Ibn Muqaffa'). Concerning the didactic literature see Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 15–22, where its influence on Arab *adab* literature is discussed in detail.
- 234 From *Fih.* 244f. *Ibid.* 305ff.: Persian popular literature in Arabic clothing; 314: anonymous literature. Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 31–38; Wiet 155–60.
- 235 A fairly superficial summary of these Persian literary influences can be found in Sharīf 24–28. See Nallino, *Racc.* VI 285–303 ('Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi per trafila pehlevica'); *GAL* I 201ff., s I 362ff.
- 236 In particular by Goldziher, 'Islamisme et Parsisme', and id., *Rel.*, as well as Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 1–40 on 'Die literarische persische Überlieferung in den ersten Jh.en des Islams', originally in *Mémoires de l'Ac. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* ser. 8, hist.-phil. Abt., VIII/13, 1909; expanded by N. Slouschz in *Revue du Monde Musulman* XIII/1, 109–27. Engl. transl. by G.K. Nariman, *Iranian influence on Moslem literature*, I, Bombay 1918.
- 237 See Massignón, *Hallāj* (and Hans H. Schaeder on the subject in *Der Islam* XV, 1926, 117–35); also the literature listed on p. 160 nn. above.
- 238 Schaeder, *Vollk. Mensch.* 196–200, 219f.
- 239 See Kremer, *Streifz.* VII, x.

Iranian influence was felt not only in the West. Central Asia proved to be fertile soil for the influences of Persian culture as well. Even in the later Sasanid years, and starting from centres such as Balkh,²⁴⁰ Iranian ideas had taken root among the Sogdians and Turks²⁴¹ and pushed back the Indian–Buddhist concepts comparatively quickly and permanently.²⁴² On the other hand, the civilized nations of Central Asia were instrumental in introducing the West²⁴³ to some Chinese achievements such as porcelain²⁴⁴ and paper manufacture,²⁴⁵ which was introduced by workers who had been taken prisoner during the battles for Samarkand 751 and retained for a long time its connection to the Middle Kingdom.²⁴⁶ | Once Transoxania had been occupied by the Muslims, [293] the Turks were drawn into the realm of Iranian culture and Islam.²⁴⁷ This was a major contributing factor in ensuring that the Turkish ‘infiltration’ of wide areas of Turkestan and Khwarazm between the tenth and twelfth centuries would not be the cultural ruin of these areas. Often thanks to Iranians under Turkish protection, intellectual life was able to survive here more or less uninterrupted until the Mongol conquest.²⁴⁸ Thus one does not feel that the disparaging remarks accompanying the presence of the Turks in the history of Western Asia published by Theodor Nöldeke,²⁴⁹ August Müller and Josef Marquart are truly justified. On the contrary, the strength of the Iranian culture proved its force particularly among this people, allowing this culture to assume the intellectual leadership of Western Asia and to retain it, even if only as patron of the arts and guardian of the political order, for centuries to come.

240 Barthold, *Med.* 75.

241 Aghānī/Būlāq IX 21.

242 Barthold, *Vorl.* 43f.

243 Ibid. 140–44. In his essay ‘Kitaj Persiya Vizantiya’ (in *Novi Vostok* IV, 313–27; following the information given by Egorov in *Bibliografiya Vostoka*, 77, no. 407) F.I. Schmidt expresses the opinion that the *Shāh-nāma* proves a strong Chinese and slight Indian influence in Iran around 1000.

244 Ṭab. III 31, 79f.; Ibn al-Faqīh 316.

245 Tha‘alibī, Laṭ 126. Josef Karabacek, ‘Das arabische Papier’, in *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* II–III (1887), 112f.

246 Karabacek (as in previous note) 108–17; Krymśkiy I 80.

247 Nikitin, *Nat.* 203.

248 Toynbee’s remarks in *Gang*² 403 on a buffer zone around the edges of ‘growing civilizations’, is entirely apposite with regards to Central Asia in those days. On the effect the *Shāh-nāma* had on the Turks, see Aleksandr Samoylovič, ‘Iranskiy geroičeskiy èpos v. literaturach tjurkskich narodov Sredney Azii’ (The Iranian heroic epic in the literatures of the Turkish peoples of Central Asia) in *Firdawsī Collection*, 161–75.

249 See *Der Islam* XIV (1924), 158.

[294] **The Administration of Persia****Terms of Submission**

Persia had been gradually conquered by the Arabs in wars with the Persian king. This fact was fundamental for the political development of the Iranian uplands in early Islamic times, as the Arabs did not see the region they had conquered as one self-contained empire. The unity of the Sasanid days had been abandoned and the individual constituent districts, which had also retained their autonomy to some degree up to this point, were seen as separate administrative units. The *political* notion of Persia (Iran) did not exist throughout the early Middle Ages until the time of Mongol rule. Consequently the Arabs and their attitude towards the Persians were guided by the individual conduct of separate regions or even, most frequently, individual cities and communities, an attitude which was also essentially applied to the conquered parts of the Byzantine Empire. The later Muslim theory of constitutional law, which [295] is found in legal texts,¹ distinguished clearly between | communities submitting ‘voluntarily’ (*ṣulḥan*) to the invading Arabs (Muslims) and communities conquered by force (*anwatan*). As a consequence of having been defeated the

1 These ruled approximately the following: only ‘people of the book’ (Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians) could become *dhimmīs*; not, however, idol worshippers or apostates. The conditions imposed on them must ‘be similar to those of ‘Umar I’: they must wear specific clothing (Jews red or yellow, Christians a belt, *zunnār* and a cross round their neck). Women must wear two different shoes (one black and one white). When bathing, it is sufficient for *dhimmīs* to be wearing a necklace (*ṭawq*) made from iron, copper or lead. They must not ride horses or bear arms. If they ride a mule they must carry a packsaddle on one side. Their buildings must not be higher than those of the Muslims. When attending public meetings they may not sit at the front or in places of honour. In the street they may not stand in the Muslims’ way. They must provide for Muslims passing through, they may not show pigs or wine publicly, nor the Torah or the Gospels. They may not ring bells and not celebrate their feast days publicly, nor are they allowed to lament their death noisily. ‘All this is contained in ‘Umar’s rules’. *Dhimmīs* are liable to capital punishment for fighting against Muslims, adultery with a Muslim woman (even if they claim to be married), persuading a Muslim to reject his faith, or forming gangs with other unbelievers and killing a Muslim. At the same time a *dhimmī*’s possessions would be forfeit: Shayzarī 106f. See also Yahyā 6ff.; Māwardī, ch. v, 44–53 (summary in Berchem 59–73, and 30–34, and Māwardī/Fagnan, 109–29); Lökk. 45, 76f. (the differentiation *ṣulḥan* / ‘*anwatan* is not known in the Qur’an: Caet. v 341, 387; but see Sura 5:37).

latter were to be given virtually entirely into the conquerors' power. Their possessions and their lands became state property while the population was put to the sword or sold. This distinction was, however, at first entirely theoretical, as there was no fixed practice of conquest in the early years. Furthermore, as the conquest progressed to other parts of the country, the Arabs were unable to acquire lands on even a moderate scale and settle, as they would have jeopardized the might of the army on which everything depended.²

In these circumstances the Arabs had to allow even cities and territories subjected by force to be left in the hands of their previous owners³ so long as they were economically profitable. Only fisc lands ('the property of the Persian king') were transferred to 'God and his Messenger'; that is, brought under state control.⁴ Even after one or more rebellions,⁵ treaties would once again be drawn up, and while these often contained harsh conditions, especially with regards to hostages,⁶ and were sometimes concomitant with the slaughtering of large numbers of the adult male population, there was never any thought of depopulating entire districts, which was an attitude that could also be observed elsewhere.⁷ Consequently we know a considerable number of treaties of submission determining the relations between the indigenous population and the Arabs in terms of constitutional law. Even where an earlier battle or subjection by force is clearly mentioned, a treaty always results, the text of which, at least during the early conquest, would follow a fixed framework. | This, in view of the primitive documentary techniques used in drawing up the treatises, allows for the possibility of the genuineness of their contents, all the more so as there are several instances explicitly mentioning a treaty being written.⁸ This treaty (*amān*)⁹ would result in the cessation of hostilities [296]

2 'Umar's alleged ban on settling, in fact, was never implemented: Caet. v 397–99, 429–33.

3 Corresponding decrees of 'Umar are explicitly reported by Bal. 384. See Caet. v 333–42, 360f.

4 Ṭab. I 2899; Marv al-Rōdh.

5 Ṭab. I 2472; Ibn al-A'tham II 143 v and f.; Kurat, Kut. 408, 420.

6 The *marzbān* of Sarakhs 652: Bal. 405. Samarkand: Bal. 411. Sogdians near Samarkand 676: Ṭab. II 179.

7 See *EI* II 13–20.

8 Bal. 399, 406. As there are no surviving originals from Persia, we have no information on what these documents actually looked like. We only know that they bore a seal (735 in Khurasan: Ṭab. II 1577) and that they might have witness signatures (712 in Samarkand: Ibn A'tham in Kurat, Kut. 408f., 420; 972 between the Samanid Maṣṣūr and the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla: Athīr VIII 207). The surviving private papyri from Egypt are not comparable.

9 Even in later centuries the word *amān* meant the same when referring to defeated enemies, e.g. 912–13 in Daylam: Athīr VIII 26.

and usually ensured the survival of the inhabitants,¹⁰ or at least of a previously agreed number of them,¹¹ and their relatives. Property was also often specially guaranteed¹² and a halving of possessions was decreed only very rarely.¹³ It was also rare for a town to attempt to gain extra security by requesting to be directly subject to the caliph.¹⁴ When the Alid, Yaḥyā of Daylam, decided on this course as late as 792–93, he was not successful, as Hārūn al-Rashīd had legal scholars release him from his promise.¹⁵ From time to time these treaties would include decrees about the preservation of the fire shrines¹⁶ and of indigenous customs (*sharāʿi*).¹⁷ Once they had thus been taken under Arab protection (*dhimma*) and become *dhimmīs*,¹⁸ the inhabitants had a right to be defended by the Arabs. Indeed, the protection against attacks of the surrounding nomadic, for example Kurdish,¹⁹ tribes is occasionally explicitly included in the treaty.

[297] In return, the subjected people had above all to pay a comparatively small monetary tribute,²⁰ which was fixed at a certain level in advance and enjoined on the communities that had ‘voluntarily surrendered’ as well as those that

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- 10 In rare instances this was not complied with: as in the case of the Şūl (= Chöl/Hephthalites) on the border of Khurasan ca. 716: Bal. 336. Similarly Tamīsha in Ṭabaristan 650–51: Athīr III 41 (Muq. 131, 135).
- 11 Such clauses setting out that only part of the male population would be spared are found in e.g. Sarakhs, Shush, Manādhir and Iṣṭakhr: Bal. 317f., 378f., 389f., 405.
- 12 Bal. 382 (Gondēshāpūr; only weapons had to be surrendered).
- 13 Bal. 385 (Ahvaz, under ʿUmar). As similar divisions of property are known elsewhere, e.g. when the general Khālid ibn al-Walid was deposed (Ṭab. I 2149), this would appear to have a historical background.
- 14 Thus Ṭabasayn to ʿUmar: Bal. 403.
- 15 Ṭab. III 614.
- 16 Ardabil ca. 640: Bal. 326; Ray and Qumis ca. 641: Bal. 318.
- 17 Ardabil (as above); a town near Nahavand 639: Ṭab. I 2633; Gurgan: Ṭab. I 2658; Azerbaijan 643: Ṭab. I 2662.
- 18 See Ṭab. I 2371, 2468 (Mesopotamia); Athīr II 205 (638). Lökk. 84f.
- 19 Ardabil ca. 640: Bal. 326.
- 20 Examples: Ardabil ca. 640: 800,000 dirhams: Bal. 326. // Rulers of Gurgan: 200,000 (‘or 300,000’) dinars of standard value and weight (*baghlīya wāfiya*): Bal. 334f. // The *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan after lengthy negotiations: 700,000 gold dirhams annually (‘or 4,000,000 dirhams’): Bal. 338 // Rāmihormizd (Khuzistan): 800,000 dirhams (annually) (‘according to others 900,000’): Bal. 379 // Marv (which had surrendered voluntarily): 1,200,000 (‘or 1,000,000’) dirhams: Bal. 406 (see Nāṣir-i Khosraw, 277) // Samarkand (after fighting) 7,000,000 dirhams: Bal. 411 // Shāsh (after fighting): 1,200,000 dirhams annually (‘according to others 700,000 dirhams’): Bal. 421 // Kirman: 2,000,000: Yaʿq., Buld. 286 // al-Ḥīra 640: 90,000: Athīr II 147 (‘the first Persian city which decided to pay *jizya*’), later

had been ‘conquered by force’. There are only very few instances in which this is not mentioned. In addition there would sometimes be a payment to be made in kind: gold bars, valuables, weapons, garments, grain, soldiers, and above all young slaves (*waṣīf*).²¹ This is most often called *jizya* in the historical tradition; in early times in Egypt, according to some papyri there, this term, together with *kharāj*, denoted the land tax,²² while *kharāj*, often mentioned together with it,²³ actually appears to have referred to the poll tax payable by *dhimmīs*. In the Persian-speaking realm, however, these terms, insofar as they are defined clearly in the documents at all, usually appear in their later technical sense.²⁴ In this context we must bear in mind that, for instance in Khurasan, taxation continued earlier Sasanid customs in order to include the population engaged in trade or business as taxpayers.²⁵ Since one cannot imagine that the manner of working of historians like Ṭabarī would permit later revision, it would seem, therefore, that the Arabic usage in Iran was different, or at least was not clearly defined. Where monetary tribute is described by only one term, *jizya* is used during the seventh century,²⁶ and *kharāj* appears to have taken on this [298] meaning only at a later period.²⁷ The stipulated amount of money was often raised, not insignificantly, after a defection or a rebellion.²⁸ It is only in the Iraqi–Arabian border region that we hear of the *jizya*, which was set at four dirhams per head, being changed in retrospect to match the level of taxes during

raised to 190,000 (‘or 290,000’): *ibid.* 150 // Rayy: 200,000 dirhams seven (times?) a year: Ṭab. I 2656. See also Ya‘q., *Hist.* II 164ff.

21 Bal. 406 (Marv ca. 652) // Bal. 394 (Zarang in Sistan ca. 654) // Ya‘q., *Buld.* 286 (Kirman) // Bal. 399 (the second *zūnbil*) // Ibn A‘tham II 143 v and f; Kurat, *Kut.* 407f., 419; Bal. 338 and Ṭab. II 1321 or 1329 (different tradition): the *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan after fierce fighting 716–17 // Bal. 408 (Khwarazm).

22 See also Becker, *Islamstudien* I 229f.

23 E.g. in Daylam ca. 641: Bal. 318 // Sāmghān near Hulwan 643: Athīr III 15, also a place near Arraghān: *ibid.* 16 // Baylaqān in Arrān: *ibid.* III 33.

24 In his account of Isfahan ca. 642, however, Athīr III 7 mentions that everyone was able to retain his lands if he paid *jizya*. Also, whoever converted to Islam in Marv al-Rōdh would become exempt from *kharāj*: Ṭab. I 2899.

25 See Dennett 118f.

26 Discussed in more detail in the sections on *jizya* and *kharāj*.

27 Of course, the explanations given in Dennett 119–28 are not entirely convincing.

28 In al-Ḥīra, from 90,000 (Athīr II 147) to 190,000 (‘or 290,000’) to, finally, 400,000 dirhams (Athīr II 150); in Hamadhan ca. 650 (Bal. 309). Originally the first *Zūnbil* was to have paid 1,200,000 dirhams (ca. 670), which were reduced to 1,000,000 (under orders from Basra) (Bal. 397). In the case of the second *zūnbil* (in what is now Afghanistan) ca. 700–710, the tribute was raised from 500,000 to 900,000 dirhams: Bal. 399f.

the Sasanid era and thus probably lowered.²⁹ It is also remarkable that the information within the tradition³⁰ differs with regards to the level of tributes to be paid even in successive passages, emphasising this fact. This is a significant factor of uncertainty, which leads us to fear that the information about the submission of Persia was written down without recourse to any exact reports concerning the level of financial obligations. Often the deviation may be due to retrospective changing of the sum, of which the author of the account might not have been aware.³¹ Furthermore, the fact that large parts of the population converted to Islam very quickly, even before ‘Umar II’s regulations, led to a degree of confusion as a result of which earlier treaties became less relevant.

Nevertheless, the conditions transmitted by Ṭabarī with nearly the same wording in several places are evidence that there were reliable documents from a number of sources and that the conquerors followed a certain procedure, as is to be expected. In the towns and regions of Māh-i Baradhān and Māh-i Dīnār near Nahavand in 639,³² Isfahan in 642,³³ Rayy in 643,³⁴ Qumis in 643,³⁵ Gurgan in 643³⁶ and Ṭabaristan,³⁷ the treaties decreed not only the payment of tribute but also the obligation to pay contributions in kind: the housing, board and safe conduct of Muslims, whether they were passing through or staying; supporting the Arabs in their fighting (‘except in the case of internal disagreement’);³⁸ and advising the new rulers of the land, presumably in political and economic matters. Insulting a Muslim would be severely punished and murdering a Muslim | was a capital crime. Allowing the construction of mosques³⁹ and Muslim worship was a matter of course and in Central Asia this was accompanied by the destruction of the, presumably Buddhist, ‘idols’.⁴⁰

The treaty was binding on every single inhabitant. If even one person infringed the conditions, their validity for the whole community might be

29 Athīr II 147 (642).

30 Especially Bal’s (see the above examples).

31 In the case of Gurgan the continual up and down of the tax depending on the political situation is emphasized explicitly: Ṭab. I 2839.

32 Ṭab. I 2633.

33 Ṭab. I 2641.

34 Ṭab. I 2655f.

35 Ṭab. I 2657.

36 Ṭab. I 2658.

37 Ṭab. I 2659 (together, however, with the promise of considerable independence for the *ispāhbadh* on condition that he should keep the peace).

38 Ca. 640: Bal. 373.

39 In Khurasan ca. 654: Bal. 406.

40 Shāsh (= Tashkent) ca. 707: Bal. 421.

jeopardized⁴¹ and consequently the right to protection and the state of peace could come to an end. On the other hand, everyone who came to settle in the respective town would automatically become subject to the treaty,⁴² which was set down explicitly in the document, while the option of emigration for those who disagreed with the conditions was rarely granted.⁴³ In some regions, such as Azerbaijan⁴⁴ and the border areas of Armenia,⁴⁵ even the non-sedentary population was included. Among the rarer provisions was the granting of equal rights to those who entered into a fighting alliance with the Muslims⁴⁶ and the call for the population to convert to Islam.⁴⁷ Soon, for example in 643 in Azerbaijan, it was decreed explicitly that everyone who was drafted into the army or required to perform military service would become exempt from the poll tax.⁴⁸ However, the requirement to pay this tax was reinstated if an individual stayed at home or if his services were not required.⁴⁹ Women, children, the infirm, the poor, priests, and hermits with no possessions were exempt from the *jizya*, which was made clear in Azerbaijan in 643.⁵⁰

While, as we have already emphasized above, the Arab rule of Iran thus rested on legal treaties, in practice the status of the population was soon to change due to the vast number of conversions to Islam. The reason for these conversions was often the desire for a change in one's personal political and social position, as has been explained above.⁵¹ These changes naturally altered the relationship between Persia and the Persians on the one hand and the central power on the other. While Iran was a dependency of the governorship of Kufa and Basra during the Umayyad era, after the beginning of Abbasid rule it was soon entrusted to its own governors, who quickly achieved practical independence after 821, which created a new foundation for the life of the Persian people. We shall now look at this development in greater detail.

41 Bal. 406; Ṭab. I 2470 (Mesopotamia), 2605 (Rayy).

42 Gurgan 643: Ṭab. I 2658.

43 E.g. in Qalī Qalā (= Erzurum) in Asia Minor: Bal. 193ff. (see Kmoskó 138); Athīr III 7 (Isfahan ca. 642).

44 Ṭab. I 2662.

45 Ṭab. I 2665.

46 Bal. 373 (ca. 640).

47 Marv al-Rōdh 651–52: Ṭab. I 2899.

48 Ṭab. I 2662, 2665f.

49 Armenia: Ṭab. I 2666.

50 Ṭab. I 2662.

51 See p. 137f. above.

[300]

The Territory of Iran

1 *Area*⁵²

While during the time discussed here Iran was not really a territorial unit, we still have to get an idea of which geographical regions were considered, and accepted, as belonging to Iran. Of course, the information we have is neither clear nor particularly exact, and consequently we may not get any further than an approximate picture. In some places, on the other hand, natural boundaries were so definitive that there were no doubts as to where boundaries were. This is true of, for instance, the Zagros Mountains (Pusht-i kōh) and the surrounding ranges as far as the Aras river in the north. While these did not form an exact dividing line, they were so sparsely populated, and what population was there was nearly exclusively nomadic, that the mountain ridge was a true frontier between Iran and Mesopotamia. A political description of around 950⁵³ sees the continuation of this border corresponding well with political developments (though not having fixed points in this sparsely populated mountain region) and passing along the edge of Armenia⁵⁴ as far as Arrān. The latter's political destiny was so closely linked to that of Azerbaijan and Armenia that it was rightly included in Iranian territory. The natural frontier continued past Baylaqān to Darband, where it reached the Caspian Sea. The Caspian's western shore from this point southwards as well as the entire southern shore were geographically part of Iran, even though Daylam,⁵⁵ Gilan⁵⁶ and Mazandaran remained for a long time politically independent, just as they had been during the Achaemenid and Sasanid eras,⁵⁷ and untouched by Islam. This was discussed in more detail above under the heading of political history. The southeast corner of the Caspian Sea was the starting point of a very indeterminate line, which is possible to locate only approximately and which formed the northeastern and northern frontier. Here the course of what is now the | Uzboy⁵⁸

[301]

52 See Qud. 261–3; Šā'id 31f. For a general overview see LeStrange.

53 Mas., Tanb. 77f.

54 An overview of Armenia in those times can be found in Hübschemann, *Arm.*; Mkrtitsch Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, Marburg 1903; Richard Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien unter den Abbasiden 750–887*, Vienna 1931.

55 Qazvin was the last Muslim city on the way to Daylam: Athīr IV 177 (700).

56 Wilhelm Barthold in *Izv. Kavk. Ist. Archeol. Inst.* VI (1927), 63–66, discusses the section concerning Gilan according to Ḥud. See also Ḥud. 384–91.

57 See Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 70 and n. 2, 95.

58 Barthold, *Aral.* (and id., in *EI* I 356–59) has been refuted by Tolstov, *Civ.* 296–316 ('Tajna Uzboya': The secret of the Uzboy), and consequently Goeje's view (in *Bett des Oxus*) has

river would offer a certain protection towards the north, even when it was not carrying water.

Starting from a point just north of the mouth of the Atrek in Gurgan the line moved eastwards through Farāva,⁵⁹ then in a southeasterly direction through Nisā and Abivard (Bāvard) in Khurasan and finally reached the Oxus river north-east of Marv. Until 705 this river marked the frontier of the West-Turkish empire and later, along its middle course, the frontier of Khurasan.⁶⁰ In 652 the Arabs had not gone further than the borders of the Sasanid Empire. Marv al-Rōdh on the middle reaches of the Murghab river was the northeast border province before and after this date. Badhghis and Bushang, west-southwest of Herat and south of the Murghab, were ruled by a 'great one' (*Vazurg* = *Rabbā*). Herat was already part of the land of the 'Hephthalites'. Gōzgān, Ṭāliqān⁶¹ and Faryab were in Tukharistan.⁶² Due to the incessant fighting with minor princes in the mountains, in particular with the *zūnbīl*,⁶³ the conditions were in fact quite unclear in this area as to who ruled what at any given time.

It was not until Qutayba ibn Muslim's conquests between 705 and 715⁶⁴ that a significant shift took place, which meant that even the furthest outposts of Iranian national influence in the northeast became politically incorporated into the caliphate and thus immediately connected to Persia proper. Now Khwarazm, which reached very far north⁶⁵ and whose rulers were anything but friendly towards the central power,⁶⁶ as well as Transoxania as far as Fergana and Tukharistan, were also conquered. Consequently what is nowadays north Afghanistan, including Khuttalān, Gōzgān and Tirmidh, were joined to the other parts of Iran | and specifically to the province of Balkh.⁶⁷ In Gōzgān the [302] so-called 'king', who was actually more of a border lord and who resided in a

been confirmed as being correct. See also F. Kolaček, 'Était l'Ouzboï pendant les temps historiques un ancien lit de l'Amou-Daria?' (in *Spisy vydávané přírodovědeckou fakultetou Masarykovy University* 81, 1927; incl. a map).

59 Frontier against the Ghuzz (Oghuz): Işf. 273.

60 Athīr VIII 152 (897).

61 This is the town near Marv al-Rōdh, not the town of the same name east of Kunduz: Ḥud. 332.

62 Herzfeld, Khor. 119; Ḥud. 332; Barthold, *Turk.* 66–68.

63 See p. 24 above.

64 See pp. 29–33 above.

65 Bayh. 78 (1030). Barthold, *Turk.* 144–55.

66 See Ibn Faḍlān, 6 and xxii (932).

67 Ḥamza Işf. 149.

camp outside the city of Jahūdhān, was able to uphold his position until 982.⁶⁸ After the fall of the West-Turk Empire in 745, the Chinese Empire had begun to move its armies as far as Shāsh, Fergana, Samarkand and Bukhara.⁶⁹ They were, however, repelled in 751 during a five-day battle near Ṭarāz on the Talas river.⁷⁰ The T'ang dynasty thus lost Sogdia to the Arabs.⁷¹ We have no detailed knowledge of the battles between the Arabs and the Tibetans at the end of the eighth century.⁷²

The border between Iran-Transoxania and Turkestan had now been fixed and would remain so until the fall of the Samanid state (999/1003). In the steppe as far as the Syr Darya the boundaries of settlement were not so static, however. Otrār on the Syr Darya, Shughuljān⁷³ and Sawrān in the district of Ispējāb (Isfijāb),⁷⁴ east of modern-day Shymkent, and a place named Shāvghar, which is either the modern city of Turkestan (= 'Aşret), or 25 km southwest of Ṭarāz,⁷⁵ were named as border points. Ṭarāz was not conquered by the Samanids until 893⁷⁶ and they took Haftdih on the border of Fergana only in the tenth century.⁷⁷ Badakhshan was considered to be Turkish borderland, at least during the twelfth century.⁷⁸ To the south the frontier with the mountain peoples and with Sind can only be determined very generally in the mountains: in Khurasan it was Khujistan, in Sistan the area of Bust, and in Kirman the territory by the Mashkel river and lake, as well as the coastal stream called the Dasht, were the furthest regions still counted as Iran. Makran⁷⁹ as well as

68 Ḥud. 107 (here 106–8, no. 46–65, a list of the cities belonging to him). For basic information on the historical geography of Transoxania see Barthold, *Turk.* 64–179.

69 Franke II 394f. See also Spuler, 'Mittelasien', 335.

70 See p. 47 above.

71 Franke II 444; III 392.

72 Franke II 483, 494; III 411.

73 Yāq. and Sam. do not know this name.

74 Muq. 274 (border against the Oghuz and Kirmak). (With reference to this, the notice in Mez 5f. which was obviously not quite legible in the MS will have to be altered).

75 Sam. 328. Barthold, *Vorl.* 141.

76 Narsh. 84.

77 Ibn Ḥawq. 396.

78 Sam. 69 v. See also A.R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gates, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations*, Cambridge/Mass. 1932.

79 Muq. 474ff.

Baluchistan,⁸⁰ which was only viewed as converted to Islam after 925, were part of Sind.⁸¹

The only thing that needs to be said about the northern shore of the Persian Gulf is that Arabs had already settled there in this period⁸² and that the traffic and communication with the opposite Arabian shore had always been, and continued to be, very dynamic. From the mouth of the Euphrates–Tigris (the Shatt al-Arab) the frontier continued east of al-Wāsiṭ to west of Ahvaz,⁸³ which was considered part of Iran, and then along the ridge of the Zagros Mountains, as described above.⁸⁴ [303]

2 *Division into Districts*⁸⁵

This territory within the borders described was the homeland of the Persian people and a few scatterings of people speaking foreign tongues.⁸⁶ Since the earliest times the country had been divided into a number of districts, which had been the basis of the administrative system throughout the Sasanid era. When the Arabs invaded Iran and conquered the greatest part of the territory in a rapid succession of victories, and the remainder of the country in the early eighth century, they followed this structure, which was often dictated by natural conditions, when establishing their own administration. At the beginning, under the Umayyads,⁸⁷ the Iranian territory was seen as an addition to the provinces of Kufa and Basra (638–43).⁸⁸ Soon, however, the Arab civil servants recognized that only a governor who was stationed within the country itself would truly be able to keep order within the territory. Consequently, the

80 Baluchistan was a pagan country until 925; Misk. v 249 (AD: or until 971 according to Misk. II 299); from then on it was part, albeit a loosely connected one, of the caliphate.

81 Makran and Sind shared a governor (*āmil*) in 790–91; Athīr vI 40.

82 Iṣṭ. 142 (around Iṣṭakhr they had moved further inland).

83 Abū 'l-Fidā II/2, 83.

84 Mas., Tanb. 77f. General information about the districts can also be found in Ibn Qut., Ma'ār. 281 (seventh–eighth century).

85 For general information see Kremer, *Cultur.* I 165, 180, 184; Schwarz; Marquart, *Cat.* Lists of the governors of Iran can be found in Zambaur 44–49, 177, 187.

86 See p. 243 above.

87 See the general remark in Athīr v 110.

88 Ṭab. I 2569, 2637 (including 'Umar's new organization of Persian Mesopotamia 642), 2663; II 17 (662–63), 81, 84, (664, 671); Athīr III 12; Ibn al-Balkhī 120 (according to which the districts under the governor of Basra were: Khuzistan, Fars, Kirman, Makran, Tiz, furthermore Bahrain and Oman; under Kufa: Kohistan, Isfahan, Rayy as far as Dāmghān and Ṭabaristan). See also Kremer, *Cultur.* I 111, 162 (after Ibn Khaldūn III 10–17).

governors of Mesopotamia would appoint sub-governors in Iran, whose function and personality will be discussed in a separate section. The caliph Hishām (724–43) was warned by his governor of Khurasan that Abbasid propaganda was on the increase, but his subsequent attempt at bringing Persia back under the direct control of Iraq⁸⁹ was not successful. | With the political changes of the years 747–50 and the country's growing economic and cultural importance, additional subdivisions of the administration became necessary. Iran's natural landscape resumed its ancient rights of determining the basis on which the country would be divided into districts. With the exception of occasional minor shifts, these borders remained the same throughout the entire period to be discussed here and, in fact, up until the present day. While a map⁹⁰ must be consulted in order to understand these borders exactly, some basic information may be summarized here.

In the southwest part of the country, on the eastern border of Iraq, was the inaccessible and sparsely populated province of Khuzistan with its heartland in the Zagros Mountains and Ahvaz as its political centre.⁹¹ To the north and northwest of this province stretched a similarly impractical province that was not really accessible at all to the Muslim central power. This was the home of a mainly Kurdish and Gūr(ān)ī population who were joined on the border with Khuzistan by the Lur tribes, who had at first been part of Khuzistan and then, before 738, been governed from Jibāl (see below),⁹² though from ca. 912 they were ruled by two related dynasties.⁹³ This territory, which was occasionally called 'Kurdistan', included the towns of Shāpūrkhvāst, Dinavar,⁹⁴ Burūgird, Nahavand, Asadābād and part of the later district of Ahvaz. Around 1000 it was in the hands of the well-known⁹⁵ chieftain Badr ibn Ḥasanwayh (d. 1014–15) and was later conquered by the Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla.⁹⁶

Azerbaijan, situated to the north and populated mostly by Iranians in those days, originally had its centre in Maragha. At the beginning of the tenth

89 Ṭab. II 1574.

90 And of course also LeStrange and Schwarz.

91 Iṣṭ. 88; Ibn Ḥawq. 170f. The maps included show the exact frontiers; see also LeStrange; a description of the course of the border can be found in Schwarz IV 289–445 (esp. 289–92).

92 Ibn Ḥawq. 176.

93 Must. I 537.

94 Due to robberies carried out by lawless elements the caliph al-Mahdī decided to assign this district, together with some Azerbaijani border areas, to a special *ʿamil*: Bal. 310f.

95 See p. 104 above.

96 Athir IX 85 f. See p. 115f. above.

century⁹⁷ this was moved to Ardabil,⁹⁸ which is where it had been during the Sasanid era.⁹⁹ The region of the Mughan steppe as far as the Aras river, which had its own rulers of Iranian descent for nearly all of the period discussed,¹⁰⁰ [305] was occasionally considered to be part of Azerbaijan. In December 864 it sought to unite with the emerging Zaydi rule in Mazandaran,¹⁰¹ but it remained largely untouched by the political events in Persia proper and oriented itself more towards the Caucasus. Of the Caucasus regions, some geographers counted eastern Armenia as being part of Azerbaijan as well. The southern border of this territory was formed by the Sipēdh-Rōdh and the Besh-Parmaq Mountains.¹⁰²

The areas along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea remained independent, and consequently outside the administration of the caliphate, until the late ninth century. Only the Zaydi invasion of Mazandaran and the rise of the Buyids from Daylam facilitated Islam entering these areas and incorporating them into the Islamic world; these events have been discussed under the heading of political events.¹⁰³ Here we only need to mention that at the time when Arab rule first pervaded this region, the rulers of the Daylamis had had a degree of dominion over the minor princes of the Caspian region,¹⁰⁴ and that the centre of the country and residence of the ruler (*malik*) was Rōdhbār.¹⁰⁵ Members of the Jastān family were rulers there even during the Buyid era.¹⁰⁶

The border province of the caliphate in this region was for a long time what had been ancient Media, then called Jibāl ('highland'),¹⁰⁷ a district comprised

97 Under the rule of the Sājīd Abū 'l-Qāsim Yūsuf ibn Dēvdādh (901–28): Ibn Ḥawq. 2 335.

98 Iṣṭ. 181; Ibn Ḥawq. 334; Ḥud. 142; Misk. I 398 (938); *EI* Turk. II 95. On the name Ardabil see Minorsky, 'Transcaucasia', 63–75. Sam. 107 v counts even Tiflis (which he vocalizes as Tafilis) as part of Azerbaijan.

99 Bal. 325.

100 Athīr VIII 113 (938).

101 Ibn Iṣṭ. 165.

102 See *EI* Turk. II 94; Schwarz VIII 961–64.

103 See p. 171 above.

104 Minorsky, *Dom.* 4.

105 Iṣṭ. 204; Athīr/Tornberg VII 119, 183, 361; Abū 'l-Fidā II 429; Ibn Hassūl 31. Rabino, *Dyn* loc. 305–14 has a summary of the very few rulers we know from this time.

106 Ibn Iṣṭ. 226 (982). The correct pronunciation is Jastān, not Justān, see *EI* Turk. III 571 (centre right).

107 Until recently called 'Persian Iraq' (*Irāq-i 'Ajam*). Concerning the position of Hulwan in relation to this district see Schwarz VI 673–77, concerning the district itself *ibid.* IV 445–509 (frontier), 447f.

of the region as far as Qumis, Damavand (Arabic: Dunbāvand) and Hamadan¹⁰⁸ and whose capital city was Rayy,¹⁰⁹ a centre of Persian life at the time. Qumis and Damavand were a separate administrative district in 782 and 785,¹¹⁰ however. | South of this region, on the northeast slope of the mountains, was [306] Ṭabaristan (Tapūristān, which possibly means ‘wooded, mountainous land’),¹¹¹ which had earlier been very closely linked to Mazandaran.¹¹² Both while Mazandaran remained independent and after its subjugation, Ṭabaristan was an important border province of the caliphate that was occasionally administratively combined with Jibāl, notably after its subjection in 805.¹¹³ However, in 816–17 a separate governor (*wālī*) was appointed¹¹⁴ and in 822–23 the province was administratively combined with Rōdh/yān, an independent district whose administrative centre was Kajja,¹¹⁵ and Dunbāvand.¹¹⁶

Also loosely connected to Jibāl was the province of Kāshān and Isfahan, although it usually had its own governors,¹¹⁷ as well as the city of Qom,¹¹⁸ which had a separate administration from 804 onwards, and furthermore the very distant city of Yazd.¹¹⁹ However, this city was also frequently administered independently, despite being seen as part of Jibāl province. Adjacent to the south, the Fars (Persis) region was of only very limited political and cultural significance in the early Islamic period. The administrative centre of this province was always the city of Shiraz;¹²⁰ only under Buyid rule did it have to briefly

108 Athīr VI 64 (805). Schwarz VI 785–87.

109 Athīr VI 64; Ḥud. 132; Ibn Sa’d V 125. Schwarz VI 740ff. Concerning the relation between Qazvin and Rayy see Schwarz VI 705f.

110 Athīr VI 25, 32. Schwarz VI 785ff., 809ff.

111 Rehatsek 411; or ‘land of the *Ṭάπυροι*’, see *EI* IV 627.

112 Ibn Iṣf. 115 (ca. 765).

113 Ṭab. III 705; Athīr VI 64. The road (*tariqa*) between Hamadan and Rayy was assigned to a specific *wālī* in those days.

114 Ṭab. III 1014.

115 Ibn Rustah 150 (905).

116 Athīr VI 130. On the sub-division and individual names of these territories, see Rabino, *Maz.* 401f.

117 785–86: Athīr VI 32; 894: Ṭab. III 2141; 919: Athīr VIII 33. Schwarz V 557ff. Lockhart, ‘Iṣfahān’, gives an overview of the course of this city’s development.

118 Abū Nu’aym I 14. Under the caliph al-Mu’taṣim Karaj was granted administrative independence: *ibid.*

119 See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 299.

120 Iṣf. 125; Ibn Ḥawq.² 279. Schwarz I 2, II 43 describes the borders; the division of the district, *ibid.* I 12f.

cede this role to Ardashīr-Khurra (modern Firuzabad)¹²¹ further south.¹²² Just like Jibāl, Fars had also been divided into several sub-districts since ancient times and these remained separate both fiscally and administratively over a long period.¹²³ This was especially true of Ardashīr-Khurra and Sābūr.¹²⁴ The last great province west and south of the great central Persian desert (Dasht-i Kavīr and Lūt) was Kirman, to the east of Fars. Its centre was Sirgān, where the governor,¹²⁵ and from 929 to 969 the short-lived dynasty of the Ilyāsids, resided.¹²⁶

The true political and cultural centre of the Iranian people at this time was the region of Khurasan,¹²⁷ the land of the rising sun in the northeast, so much so that occasionally the name Khurasan was used to refer to the entire country of Persia.¹²⁸ Even during the early years after the Islamic conquest, when the Prophet's followers had not yet reached the eastern regions, the size of this region was seen as remarkable enough to warrant dividing it into seven separate districts each of which would be independently administered, and a rebellion in Fars added urgency to this plan. Five of these districts are listed by name: the two Marvs, Balkh and 'the Kufans' conquests', Herat, Ṭus, and Nishapur (649–50). Although the caliph 'Uthmān re-unified the region¹²⁹ the division into four districts¹³⁰ administered by separate governors re-emerged in 665–66.¹³¹ [307]

When the conquests gathered momentum once more at the beginning of the eighth century and the need to have one central command for the army became more immediate, Khurasan was once more administered as one region and the centre was the governor's palace (*dār al-imāra*) in Marv.¹³² However, the positions of the governors (*wālīs*) of Marv, Balkh,¹³³ Abarshahr

121 See *ET* II 119; Schwarz II 43–54.

122 Ibn Ḥawq.² 254 (978).

123 *Iṣṭ.* 100; Ibn al-Balkhī, *passim*. Caet. VII 292 (50–51); Schwarz II 92–108 (Darabgird).

124 *Iṣṭ.* 104. Concerning the special position of Arraghān see Schwarz III 111–30.

125 *Ḥud.* 124.

126 *Ibid.* 374. Schwarz III 211–13.

127 A list of the governors of Khurasan (which obviously seemed to be the most important in Iran) can be found in Ḥamza *Iṣṭ.* 139–51 (with hist. notes).

128 Thus when Bābak, who was active in Azerbaijan only, was called 'the devil of Khurasan': *Ṭab.* III 1230.

129 *Ṭab.* I 2831; Ibn Sa'd v 33; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 193. Caet. VII 292.

130 *Athīr* III 179.

131 *Athīr* IV 61.

132 *Ṭab.* II 1987.

133 See also *Ṭab.* II 1497 (727–28).

and Bukhara (and also in Marv al-Rōdh, Herat, Khwarazm and Soghd) were retained during most of the Umayyad era.¹³⁴ The positions were only abolished a short time before the end of Umayyad rule in 743,¹³⁵ and the Abbasids had the entire province administered as one region.¹³⁶ The province expanded eastwards until it reached the size it had previously been during the Sasanid era. Besides Marv and Marv al-Rōdh, the cities and areas in this province at that time were Herat,¹³⁷ Maymana, Gharshistan on the upper reaches of the Murghab river, Ṭāliqān, 'Upper' Tukharistan, Gōzḡān, Rūi on the Khulm river, Kunduz,¹³⁸ Balkh, Tirmidh, and Bamiyan.¹³⁹ In Muslim times, Qumis and [308] Dāmghān, | which had originally been independent and then administered with Jibāl,¹⁴⁰ were no longer included in the list. On the other hand, the districts of Bukhara,¹⁴¹ Samarkand and Shāsh¹⁴² in Transoxania had at first been included.

Only in Samanid times would a strict separation of the administrations of Khurasan and Transoxania be put into effect. Here the dynasty ruled directly from the capital Bukhara, while Khurasan, to the southwest of the Oxus, had governors who were based in Nishapur.¹⁴³ The Ṭāhirids (821–73) moved the administration of Khurasan to this city,¹⁴⁴ where it would remain during the first part of the Seljuk era as these rulers wished deliberately to uphold this tradition,¹⁴⁵ although the administration was eventually moved to Isfahan.¹⁴⁶

134 Ṭab. III 1661, 1664 = Athīr v 83 (738).

135 Athīr v 99.

136 Of course, after his victory Abū Muslim divided it again and in 747–48 appointed *ʿāmil*s in Samarkand, Tukharistan and Ṭabasayn: Dīn. 392; Athīr v 144.

137 See also Athīr vII 60 (867).

138 = Kuhan-diz, also Valvālij, the capital of Tukharistan on the confluence of the Dōshī river and that coming from Ṭāliqān: Ḥud. 109.

139 Herzfeld, Khor. 107–109 and the sources listed there; also the Chinese accounts found in Xuanzang/Julien I 16–55 (pre-Islamic times) and Huei-ch'ao 448–52. For a register of the minor kings of Khurasan in the late Sasanid era (together with their titles: Ibn Khurd. 39f. and Christensen 495) see Ḥud. 345 = Marquart, *Ērānšahr* 37.

140 See p. 305 above.

141 It was here that Qutayba in 710 appointed his 'Bukhara-khudāh', whose rule he secured by force: Ṭab. II 1230.

142 Ṭab. II 1767 (743). On the division of this territory (= Sogdiā) in Arab times see Smirnova, 'Sogdiyskie monety', 358f.

143 Ḥud. 102; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 116; Athīr IX 4 (981–82); Ibn Khall./Eg. II 78 = Slane III 313. See also p. 272 above and Krymskiy I 74. Nishapur was decorated in particular by Isma'īl ibn Aḥmad.

144 Barthold, *Med.* 82.

145 Ḥus. 38 (1072).

146 Uzun. 52.

Earlier Marv and, from 736,¹⁴⁷ Balkh had been the administrative centres of Khurasan.¹⁴⁸ At the beginning of his reign, Maḥmūd of Ghazna, presumably in deliberate opposition to the Samanids, had also made Balkh his residence¹⁴⁹ before settling at Ghazna. Later, in 1033, and certainly for political reasons as well, it was Herat that was described as the centre of Khurasan.¹⁵⁰ However, this had only brief significance. Since the conquest of 716–17 the area of Gurgan¹⁵¹ was also connected to Khurasan in a relationship of rather tenuous dependence. It did, however, remain an independent political unit¹⁵² frequently administered together with Ṭabaristan.¹⁵³ The comparatively independent ruler of Khwarazm, on the other hand, brought ‘gifts’ but did not pay ‘tribute’.¹⁵⁴ Yet this is a distinction | that must not be taken too seriously in [309] eastern practice. In their relations with him and several other minor princes the Seljuks referred to themselves as *Sultān al-salāṭīn*.¹⁵⁵

Kohistan (or Quhistan), in southern Khurasan, was governed by a *marzbān*,¹⁵⁶ who was in Umayyad times indirectly subordinate to the governor of Khurasan,¹⁵⁷ and Kohistan was described as part of that province by later geographers (930). It did, however, frequently have its own separate administration, although this was in many cases determined by Khurasan, as it was, for example, in 717–18. The administrative centre was in Qāyīn (Qā’īn).¹⁵⁸

To the south of Khurasan was the ancient ‘land of the Sakas’, which was named Sakistan (shortened to Sistan) after them, or, in the Arabic version of

147 Ṭab. II 1591: the governor Asad ibn ‘Abd Allāh had moved the administration there [Spuler oddly says that Asad was the brother of the caliph Hishām; rather he was the brother of Khālīd ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, the governor of Iraq from 724 to 738 on behalf of the caliph Hishām: RGH].

148 Iṣṭ. 258; Ibn Ḥawq.² 434.

149 Nikbī 213.

150 Bayh. 214, 439.

151 Ya’q., Hist. I 201.

152 See the examples for 717–18 and 782 on p. 313 below.

153 An *‘amil* was appointed by the governor of Khurasan in 716–17: Ṭab. II 1333 (see also *ibid.* 1859: 744).

154 Muq. 337; Ṭab II 1847 (744). It is noteworthy that Ibn Sa’d VII/2 88 counts Khwarazm as being geographically part of Khurasan. For basic information concerning Khwarazm see *EI* Turk. v 240–57. On the tradition of gift-giving in the Achaemenid era see, by way of comparison, Leuze, *Die Satrapien-Einteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande*, 172, 22, which also discusses internal Iranian conditions.

155 Ibn Khall./Eg. II 78. Krymskiy I 74.

156 Ṭab. II 1224 (710).

157 Athīr v II (717–18); Ṭab. II 1847 (744).

158 Iṣṭ. 273; Ḥud. 103.

an earlier stage of phonetic development, Sijistan. It was bigger than Khurasan at the time of the Arab conquest in 644 and is likely to have included the Kabul region. Its ruler, a brother of the *zūnbīl*, of whom more will be said below, surrendered it to the Arabs and their leader Salm ibn Ziyād, who subsequently settled there¹⁵⁹ in 661–80, despite the caliph Mu‘āwiyā’s displeasure at this action. The administration was based in Zarang (Zaranj) and this continued under the Ṣaffārīds¹⁶⁰ and Samanīds¹⁶¹ as well. Makran (Mukran), to the south of this region, was at that time politically part of Sind, the Indus Valley region.¹⁶²

Although we said above that these ancient Iranian provinces were the same administrative units in the early Islamic period as they were before and after this time, it must be added that in these centuries, as before and afterwards, a number of minor, but sometimes important, more or less independent regional dynasties were able to establish themselves. There were also the chieftains of partly or fully nomadic tribes, often described as ‘Kurdish’¹⁶³ (see above). They were found mostly in inaccessible, mountainous regions or those characterized by a hot, humid climate, such as the uplands of Fars, in the Zagros Mountains, the Azerbaijani highlands as far as the foothills of the Caucasus, and the mountains in eastern Khurasan, including modern Afghanistan. Other such areas were the coastal regions on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and on the shore of the districts of Fars and Kirman, both of which were also separated by the steep mountain ranges on the fringes of the Iranian upland.

[310] Since the reader can refer to the historical introduction regarding the historically important events in the life of these small states, | and since geographical details, where they are sufficiently tangible, are marked on the individual maps, only a summary of the most important of these minor states is given here. These are important, as we said above, because they added substantial variety to the political, economic and cultural structure of these regions.

Khuzistan

Ca. 1000: independent *ṣāhibs* in the city of Dōraq (Surraq) (Athīr IX 197; Hūd. 145).

159 Tab. I 2706.

160 Ibn Hāwq.² 414.

161 Iṣṭ. 241; Hūd. 110.

162 See p. 302 above.

163 See p. 240 above.

Azerbaijan¹⁶⁴

835: a castellan of Shāhī and Tabriz was at war with Bābak (Ṭab. III 1171f.). The border with Armenia was controlled by the Sāj clan until 899 (Zambaur 177f., cf. p. 82 above), and later the Rawwādids and the Daysam (cf. p. 94 above). Arrān and Ganja were ruled by the Shaddādids (cf. Kasravī III).

Daylam (Dēlam)

864: division of the country into numerous small lordships (cf. Rabino, Dyn. Loc. 305f.). Tenth-eleventh centuries: besides the local *malik*, there are the Sālārīds of Ṭārom (Athīr IX 176 [1043–4] and p. 98 above).

Ṭabaristan (Mazandaran)

758–59 and 864–65 (AH 250): besides the *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan, there is the *Mas-i Mughān* ('chief magus' or 'king') of Damavand (Ṭab. III 136, 1529; Athīr writes 'Aṣmughān'; Ibn Iṣf. 170–74; Wikander 49; EI III 458–60; overview in Rabino, *Maz.* 397–403; Rehatsek 415f.).

809–39: Māzyār as *Gel-i Gilan* (cf. EI III 506 and p. 65ff. above).

839: there are three different princes in Ṭabaristan (Ṭab. III 1295).

982: Nātil, Chālūs, Rōdh/yān and Kalār are ruled by a prince (Ustundār) (Ḥud. 135). In the same cities, with the exception of Nātil, the Zaydi, Hasan ibn Zayd, appointed governors in Dec. 864 (Ṭab. III 1528f.; Ibn Iṣf. 1653; summary by Rehatsek 415f.).

Fars

Around 930 minor princes are mentioned in the following areas:

- 1 The Qārin family in the Qārin mountains, whose only city is S.hmār and who had an administrative seat in Firīn (Iṣf. 204f.) [311]
- 2 In the Qādūsīān mountains (in Ibn Ḥawq.: Fādhūrbān, and in Athīr: Qāvushān): possibly two names have been confused here: a) that of the tribe Qādūsīān (according to Melgunof 50, maybe the ancient Cadusii; cf. Dorn/Khōnd. 71); b) the name of the ruler Bādhūspān. The headman of the area lived in the village of Uram, also Manṣūra (Iṣf. 206; Ibn Ḥawq.² 377; Bal. 312, cf. Melgunof 56).
- 3 In the Rūbang mountains (Ibn Ḥawq.: 'al-Ruvīnaj'), although they disappeared ca. 900 (Iṣf. 206; Ibn Ḥawq.² 377).

¹⁶⁴ Edwin M. Wright, 'Ancient Azarbaijan: an Iranian stronghold', in *Iran review* (NY) II (1950), 15–19 (military history until the Seljuk invasion). On the name of the district see Schwarz VIII 959–61.

- 4 The Kurdish 'R/Zumūm', (cf. p. 241 above); individual chieftains commanded between 1,000 and 3,000 men (Iṣṭ. 99. Schwarz I 42).
- 5 Arab chieftains on the coast and near Iṣṭakhr (Iṣṭ. 142).

Khurasan

- 1 Badghis: ca. 930: the administration was in Kūghanābād, the largest town of Dihistān (Iṣṭ. 268). 716–17: there was a Persian *dēhkān* in Dihistān (Ṭab. II 1320).
- 2 Kang Rustāq: the seat of the ruler was at Baban (Iṣṭ. 269).
- 3 Gōzḡān: 978: the winter residence of the Farīghōn dynasty was in the largest city, Anbēr, the seat of the governor in the Abbasid era. During the summer they resided in al-J.rs.vān, a city between two mountains (Ibn Ḥawq.² 443; 'Utbī 305f.; EI I 1118. Cf. the list of sources compiled by Ḥud. 5ff., 102, 106, 173–78; Nāẓim 177f.). 709 and 734: there is a *dēhkān* of Faryab as well as one of Gōzḡān and there is also a 'king' of Ṭāliqān and a *dēhkān* in Marv al-Rōdh (Ṭab. II 1206, 1569).
- 4 The Ghor-shāh, ruler of Ghor (Ghūr) (Ḥud. 5f.), and the *shār* of Gharshistan both held sway in ca. 980 ('Utbī 131, 337–47). There were also other minor kings (*mulūk al-aṭrāf*) that were not, however, direct dependants of the ruler of Gōzḡān (Ḥud. 110, 330, 344). These included the chieftains (*mihtarān*) of the Rēvshārān district in the '*aṭrāf-i Khorāsān*', who paid an annual tribute to the 'king' of Gōzḡān, and the Farīghōn dynasty.

The Arabs on the steppe near Gōzḡān had their own emir, who paid a tribute to the ruler of Gōzḡān (Ḥud. 106, 108; Krymskij, Pers. I 75).

The *ikhshēdh*¹⁶⁵ was the leading *dēhkān* in Fergana, with a residence in [312] Kāsān (Bal. 420; Ṭab. II 2142).

The ruler of Ushrūshana, which extended from Jīzak to Khojand in the Fergana valley, bore the title *afshūn* (cf. p. 62 above) and 'master of masters' (presumably '*Bagh-i Baghān*') (Ṭab. III 1311) until 840.¹⁶⁶

The kings of Shadhdh and al-Sabal (near Balkh) surrendered to Muslim control in 710 (Ṭab. II 1224).

165 A list of the *ikhshēdhs* from 650–783 can be found in Smirnova, 'Sogdiyskie monety'.

166 Concerning the connection between these titles see Franz Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*, Halle/Saale 1948, 206f. Sam. 33 r reads Ushrūshana and Usrūsana, but spells Ushrūshana (and writes this a few lines further along).

The Banijurids had a little principality 'in Tukharistan' around Balkh from 847 to 949 (Zambaur 202, 204).

Yūn, a 'Pādhishāhī' 'beyond Sikīmisht', whose *dēhkān* Pākh was subordinate to the *shēr* of Khuttal in 980 (Ḥud. 109; cf. *EI* II 1057).

The ruler (*Shahr-Salēr*, possibly = Sālār)¹⁶⁷ of Andarāb.

The ruler (*shēr* [from Old Persian *khshathriya*: Ḥud. 341¹]) of Bamiyan (Huei-ch'ao 448f.).

The *Tirmidhshāh* of Tirmidh (Ṭab. II 1147) in the year 704.

The *ispāhbadh* of Balkh¹⁶⁸ (Ṭab. II 1206) in the year 709.

The prince (*mihtar*) of D.rm.shan (Varmeshān?, unless it is a popular name for Ghōr), apparently a large territory (Ḥud. 333), which was divided into two parts (Ḥud. 106), one of which had its centre in Bust near the mouth of the Arghandab river, and the other in Zamīndāvār along the middle Helmand river, near Bashling (summary in Gafurov 133f.).

- 5 The territory of the *zūnbūl* in present-day Afghanistan, whose brother was based in Kabul in ca. 670 (Ṭab. I 2706).

The king of Shūmān in 710 (Khuttal) (Ṭab. II 1227).

- 6 The Ghaznavids rewarded successful generals with the fief of several cities, such as in 1010–11 Herat or Ṭus, in Khurasan and beyond (Athīr IX 159: 1038–39; Gard. 74; Athīr IX 75). These generals bore the title *ṣāhib*, but were largely independent rulers, who even had the power to rebel (1033 in Sāva: Athīr IX 148). There were also occasionally 'Kurdish' chieftains who held this rank (1038–39 in Qirmīsīn: Athīr IX 160).

Sistan

[313]

982: the principalities Rukh(kh)aj (also Rukh(kh)udh), Bālis, which was in Baluchistan south of Quetta, with an emir's residence in Kūshk (Ḥud. III; 497).

Tenth century: the Ṣaffārids, who were descendants of the famous dynasty, survived locally in Sistan, paid tribute to the Samanids, and had them mentioned in the *khutba* (Mez 15).

167 The title *Shahr-Salēr* is not found elsewhere. Towards the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries Andarāb was usually ruled by the Abū Dā'ūd dynasty from Balkh (in place of the Khuttal clan). Concerning this little-known dynasty see Vasmer, 'Beiträge zur mohammedanischen Münzkunde'; Ḥud. 342; A.M. Belsnickiy, 'Historico-geographical Sketch of Khuttal', in Jakubovskiy, *Trudy*, 109–27.

168 See Schwarz, 'Bemerkungen zu den arabischen Nachrichten über Balkh'.

The list of these, often autochthonous, minor princedoms does not, however, conclude this description of the provinces of Iran. We must also understand that it was by no means necessary for each of the districts to have its own governor or administrator. For political, tactical, strategic, and sometimes also economic reasons often more than one district would be subsumed under the control of one and the same man. We have no intention of providing a complete list of administrative situations of this kind here, but will only give a number of characteristic examples in order to show which regions were more frequently combined and how vast the lands under the control of one single man might be in some cases.

659–60: after the riots, which had erupted during the civil war, had been crushed, the general Ziyād ibn Abīhi became governor of Fars and Kirman, with his residence in Iṣṭakhr (Ṭab. I 3450; Caet. x 263–66).

694–95: al-Ḥajjāj received Iraq without Khurasan and Sistan (Athīr IV 144).

697–98: the previously mentioned two districts are also conferred upon al-Ḥajjāj on the resignation of an Umayyad prince and each district is given its own administrator (Athīr IV 173).

716: Iraq and Khurasan were united: (Tha‘āl./Gab. 62r–63v).

717–18: there was one governor for Ṭabaristan and Gurgan, along with 4,000 men, to ensure the peace in the area (Athīr v 11).

781–82: Ahvaz, Fars, Kirman, Bahrain, Oman and Kaskar were combined (Athīr VI 22, 24). This was also done in 874/75 but without Oman and Kaskar (ibid. VII 90).

782–83: a *wālī* (concerning the title cf. p. 315 below) was appointed for Khurasan and Sistan, who appointed an administrator for Sistan (Ṭab. III 517; Athīr VI 24. For a general overview cf. also Kremer, *Cultur.* I 165, 180; Wellh., *Arab.* 144).

782–83: Ṭabaristan, Rōdh/yān and Gurgan combined (Athīr VI 25), but then divided into Gurgan on the one hand and Ṭabaristan with Rūyān on the other [314] (Athīr VI 32, 51). | 792–93: the control of Ṭabaristan, Rayy and Gurgan was given to a general in order to support the fight against the rebellious Daylamis (Athīr VI 41). According to Ṭab. III 612, Dunbāvand, Qumis, Armenia and Azerbaijan were also combined.

793–94: the new governor of Khurasan, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, retained his previous administrative district, including Rayy, Sistan etc. (K. ‘Uyūn 296; Athīr VI 47; Uzun. 14).

795–96: Khurasan and Sistan united (ibid. 50), as already had occurred in 783–84 (see above).

797: the second heir to the throne, al-Ma'mūn, was granted the Hamadan region in addition to Khurasan (Athīr VI 53).

820–21: Armenia and Azerbaijan were combined in the fight against Bābak (Athīr VI 123).

829: there is one *wālī* in Jibāl, Azerbaijan, Qom and Isfahan (Ṭab. III 1102; Athīr 140).

872: the caliph al-Muwaffaq's brother was granted not only Kufa and al-Ḥaramayn but also Baghdad, Sawād, Wāsīt, Kuwar Dijla, Ahvaz and Fars in the fight against the Ṣaffārīds and Qarmaṭīs (Ṭab. III 1841).

894: the caliph conferred Rayy, Qazvin, Zangān, Abhar, Qom, Hamadan and Dēnavar upon his son (Ṭab. III 2140).

894: at the same time as the above item a governor was appointed over Isfahan, Nahavand and Karaj (ibid. 2140).

910–11: Fars and Kirman were united (Athīr VIII 33).

913–14 and 919: Rayy, Dunbāvand, Qazvin, Abhar and Zangān were united (Misk. I 32f.; ibid. 83: the same list plus Azerbaijan; Athīr VIII 33).

930: the caliph conferred Fars, Kirman, Sistan and Makran upon his son (Misk. I 202).

After the caliph 'Umar I appointed two coequal officials, one of whom was an emir and the other a *mu'allim* and *wazīr*,¹⁶⁹ for Mesopotamia and the Persian border regions,¹⁷⁰ who were responsible for war, justice and taxes,¹⁷¹ a similar division of obligations made up of 'military command' ('war') and 'financial administration' ('*kharāj*')¹⁷² became customary in Persia,¹⁷³ as well as in other provinces of the empire, such as Egypt. In 663–64¹⁷⁴ and around 690 we find two joint governors over Sistan, Bust and | al-Rukhkhaj (dependent ^[315] on al-Ḥajjāj).¹⁷⁵ In 705 in Marv the caliph appointed one governor responsible for 'war' and one for 'taxes'.¹⁷⁶ The arrangement for Samarkand in 712 was the

169 This title is an instance of applying more recent terminology to earlier times.

170 Ṭab. I 2637; Athīr III 8.

171 This division in Dīn. 136.

172 Only rarely *jizya*, e.g. Ṭab. II 1354 (717–18 in Khurasan).

173 See Mez 73 for a general overview.

174 Athīr III 174.

175 Tha'āl./Gab. 62r–63v.

176 Athīr IV 200.

same;¹⁷⁷ as it was in 665–66,¹⁷⁸ 718–19¹⁷⁹ and 722–23¹⁸⁰ in Khurasan and Sistan; in 762–63, 785 and 792 in Sistan;¹⁸¹ and 916–17¹⁸² and 933 in Isfahan.¹⁸³

The military commander (emir) and the governor (*‘āmil*) responsible for taxes etc. were formally coequal and both independently received decrees from the government in Baghdad,¹⁸⁴ although the emir was also the prayer leader (imam).¹⁸⁵ However, this kind of division of responsibilities was by no means the rule, unlike the situation in the Nile valley before the emergence of the Ṭulunids. After the sudden death of one of the two governors in Khurasan in 676, the entire administration became the responsibility of one man¹⁸⁶ and the same happened in Khurasan and Sistan in 722–23 after a previous division of responsibilities.¹⁸⁷ Further instances where both departments were overseen by just one man¹⁸⁸ occurred in 728–29 in Samarkand,¹⁸⁹ 811 in Media,¹⁹⁰ 845 in Fars,¹⁹¹ 916–17 in Azerbaijan,¹⁹² 922–23 in Rayy¹⁹³ and 937 in Khuzistan.¹⁹⁴ It is unnecessary to emphasize that assigning the responsibility for an entire district to one single man in this manner favoured the emergence of territorial states in every way possible. Consequently any explanation concerning why emerging dynasties would always aspire to this privilege is superfluous.

177 Ibid. iv 219.

178 Ibid. III 180; Bal., Ans. v 118.

179 Ṭab. II 1354, 1357; Athīr v 20.

180 TS 125.

181 TS 142, 151, 153.

182 Athīr VIII 31.

183 Ibid. 85.

184 Hil. 50.

185 Ibn Isf. 190 (886–87); TS 176 (819).

186 Ṭab. II 178.

187 TS 125.

188 There are examples even from the Achaemenid era, see Leuze, *Die Satrapien-Einteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande*, 172.

189 Ṭab. II 1508; Athīr v 54 (here, however, divided once more shortly afterwards because of unrest connected to the taxing of newly converted Muslims: *ibid.*).

190 Ṭab. III 796.

191 Ḥamza Isf. 147.

192 Athīr VIII 31f.

193 Misk. I 83.

194 Athīr/Tornberg VIII 252.

Persia's Relationship with the Caliphate under Constitutional Law: The Civil Service

No firm division of the country's districts had been undertaken during the battle to overcome and incorporate the previously Sasanid realm into the caliphate. On the contrary, commanders or governors (*'āmil* or *wālī*)¹⁹⁵ were appointed whenever necessary, by the caliph himself or by the commanding general. They were responsible for cities or smaller districts, such as in 641 in Dinavar,¹⁹⁶ 643 and 645 in Isfahan,¹⁹⁷ in Rayy and Dastabā around 665,¹⁹⁸ and in Khurasan.¹⁹⁹ The titles *'āmil*²⁰⁰ and *wālī* carried the same meaning²⁰¹ and there are instances in which the same person is referred to by both titles in turn.²⁰² [316]

As we have seen, in the Umayyad era the administration of Iran was centred in Mesopotamia, in Kufa²⁰³ and Basra, just as Sasanid Persia had been governed from Seleucia-Ctesiphon.²⁰⁴ In the earliest time the explanation for this may have been 'Umar's principle that there should not be a wide river between Medina and the military and political centres in the newly conquered territories.²⁰⁵ However, in the early Umayyad era it was certainly the extraordinary position of trust enjoyed by the two great governors Ziyād ibn Abīhi and al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf²⁰⁶ in Damascus which led to a continuation of this state of affairs. These two governors operated in the days when their post had an

195 Later this would become the title of the provincial governor, see p. 331 below.

196 Bal. 307; Ṭab. I 2477; Athīr/Tornberg II 409; Yāq. IV 393.

197 Bal. 312.

198 Dastabā = Dashtpāy. Bal. 308; Bal., Ans. XI 32 ('Abd al-Malik).

199 Aghānī/Būlāq XIX 163, 166 (Mu'āwiya's time); *ibid.* 152–56 (Sistan); Bal., Ans. IV 75 (Mu'āwiya's time); XI 32 (Hamadan; 'Abd al-Malik's time).

200 Ṭab. II 161.

201 One term used to denote 'appoint as *'āmil*' was *wallā*: Ṭab. II 188. Conversely: *ista'mala*, 'establish a *wilāya*': *ibid.* II 1418 (720–21). See also Aghānī/Cairo VI 43, l. 14, with 45, l. 2.

202 See e.g. Ṭab. II 1661 with 1664 (738). A Persian term used for 'administration' is *katkhudānīya*: Ṭab. II 1636f. The exact ranking of the titles *'āmil* and *wālī*, in the way set out by Lötk. 71, is not tenable for Persia.

203 As early as 'Umar's time: Bal. 309 (Hamadan).

204 Concerning the Sasanid division into districts see Christensen 131–35. The image the Muslims had of the Sasanid administration (and consequently of their influence on Islam) is described not only in Ṭab./Nöldeke, but also in Jahsh. 6–12.

205 Ṭab. I 2360 (ca. 637).

206 Henri Lammens, 'Ziād ibn abīhi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'āwia Ier', in Lammens, *Om.* 27–161 (also deals with al-Mughīra). Périer, *La vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādī Ibn Yousouf*.

unrestricted remit. A governor had command of the army as well as its deployment and determined the amount the soldiers were to be paid. He was also in charge of the administration of justice, including the appointment of judges, as well as the levying of taxes and the organization of the civil service required to implement this. He was responsible for the protection of the public against rebellions and the faith against heretical innovations, overseeing the enforcement of religious norms (carried out by the *muḥtasibs*), leading Friday prayers, equipping the annual pilgrimage caravan, and waging war on the infidels and distributing the booty.²⁰⁷ | He would only ask for the caliph's ruling before declaring war²⁰⁸ and before executing well-known personalities,²⁰⁹ although this was not always done.

Soon, however, it became clear that eastern Persia, especially Khurasan and Sistan, since they were separated from the rest by the great desert of central Iran, could not be controlled effectively from Mesopotamia.²¹⁰ This fact exacerbated the frequent unrest in Khurasan that was caused by Arab tribal feuds and civil war and finally led to the appointment of an administrative chief specifically for this area. Like others before him, the coins he minted bore only his name with no mention of the caliph.²¹¹ In view of the positions Ziyād ibn Abīhi and al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf held in Mesopotamia, it was their responsibility to select and appoint suitable civil servants,²¹² as was clearly confirmed by official decree from the caliph in 697.²¹³ Their names would also appear on coins. Thus Khurasan was administered by a sub-governor under the control of Mesopotamia and he would in turn appoint delegates in some cities of the country, including Sistan and Kirman.²¹⁴ Later, sub-governors would only be

207 Kremer, *Cultur.* I 406f. after Māwardī; on p. 408f. also deliberations of the legal scholars concerning the scope of responsibilities of a 'restricted governor'.

208 Athīr IV 174 (698–99).

209 Ibid. IV 210 (710). Later (728 and 757–58) Khurasani governors would do this single-handedly: Ṭab. II 1502 or Athīr V 126.

210 Bal., Ans. XI 266.

211 Thomas Arc. 284ff. As regards silver coins in the Sasanid style, see p. 412 below.

212 Ya'q., Hist. II 264 = Ṭab. II 81/4 (665), 155 (671), 496, 593 (684: Herat); 994 and Aghānī/Būlāq XVI 41 (691–92: Isfahan); Aghānī/Būlāq XVI 42 (Rayy); Bal., Ans. IV 151 (Ardashīr-khurra); V 118, XI 311 (Khurasan); Ṭab. II 1178 = Tha'ālabī 47 r = Dīn. 329 (705: Qutayba in Khurasan); Ṭab. I I 1182 (705: Kirman). See Ibn Khaldūn III 4, 6, 9; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 164f.

213 Ṭab. II 1033.

214 Ṭab. II 489 (684–85: Marv al-Rōdh, Faryab, Ṭāliqān, Gözgān); Aghānī/Būlāq XVII 70 (Fars and Kirman; ca. 690); Bal., Ans. IV 77, 153, 166 (I. 3: Khurasan and Sistan united); IV 77 (Kabul); Ṭab. II 1180 (705: Tirmidh); II 1187 (706: Paikand); II 1225 (710: Balkh); II 1353 (717–18: Gā[hi]garm); Athīr V 34 (721–22: in Samarkand and among the Sogdians); Ṭab. II 1455

appointed in times of need, for instance in 874–75 in Fars and Ahvaz, when they were threatened by the Ṣaffārids and Zanj.²¹⁵

Of course the caliphs had not entirely given up their right to a veto in the East of their empire.²¹⁶ They could appoint governors in Khurasan and Sistan, sometimes directly in order to replace recalcitrant administrators in these territories.²¹⁷ In particular, after al-Ḥajjāj's death, the caliphs Sulaymān,²¹⁸ Umar II²¹⁹ and Hishām²²⁰ intervened directly in the administration of Khurasan and appointed governors for this province. These events did not, however, revoke entirely the power of the Iraqī governors. There were instances when the latter recalled governors of Khurasan²²¹ who had been appointed by the caliph and Abū Muslim simply refused entry to one Umayyad governor.²²²

Nevertheless, the Umayyad caliphs were not entirely free when it came to the administration of Persia. They had to adhere to the principles on which their entire system of government was founded. By creating an Arab national state, they had also adopted the idiosyncrasies of Arab life and were consequently obliged to accept the Arab concept of dividing a people into individual tribes. The frequent and bitter feuds in which the Qays and the Kalb (that is, the northern and southern Arabs),²²³ but also other sub-tribes, were engaged

(722–23: Herat); II 1484 (724–25: Khurasan); II 1635f. (738: Herat; here also a *dēhkān*, also in Balkh: Athīr v 83); Ṭab. II 1663 (738: Kirman); II 1717 (740: Sistan); II 1858 (in 744 the governor in Iraq confirms the one in Khurasan); Ibn Sa'd VII/2, 101 (Sistan).

215 Athīr VII 90.

216 Jahsh. 64. Concerning these circumstances see Levy, *Soc.* I 276–398 (very general), II 187–266 (esp. 208–13).

217 Examples: 674: Ṭab. II 166; Bal., *Ans.* IV 76f. (Sistan); Aghānī/Cairo I 35 and n. 5; 680–81: Ṭab. II 391f.; 695–96: Ṭab. II 1022, 1032; 708: Dīn. 331; 715–16: Ṭab. II 1306f.; 743: Ṭab. II 1764; Aghānī/Būlāq XV 80 (ca. 800: 'war' and 'tax' in Fars). To compare with the situation at the other end of the Umayyad Caliphate (in Spain) see Salvador Vila, 'El nombramiento de los Wālies de Al-Andalus', in *al-Andalus* IV (1936–39), 215–20.

218 Ṭab. II 1284, 1306–12.

219 Ṭab. II 1354, 1357 (= Athīr v 20); 1417f., 1438 (721–22). The governor of Basra would do the same at this time: Ṭab. II 1346 (717–18); 1436 (721–22); particularly clearly: II 1454f. (722–23) and II 1461.

220 Ṭab. II 1497, 1501 (727–28); II 1573 = Athīr v 68 (735); Ṭab. II 1659 (738). However, the caliph explicitly ordered the governor of Khurasan to coordinate with the one in Mesopotamia: Ṭab. II 1504 (727–28); (in 724 the Iraqī governor had appointed the one for Khurasan: Bal., *Ans.* v 161).

221 The caliphs might do this as well, or reprove them about their administration: Athīr v 81 (738).

222 Ṭab. III 71f.; Dīn. 373f.

223 Ṭab. II 289 (684–85); II 489 (684–85: Herat); II 1664 (738); Aghānī/Būlāq X 112f.

made it impossible for members of hostile tribes to be employed together in the administration of any district.²²⁴ This was well known, and the numerous fights between the ‘Yemenis’ (southern Arabs), the Bakr ibn Wā’il and the Banū Tamīm, such as that in 683–84, were no secret.²²⁵ However, these [319] quarrels, | which were the product of *ta’aṣṣub* or *‘aṣabīya* (communal solidarity or partisanship),²²⁶ could reach the level at which the caliph would be obliged to intervene, as happened in 727–28 in the case of the governor Asad in Khurasan, who was whipping members of the Muḍar during the Friday sermon, reviling them and inciting the congregation against them by reading from a prepared pamphlet.²²⁷ Even Ibn Khaldūn in the fourteenth century still saw *‘aṣabīya*²²⁸ as the central idea for the cooperation between separate groups of people and for nation building.

It was not only individual tribes that were attempting to make a particular province their own. The Arabs’ strong sense of family directed them on the path towards making positions hereditary. We repeatedly hear of civil servants even in the earliest times who appointed their sons or collateral relatives²²⁹ as their successors.²³⁰ Occasionally the caliph, or Ziyād ibn Abihi, would not accept an arrangement of this kind, or an appointed successor who was not a relation would be rejected,²³¹ but these cases soon became the exception to the rule.²³²

224 The caliph’s instructions to this effect 704; Athīr IV 193, v 83 (738). When in 738 a candidate for the administration of Khurasan was criticized for not having a tribe behind him, the caliph declared: ‘I am his tribe’: Ṭab. II 1660; K. ‘Uyūn 105.

225 Athīr IV 61f., 81f., 99f. What an Arab *ṣayyid* said is also characteristic: that the reason why the caliph sent a particular messenger was that he, the *ṣayyid*, was a member of the Qays like the messenger, and would consequently not have the latter killed (despite his bringing bad news): Athīr IV 134: this is how far consideration went. A similar event (722–23): Athīr v 44.

226 Ṭab. II 1664 (738); Ya‘q., Hist. II 399 (744); Sūlī 89 (937). See Hellmut Ritter, ‘Irrational solidarity groups. A socio-psychological study in connection with Ibn Khaldūn’, in *Oriens* I (1948), 1–44, esp. 2f., 31, 33.

227 Ṭab. II 1499, 1501.

228 This idea of Ibn Khaldūn’s is at the centre of E. Rosenthal’s study, ‘Ibn Khaldūn’s Gedanken über den Staat. Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Staatsidee’, Munich and Berlin 1932; id. ‘Some aspects of Islamic political thought’, in *TC* XXII, 1948, 1–17, 15f.

229 And also sons-in-law: Athīr v 34 (721–22).

230 Ṭab. II 161 (673); Ibn Isf. 191 (893–94 in Rayy); Athīr VIII 159 (949–50 a Buyid and his nephew ‘Aḍud al-Dawla).

231 Ṭab. II 155 (671); II 1312 (715–16). See Gabrieli, ‘La rivolta dei Muhallabiti nel ‘Irāq’.

232 Similarly it is stressed that in 982–83 the Buyid Mu‘ayyad al-Dawla refused to appoint a successor: Athīr IX 9.

Inherited positions were soon taken for granted and before long²³³ governors were appointed *because* they were the 'son or grandson of a vizier'²³⁴ or otherwise connected to the 'great families'. Under the Abbasids, Muslim | dynasties [320] of civil servants²³⁵ flourished and became characteristic of the administration of other districts as well. Later, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the small local dynasties which evolved from these practices, just like the caliphs themselves, became dependent on their guards and the pages around them (*ghilmān*), who then came to play a part in the succession.²³⁶

Age-old Iranian tradition dating from the Achaemenid,²³⁷ Arsacid,²³⁸ and Sasanid times,²³⁹ but which was also adopted by later centuries,²⁴⁰ meant that the administration of the northeast provinces (Khurasan/Balkh and Sistan) was the preserve of the princes of the caliph's dynasty²⁴¹ and often that of the heir to the throne. Maḥmūd of Ghazna later had the home province of his dynasty administered pro forma by his three minor sons.²⁴² If the heritability of civil service positions was accepted so soon, this was obviously due to the opinion that members of families with this kind of tradition in the administration would be especially competent in the execution of these duties, an opinion which certainly coincided with reality in many cases. Nevertheless, governors moving into the administration of a new district would always be exhorted to bear in mind that they were to administer it with care and to protect the

233 As early as 674: Ṭab. II 166f.; 680–81: *ibid.* 392, 701; Ṭab. II 1083.

234 Thus Muḥ. 65 (1174), 84. Juv. III 221 (1138: chieftains of the Assassins). Juv. II 85 (1212–13 among the Ghōrids); *ibid.* (1214–15 in Ghazna).

235 If a member of one of these families did not leave a son, he would 'because of this' appoint someone else his successor (Muḥ. Ib. 146f.: 1187).

236 Ṭab. III 2203 (901 in Azerbaijan).

237 Herodotus IX 113 (Xerxes I), Diodorus XI 69.

238 See Burckhardt, *Konstantin*, 39. Ḥamza Işf. 36ff.

239 Christensen 96f.; Schaefer, 'Fu-lin' 73, in his *Iranica*; Ṭab./Nöldeke, 103; Erdmann, *Eberdarstellung* 357. See also Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 97–109.

240 On the Mongolian era: Spuler, *Ilch.* 337. On the Safavid era: 1516 the heir to the throne Ṭahmāsp, who was not quite three years old, was granted the governorship for all of Khurasan, see Hellmut Braun, *Aḥwāl-i Šāh Ismā'īl, eine unerschlossene Darstellung des Lebens des 1. Šafaviden-Schahs*, typescript of PhD thesis, Göttingen 1945, 64, 68, 70 (fol. 31b and 31a of the MS). Concerning 1536–56 and around 1585 see Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 291f.

241 Athīr VI 53, 68 (al-Ma'mūn from Hārūn al-Rashīd 797); *ibid.* VIII 70 (931 al-Muqtadir to his son: Fars, Kirman, Sistan and Makran); *ibid.* VIII 193 (968 'Aḍud al-Dawla his son in Kirman).

242 Bayh. 106 (1010–11).

welfare of the subjects as well as that of the entire state and the caliphate.²⁴³ The guideline for their actions should always be the Qur'an²⁴⁴ and partiality was to be avoided.²⁴⁵ More detailed instructions called for a reliable client to [321] be employed as the chamberlain, as he would be 'the eyes | and ears' of the office, for the police to be reinforced and for the appointment in every city of a man who had the trust of the population.²⁴⁶

Over time, these instructions would become short works of literature, sometimes assuming the guise of 'a ruler's reflections'. Particularly famous is the memorandum penned by the founder of the Ṭāhirids, Ṭāhir (d. 821), which contains the following principles:

A ruler must constantly attend to the welfare of his subjects. He is not rich because of the gold in his treasury but because of his subjects' prosperity. This also ensures the subjects' obedience. The relationship between the ruler and his subjects should be as that between the shepherd and his flock. A subject must be able to submit his complaints to his ruler, who in turn must work till evening, surround himself with good advisers, and be generous but not extravagant. The expenses in the provinces should be overseen by men who have the ruler's trust. Indeed, these men should oversee all aspects of public life and report to the ruler, but besides the viziers' advice there should also be consistent self-monitoring.²⁴⁷

These universal ethical instructions and reflections were fertile soil in which the ancient Oriental didactic literature of the so-called 'Mirrors for Princes' began to grow once more. Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib's *Qutadghu Bilig*, written in Kashgar in 1073, introduced this genre to the Central Asian Turks as well,²⁴⁸ but the greatest examples were in the Iranian language: the *Qābūs-nāma* of

243 Athīr III 197 (674 Mu'āwiya). Ṭab. III 717 (806) gives the exact wording of such a diploma of endowment with the helpful instructions.

244 Ṭab. III 717. (See Goldziher, Had. 71).

245 Ṭab. II 167f. (674).

246 Ṭab. II 1481 (723–24).

247 Ṭab. III 1046/61; Athīr VI 134–39. Krymskiy I 33–36. People were indeed judged according to guidance such as this, as can be seen in sentences such as the following: 'The Ṭāhirids were just and respected their subjects' property; the Ṣaffārids were violent and unjust': Athīr VIII 2. Concerning the related testaments of princes (works of literature as well), see Albert Dietrich in a forthcoming issue of *Oriens*; M. Nāzīm, 'The "Pand-nāmah" of Subuktigin', in *JRAS* 1933, 605–28.

248 Ed. by the *Türk Dil Kurumu* as a facsimile of the three MSS in three volumes, Istanbul 1942–43, with the transcription by Reşid Rahmeti Arat (Istanbul 1947). See *EI* IV 1277.

1080 and the *Siyāsat-nāma*. The ruler is advised to be abstemious and not to covet his subjects' possessions or wives. He should calmly consider all his actions, he may not be hasty, and he must show leniency. He should not talk unnecessarily, be dignified in defeat and not overbearing in victory. He is advised to show severity towards robbers, caution towards the viziers, and take care that his orders are carried out. The army should protect the subjects, but never suppress them. Leading generals should | enjoy the ruler's trust and be [322] honoured. Out of military prudence, neighbouring states must also be monitored. The pillars of government are justice, generosity, awe-inspiring demeanour, renouncing that which is forbidden, calm deliberation and reliability.²⁴⁹

Complaints by the inhabitants of a city or a district were possible,²⁵⁰ and it is in this context that we find people whom the populace considered 'wise fools' playing a part, as their freedom of speech could allow them to utter criticism of even the ruler from time to time.²⁵¹ New rulers were very fond of assuring the population of their goodwill, in particular after a conquest.²⁵² The central administration was in the early days, until the tenth century, often referred to simply as *sultān*,²⁵³ which during the Abbasid era had its centre in the *dāvāns* of Baghdad²⁵⁴ (among them the *dāvān al-mashriq* = 'department of the East').²⁵⁵ It never missed an opportunity of finding out from the inhabitants of the provinces whether the governors were proving their worth,²⁵⁶ and the latter would often emphasize the respect which the Persians showed them.²⁵⁷ It was an all too frequent occurrence that one of them was divested of his office

249 Qābūs-nāma/Diez 794–816; *Siyāsat-nāma* 110. See also Athīr VII 165 and, more generally, Krymśkiy I 78.

250 Qommī 105 (904 in Qom); Athīr VIII 146 (945 in Nishapur); Browne, *Isf.* 662 (al-Ḥajjāj). See also Ibn Sa'd v 160, l. 15f.; *Siyāsat-nāma* 59ff. (Maḥmūd of Ghazna). Nikitin, *Nat.* 204f. The letter of complaint was called *tazhkara-ji ta'arruf*: 'Uṭbī 111 (ca. 990 in Khurasan under the Samanids; at the same time, however, the Ilig-Khān was called in). Mohibul Khan, 'Medieval Muslim political theories of rebellion against the state', in *IC* XVIII (1944), 36–44.

251 See Christensen, 'Les sots dans la tradition populaire des Persans'. A comparative role in similar conditions was played by the 'Yurodivye' in mediaeval Russia.

252 Athīr VIII 61 (929; Mardāvij in Qazvin).

253 See Minorsky in *Hud.* 26³.

254 Details in Mez, 68 (with sources). Concerning the development of the term *dāvān* see Uzun. 4–55 (mostly Seljuk era); *Hus.* 23.

255 Mez 68.

256 *Ṭab.* II 1454 (722–23); Athīr VII 5 (844–45).

257 *Ṭab.* II 1284 (715 Qutayba ibn Muslim). Going by the Persians' remarks about Qutayba, he appears to have enjoyed a great reputation among them indeed: *Ṭab.* II 1300.

because he had been a poor administrator,²⁵⁸ although this could also happen due to illness²⁵⁹ or an undesirable marriage.²⁶⁰ It would soon become customary to order a deposed official to pay a hefty fine with the aim of recovering the money he might have extorted. In this way there was hope for the state treasury, as well as the private treasure chest, and | some of the alienated funds were returned. This claim for payment was at first named *muṭālaba*.²⁶¹ Later the name *muṣādara* also came into use,²⁶² becoming in time one of the characteristics of the Abbasid administration. Only rarely would a civil servant about to be recalled receive a written assurance that he would be spared,²⁶³ and many reiterated their selflessness before leaving in order to evade similar demands.²⁶⁴

When appointing a successor, the central administration took into account other factors besides hereditary ones, such as a recommendation from the authorities²⁶⁵ or the tribes,²⁶⁶ or remuneration for military achievements.²⁶⁷ Often the applicants sang their own praises or attempted to draw the court's attention to themselves by giving gifts²⁶⁸ to, for example, the caliph's consort.²⁶⁹ This could easily turn into the purchase of posts, which did indeed happen frequently. It occurred less often at the centre of administration²⁷⁰ where Persia was concerned, however, but was more common on home ground where a governor or other civil servant might be selling his entire position,²⁷¹ or just part of the territory,²⁷² in exchange for money. This practice appears to have

258 Athīr III 50 (655), and frequently elsewhere; Ibn Isf. 177 (ca. 856–57: within the Ṭāhirid dynasty).

259 Athīr VIII 115 (938–39).

260 Ibid. v 67 (734).

261 TS 128 (734); *ibid.* 274f. (902); Athīr v 68 (735). Ṭab. II 189f. (680–81) describes how this would be carried out.

262 Ṭab. II 1034 (697/98); Muḥ. Ib. 6, 50 (eleventh century, or 1171). See *Bulletin des Études arabes* (Algiers 1942), 46f., and Adolf Grohmann in *Erasmus IV* (1951), 177.

263 Athīr v 114 (745).

264 Ṭab. II 1354f. (718–19).

265 Ṭab. II 65 (663–64); II 1033 (697–98); 1356f. (718–19).

266 Ṭab. II 1660 (738).

267 Ṭab. II 1438 (721–22).

268 For instance to one of the caliph's servants: Athīr v 80 (738).

269 Ṭab. II 1527 (729–30); Athīr v 57 (it is possible that this is a piece of tendentious anti-Umayyad information).

270 The attempt at toppling an opponent, who was the governor of Khurasan, using money: Ṭab. II 1718–22 (740).

271 Athīr v 99 (743).

272 Ṭab. II 1764 (743). TS 386. 389 (1091).

lessened over time. There are only occasional references to it during the Abbasid era, that is, under the Buyids.²⁷³ It could also happen that inconvenient nobles were removed by giving them control over a remote province.²⁷⁴

Leading regional civil servants had to be reconfirmed at every accession of a new caliph²⁷⁵ or they might be replaced on these occasions.²⁷⁶ A regular rotation of governors, which took place around every three to four years,²⁷⁷ was customary during the Umayyad era, as long as the caliph or his deputy in Mesopotamia | remained firmly at the helm in the East. Opposition against the measures of the caliph or his deputy was rare and always crushed quickly.²⁷⁸ [324] When Qutayba ibn Muslim wanted to rise against Damascus in 715, his troops rejected this as being ‘corruption of religion and the world’ and refused to obey him.²⁷⁹

When the confusion of the rapid succession of caliphs in Damascus from 743 onwards, the rebellions in Mesopotamia, the incompetence of the last of the Umayyads, and in particular the severity of the Arabs when enforcing their dominion increasingly agitated the mood in Persia, a great reversal began to take shape there. The defeat of Umayyad rule in western Asia began in Persia. As we know, the Abbasids’ attitude towards Persia was entirely different from that of their predecessors. They moved their residence to Mesopotamia, to the fringes of the sphere of influence of Iranian culture. Governors were not necessary in this province anymore and the administration was directly responsible to the central government. For each of the districts a department with two sub-sections was established: (1) for the ‘basics’ (*aṣl*), i.e. the assessment and levying of taxes, and presumably also the preservation of fiscal capacity and consequently the administration; and (2) for the management of public finances (*zīmām*).²⁸⁰ Around 900 the regional ministries were combined in the *Dīwān al-dār*, which was made up out of three sub-sections, the *Dīwān al-mashriq* for the East, and two others for Mesopotamia and the West.²⁸¹

273 Must. I 425 (ca. 990).

274 Athīr VII 79 (870).

275 Still in Ṭabaristan around 1200: Ibn Isf. 255.

276 Ṭab. II 1357 (early seventh century); II 1468 (723–24).

277 Ibn Isf. 125 (ca. 782: relief ‘in turn’, according to the English summary). At the beginning of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s rule the governors of Ṭabaristan remained in office barely a year: Ibn Isf. 132.

278 680–81 in Sistan: Ṭab. II 319f. 718–19 in Khurasan: Ṭab. II 1353, 1357.

279 Athīr V 5.

280 See Almedroz in *JRAS* 1913, 829ff.; Mez 68 and nn. 4 and 5.

281 Hil. 131, 262.

This was the time of the final division of Persia into individual administrative districts corresponding to the historical provinces. The governors, still called *‘āmil* and *wālī*, were regularly appointed,²⁸² paid,²⁸³ and recalled by the caliph himself. Persia was now an important and integral part of the caliphate, after the ‘Far West’ (*al-Maghrib*, modern Morocco and western Algeria) had been entirely taken from him and Ifrīqīya (modern Tunisia and eastern Algeria) was partially lost. Persian minor princes, including even the Zoroastrian ones, [325] recognized the | caliph’s sovereignty and power, and turned to him when adjudication was needed.²⁸⁴ Some of them were explicitly confirmed in their lands after they converted to Islam.²⁸⁵ Occasionally a residential government representative was assigned to them, as Qutayba ibn Muslim had already decreed during his Central Asian conquests in the early eighth century.²⁸⁶

It was not, however, possible to sustain this state of affairs for long. The leading position occupied by Persians within the state,²⁸⁷ as well as their own increasing self-confidence, led to the aspiration of controlling the administration of their own country after as little as one generation.²⁸⁸ Of course, the caliph’s place in the theocratic Islamic state was so august that, even in times of political disempowerment, his authority remained at least theoretically unchallenged, and for an office to be valid in the eyes of public opinion he would have to be seen to be conferring it onto the office-holder. In the tenth century the caliphate was imagined to be an Islamic commonwealth (*mamlakat al-Islam*)²⁸⁹ stretching from Fergana to Tangier and from the Caucasus to Jeddah.²⁹⁰ Yet the caliphate had to adapt to reality. Thus it could happen that

282 Ṭab. III 517 (783–84 in Khurasan); 612 (792–93 in Jibāl, Azerbaijan and Armenia); Aghānī/Būlāq xx 82 (ca. 786 in Ahvaz); Bayh. 429 (ca. 800 in Khurasan). However, the consequence of the leading position being occupied by al-Ma’mūn’s favourite, al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl, in the East led to his cousin the governor of Khurasan being dependent on him as well (820–21): Athīr VI 123.

283 For the administration of the eastern part of the empire al-Faql ibn Sahl received a salary (*‘umāla*) of 3,000,000 dirhams from al-Ma’mūn in 812: Ṭab. III 841.

284 Thus the *ispāhbadhs* of Ṭabaristan ca. 765 (Ibn Isf. 118) and ca. 830 (ibid. 148).

285 Ya’q., Buld. 289 (Bamiyan, ninth century). In order to secure their position a great number of their opponents would be killed, e.g. in Bukhara in 714: Ṭab. II 1230.

286 Ṭab. II 1206 (709 in Tukharistan); 1218 (Ṭāliqān and Faryab); 1225 (Shadhhdh in eastern Iran); 1252f. (712 in Khwarazm).

287 See Kremer, *Streifz.* 31.

288 785–86 under al-Hādī, the scion of an ancient Persian noble family, as the governor for military and tax matters in Khuzistan: Aghānī/Būlāq xIII 75. Under al-Manšūr a (Persian) client was governor of Shush and Gondēshāpūr already: ibid. xx 82.

289 Muq. 64; Ibn Ḥawq. 10f. See also Mez 2.

290 Mas. IV 38.

when the governor Ṭāhīr of Khurasan²⁹¹ omitted the name of the Commander of the Faithful from the Friday prayers, the latter, al-Ma'mūn, was not able to use this omission as a reason to refuse the governor's son, Ṭalḥa, to succeed to the territory.²⁹² His advisers explicitly pointed out to him that this would not be politically acceptable.

This turned out to be a political decision of great moment. If the caliph waived the right to a free decision in these matters, his investing a governor with a province would soon become the expression of the respective balance of powers and a purely formal affirmation of emerging dynasties. This development did quite soon become a reality, for after al-Ma'mūn's death in 833 the caliphate increasingly lost its grip on secular power. Social upheavals during the ninth century, the | continuing religious conflict between orthodox and Mu'tazilite, as well as between Sunni and Shi'ite, and in particular the local aspirations of Iran, Syria and Egypt – all these contributed to a limiting of the caliph's position to that of a semi-spiritual law enforcement officer amid the power shifts that were taking place without any input from him. While he was still accepted as a sovereign and appeared on coins, this was only nominal. He was unable to put up any resistance²⁹³ to the succession²⁹⁴ among the Ṭāhīrids,²⁹⁵ especially as their most powerful member, 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhīr, had wielded considerable power during his many years as commander of the guards²⁹⁶ in Baghdad (828–44). Even from Khurasan, the governorship of which he had accepted in preference to that of Armenia and Azerbaijan, which included oversight of the campaign against Bābak,²⁹⁷ because it was easier to get to Samarra, he still commanded considerable support in the capital.²⁹⁸ In the end the caliph had to leave most of the secular business to others. If he

291 Athīr VI 129. See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 194f. and p. 60 above.

292 Ḥamza Işf. 145; Athīr VI 130.

293 On the advice of those close to him the caliph desisted from a planned attempt in 864: Krymśkiy I 42 (with sources).

294 Ibn Isf. 157 (844). This succession was mentioned explicitly during the Seljuk era: Ḥus. 28 (ca. 1065); Muḥ. Ib. 18, 21 (1084–85, 1156). Uzun. 20f., 23. Emile Tyan, 'L'idée dynastique dans le gouvernement de l'Islam', in *JA* CCXXIII (1933), 337–46, only deals with the Umayyads and Abbasids.

295 Their title was 'Governor (*āmil*) over Khurasan, Ṭabaristan, Rayy and the entire East': Ṭab. III 1526 (864). See *ibid.* III 1505f., 1692 (867); Gard. 7–10; Athīr VII 5 (844–45), 37 (862). Siddiqi I 571–77.

296 Here he also had his palace: LeStrange, *Baghdad*, 118; Kremer, *Cultur.* II 54f.

297 Ṭab. III 1102 (829).

298 Athīr VII 37 (862); see also Krymśkiy I 30. They mentioned the caliph's name on their coins, but not in the *khutba*. The princes of Ṭabaristan were under their control as well: Athīr VI 168f. (839).

deposed a Ṭāhirid, as was done in 867, this had no practical relevance anymore.²⁹⁹ Occasional later attempts at appointing governors on his own initiative or conferring sovereignty onto other rulers would usually fail due to the hostile attitude of the population.³⁰⁰

One result of this development was that in 867 the Ṣaffārids decided to move formally under the suzerainty of the caliph.³⁰¹ His name was written on their coins,³⁰² mentioned during the Friday prayers, and he made over to them, despite his unwillingness to do so,³⁰³ not only the provinces of Balkh, Tukharistan, Fars, Kirman, Sistan, and Sind in 869,³⁰⁴ as well as Khurasan, [327] Ṭabaristan, Gurgan and | Hind,³⁰⁵ but also the supreme command in Samarra and Baghdad.³⁰⁶ In return, Ya‘qub ibn Layth did not hesitate to send presents to Samarra and Mecca repeatedly, as in 869 and 872.³⁰⁷ However, sometimes the political situation changed so rapidly that the caliph was unable to keep up with the formal legalization of newly established powers. No sooner had he confirmed the local ruler in Fars, ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan ibn Shibb ibn Quraysh, with a document of investiture, which included Kirman,³⁰⁸ than the Ṣaffārid, ‘Amr ibn Layth, invaded that country in 869 and was able to produce a grant of title conferred by the caliph as well.³⁰⁹ The inhabitants of Nishapur, too, only accepted Ṣaffārid rule once Ya‘qūb presented a ‘document’ from the caliph³¹⁰ to their *fuqahā’* (‘lawyers’). Accepting such a document meant, as Baghdad confirmed explicitly in 933,³¹¹ that a rebel would no longer be seen as such, but would be ‘legalized’.

The investiture would be confirmed by the bestowal of a charter of appointment (‘*ahd* or *manshūr*’), a flag (‘*alam* or *liwā’*’), occasionally a sword, and a robe

299 Athīr VII 59; Mas. IX 1f.

300 E.g. in Fars: TS 307. The Seljuks occasionally had the same experience: TS 376 (1055–56).

301 Athīr VII 60.

302 See p. 420 below.

303 Ṭab. III 1881.

304 Athīr VII 82; TS 216.

305 Athīr VII 86, 90; TS 228. In 879 ‘Amr was confirmed in Isfahan, Jibāl and Transoxania as well: TS 235, 249 (891).

306 Misk. VI 502; TS 228, 235.

307 TS 204, 216.

308 Ṭab. III 1698; Athīr VII 62.

309 Ibn Khall./Eg. II 314. Krymśkiy I 53.

310 TS 222. Similarly among the Samanids in Bukhara ca. 870: Narsh. 77; also the inhabitants of Qazvin with regards to the Assassins of Alamūt as late as 1210ff.: Juv. III 244f.

311 Misk. I 265.

of honour (*khil'a*).³¹² However, the demands of the Ṣaffārids, who pointed to their sword as their 'charter',³¹³ continued. While they did not ally themselves with the rebel Zanj in southern Mesopotamia, they still posed a danger to the caliph and in their excesses were so importunate that the decision was taken in Samarra to take measures to destroy them. This resolve was strengthened when al-Muwaffaq, a strong and energetic member of the Abbasid dynasty, who appears to have occasionally issued documents of appointment himself,³¹⁴ came to power as regent of the empire.³¹⁵ His opportunity came when, in 879, 'Amr ibn Layth succeeded his brother Ya'qūb. Unlike the latter, 'Amr was quite willing to agree to the formality of submitting to the authority of the caliph.³¹⁶ | [328] The latter, after his deposition order of 884–85 had proved ineffective,³¹⁷ conferred on 'Amr faraway Transoxania,³¹⁸ instead of giving him charge of Fars, as 'Amr had desired (which was rather too close to Iraq and whose governor al-Khujistānī had had prayers said for the caliph alone since 880–81³¹⁹). This, however, was the ultimate degrading of the caliph's spiritual authority: the use of his religious prestige for a political ambush. In fact, 'Amr would appeal this appointment,³²⁰ but he let himself be seduced into attacking his enemies in 900, was subsequently defeated by them near Balkh, and then, at the caliph's explicit request, he was delivered to Baghdad, where he was executed.³²¹ Immediately afterwards the Samanid Ismā'īl was granted his diploma of recognition from Baghdad.³²²

Thus the authority of the Commander of the Faithful had become restricted to merely formal affirmation of the shifts in power politics in Persia. This was

312 TS 176, 205, 216; Gard. 62; Ṣūlī 87. Manshūr and Tughrā 1206 in Herat: Juv. II 63.

313 Gard. 12f. Krym'skiy I 55.

314 Narsh. 78 (874). However, Muwaffaq is here referred to as 'caliph'; consequently it is possible that there is a mistake.

315 As he declared 'Amr deposed in 889, the latter broke off all contact with Baghdad until 891 (al-Muwaffaq's death): TS 249.

316 Ṭab. III 1931, 2133; Ḥamza Iṣf. 149; Gard. 13; Athīr VII 108. Krym'skiy I 59, 62; Siddiqi II 97–102.

317 Ṭab. III 2106, 2183.

318 Athīr VII 165; TS 255. Of course, the short-lived Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir (902–3), a grandson of 'Amr's, soon also claimed and received Fars: *ibid.* 274f. Later Fars, together with Kirman and Sistan, would pass into al-Subkarī's hands thanks to 'gifts' (see p. 82 above): *ibid.* 295.

319 Ṭab. III 1993. The caliph's name was mentioned on his coins: *ibid.* 2009. 'Amr rejected the caliph's decree of putting Khurasan under al-Khujistānī's control: Ḥamza Iṣf. 149.

320 Narsh. 85.

321 Athīr VII 165. Similarly also 910–11: *ibid.* VIII 20.

322 Ṭab. III 2195; Athīr VII 174.

obvious to his contemporaries as well and indeed they stated that this was the case clearly.³²³ Consequently the Samanids, who had worked their way up in Khurasan and Transoxania and received their appointment from Samarra in 875,³²⁴ had no qualms after 'Amr's defeat in 900 to follow the rules quite faithfully.³²⁵ They mentioned the caliph's name in the Friday prayers,³²⁶ minted coins bearing his name,³²⁷ and sent him gifts,³²⁸ often with the explicit aim of 'buying' their rewards.³²⁹ While the caliph no longer had power to loose and bind here in the East,³³⁰ the Samanids carried out the administration 'in the name of the Commander of the Faithful', whose name was always mentioned on the obverse of their coins.³³¹ Subsequent rulers requested and received³³² a diploma of confirmation with complete regularity.³³³ If a new ruler succeeded in Baghdad, it would have to be renewed³³⁴ and after his accession to the throne every new caliph sent messengers with the relevant orders to all his tenant kings (*mulūk al-atrāf* or *al-tawā'if*).³³⁵ There might even be occasional difficulties in these instances if a Samanid did not recognize a violent change of ruler in Baghdad and continued to have prayers said for the deposed ruler, as happened in 929,³³⁶ 946, 955, 991 and 998–99 on the occasion of Buyid restructuring.³³⁷ In these cases the caliph would assemble the pilgrims passing through Baghdad on their return from Mecca and proclaim his decrees of

323 Mas. I 306; II 73ff.; Māwardī 2f. Mez 16; Siddiqi I 566f.

324 Ṭab. III 1885.

325 Narsh. explicitly stresses this in the case of Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad (ca. 900).

326 Narsh. 84 (893). Barthold, *Turk.* 226f., has a more general overview; Siddiqi II 103–8.

327 The striking of coins (*Ar. sikka*) had already been the ruler's sovereign right under the Sasanids, see Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 123–124 etc.

328 Similarly, according to ancient Oriental custom, the severed heads of vanquished foes: Mez 16, after K. 'Uyūn.

329 E.g. Narsh. 75 (ca. 845, not 864, as the text mistakenly states).

330 Only during the Ṣaffārid–Samanid disputes in 892 did he dare depose a governor there himself: Athīr VII 151.

331 Athīr VII 92 (874–75: Samarkand and Transoxania); Ibn Ḥawq.² 430 (one *'āmil* for Khurasan, with Ḥukkām under him). As regards the coins, see p. 351 below.

332 Narsh. 84 (892 Ismā'īl as Naṣr's successor); Athīr VIII 2 (907); Misk. I 33 (913/14).

333 The Samanid Ismā'īl 901 after his victory over 'Amr ibn Layth for Khurasan, Transoxania, Turkestan, Sind, Hind and Gurgan: Narsh. 90.

334 Bayh. 293; Ṭab. III 2133 (892–93 for 'Amr ibn Layth); Gard. 9 (846), 88 (1026) and *passim*.

335 E.g. 1031: Bayh. 288.

336 Misk. II 156f.; Athīr/Tornberg VIII 381; Lane-Poole I 98. Barthold, *Vorl.* 68; Siddiqi II 261¹, 262.

337 Misk. III 201; Athīr IX 50; Rud. 332; Lane-Poole I 114.

deposition and imprecation – clearly without any effect.³³⁸ Some other minor princes, such as Badr ibn Ḥasanwayh in 1002, having learnt from these events, would shelter a vizier who had fled from Baghdad to their court. This would give them some protection against the court in Baghdad, as they could always send the vizier back and so cause some upheaval in the capital.³³⁹ However, these kinds of ‘incidents’ were not able to change the theory in any way. Minor Persian princes, such as the rulers of Ṭabaristan,³⁴⁰ went along with these customs as far as the granting of governorships went, although they had to take other factors into consideration on the political level. In such a case they would pay homage to their politically influential neighbour as well as the caliph, pay tribute to him, and his name would be mentioned in the Friday prayers after that of the caliph.³⁴¹

[330]

The relationship with the Buyids was more difficult as they were, and remained, Shi‘ites. Even so, they wasted no time after they had occupied Shiraz and all of Fars in 934,³⁴² which the caliph had conferred on them under his own authority as late as 928,³⁴³ asking for confirmation from Baghdad. When they conquered the capital of the caliphate in December 945 they became the caliphs’ ‘protectors’ for 110 years. They never tried to lessen the caliphs’ spiritual status, in part because this enabled them indirectly to exert influence over the entire Islamic world. However, the quarrels within the Buyid family, which started in 983, frequently made it difficult for the caliph to stay far enough in the background to avoid getting drawn into the arguments. Relations between the Samanids and Baghdad continued to flourish.³⁴⁴ The relationship with the

338 E.g. Ṭab. III 2106, 2183; Athīr VII 95, 138 (874–75 and 884–85), IX 35 (993).

339 Hil. 474–79.

340 Misk. I 229 (Mardāvij 932); Ibn Isf. 233 (ca. 1000).

341 Thus the rulers of Ṭabaristan ca. 943 with relation to the Buyids (Athīr VIII 138), and ca. 1000 with relation to the Ghaznavids, who would in turn recognize their control over certain districts: Ibn Isf. 233 and see Krymskiy I 113. In 972 the Samanid Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ claimed the deciding power over the conditions of government in Sistan for himself: TS 336. Similarly in 1000 and 1041 the Khwarazm-shāhs: Bayh. 669, 679 (in the *khutba* they first mention the caliph, then Maḥmūd or Maṣ‘ūd of Ghazna, and finally themselves. However, in 1016–17 the Khwarazm-shāh was murdered by his emirs because he had agreed to this rule: Athīr IX 90). In 999 the rulers of Gharshistan also mentioned Maḥmūd of Ghazna: Athīr IX 51; similarly and voluntarily in 1012–13 Manūchīhr of Gurgan: *ibid.* 82; 1041–42 the Seljuks were mentioned in Gurgan and Ṭabaristan: *ibid.* 171. Ca. 1120 the Ghaznavids mentioned Sanjar in the *khutba* as well: Barthold, *Vorl.* 112.

342 Ṣūlī 236f., 284f.; Athīr VIII 88. Siddiqi II 109–26.

343 Athīr VIII 56.

344 Siddiqi II 260–68.

Ghaznavids soon developed into a profitable one, with the significant encouragement of generous gifts, once advisers convinced the Commander of the Faithful to overcome his initial misgivings about bestowing his approval on 'the slave of a slave'.³⁴⁵ Of course, the Buyids,³⁴⁶ the princes of Ṭabaristan,³⁴⁷ and the chieftains of the Kurds³⁴⁸ received their diplomas from the Caliph at the same time, and in *this* regard, the difference of faith was irrelevant. All the same, the Buyids were the first Shi'ites who, starting with 'Aḍud al-Dawla, had their names mentioned in the Friday prayers in Mesopotamia as well.³⁴⁹ Their connections with the caliph did not prevent them from independently bestowing the districts of the Empire on their relatives,³⁵⁰ although in difficult situations they had the caliph appoint the governors.³⁵¹

The Ghaznavids³⁵² were punctilious in their actions³⁵³ and, unlike the Qarakhanids, even took into consideration al-Wāthiq's personal wishes regarding the succession, which turned out to be most beneficial for both parties. The caliph now had a counterweight against the Buyids, who, as their power [331] declined, became increasingly troublesome. | Maḥmūd of Ghazna was even allowed to report triumphantly to the ruler in Baghdad his military success against the Buyids in Rayy in 1029,³⁵⁴ even though Baghdad was still in Buyid hands. He might have hoped to become heir to the Buyid power in Mesopotamia, as he had arranged the succession according to his own plans, with complete agreement from the caliph.³⁵⁵ He repeatedly sent messengers bearing lavish gifts to the Commander of the Faithful, reported his successes 'in the correct fashion'³⁵⁶ to Baghdad, minted the caliph's name on

345 Dawl. 34f. Concerning the Ghaznavids see Siddiqi II 269–79.

346 In 968 for newly conquered Kirman: Misk. VI 323; 982/83 in Gurgan: Athīr IX 9. Mez 19 (after K. 'Uyūn) reports a case of fraud in this context.

347 Athīr VIII 72 (930).

348 Ibid. IX 50 (998); 185 (1047–48).

349 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VI 30 = Slane I 581.

350 Athīr IX 8 (Fars 982–83).

351 Rud. 15 (981–82).

352 On their ceremonial reception of the caliph's ambassadors see Bayh. 44 and also p. 365 below.

353 Hil. 372; Misk. III 393; Rud. 332; Athīr IX 50 (the *khuṭba* for the caliph in Khurasan after the conquest by Maḥmūd of Ghazna 999).

354 Athīr IX 128.

355 Bayh. 213 (1015–16), 216 (with correction of the lithograph); Gard. 88; Athīr IX 138. The Ṣaffārid 'Amr already in 896 as well: Ṭab. III 2159ff.

356 Bayh. 70 (1030). Edhem and Tevhīd, *Meskūkāt*.

his coins,³⁵⁷ and finally tried to prevent him from an alliance with the Turkish (Qarluq) Qarakhanids³⁵⁸ and Khwarazm-shāhs,³⁵⁹ who also named the caliph on their coins.³⁶⁰ In his view, the Commander of the Faithful should only communicate with these powers via Ghazna. A well-placed gift of 100,000 dirhams allowed him to 'purchase an additional letter' (namely *alif*) for the title the caliph had already been persuaded to grant him, which was Sulṭān Yamīn al-Dawla, Walī Amīr al-Mu'minīn, turning the word *walī* ('friend') into *wālī* ('representative', 'governor').³⁶¹ Unlike the attitude at times displayed by Baluchistan,³⁶² he, being an orthodox Sunni, firmly rejected offers from the Fatimid caliphs to pay homage to them as overlords, and made sure that this attitude was made as public as possible in Baghdad.³⁶³

Of course, having taken on rather too much in quarrels with the Buyids, Indian princes and at times the Qarakhanids as well, the Ghaznavids never succeeded in replacing the Buyids as the controlling force in Mesopotamia. They were overtaken by the young and fresh Seljuks, who eliminated the Ghaznavids in Iran just as quickly as they did the Buyids, and ruled in Baghdad from 1055 onwards. Like all Turks converting to Islam they were orthodox, even zealous, Sunnis and | the Seljuk rulers were never found lacking³⁶⁴ when it came to fulfilling their duties to the Commander of the Faithful³⁶⁵ or to giving lavish gifts.³⁶⁶ While they never allowed the caliphs any real power to decide things, they set great store by their official diplomas,³⁶⁷ in particular when they found themselves in political difficulties and needed documentary support to reassert themselves.³⁶⁸

357 Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* 42–53, no. 70–83 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna), also his clients: *ibid.* 40f., no. 67–69.

358 Bayh. 293f.; Gard. 82ff. Barthold, *Turk.* 282ff.; Barthold, *Vorl.* 88.

359 Bayh. 667, 669. The Khwarazm-shāhs in their turn had tried in 922–23 to detain the caliph's ambassadors to the Volga Bulgars in order to retain the monopoly on communication with the latter: Ibn Faqlān 6 (German trans. 11). Siddiqi II 274.

360 Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* 1–34, nos. 1–66 (different *khāns* between 1000 and 1052–53).

361 'Awfī 181, no. 997; Dawl. 34f.

362 'Utbī 296; Ibn Ḥawq. 221. Siddiqi II 271f.

363 'Utbī 399–402; Athīr IX 221.

364 They also called him to arbitrate between them and Mas'ūd of Ghazna: Ḥus., 'Urāḍa/Türk I 295f.

365 They minted coins with the caliph's name: Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV 58–63, nos. 84–90 (1040–1105). Siddiqi II 390–408 summarises their attitude towards the caliphate; see also Wiet 76.

366 Athīr IX 200.

367 Ḥus. 54 (1095), 67 (1118).

368 Thus e.g. 1153; Rav. 268.

The Khwarazm-shāhs,³⁶⁹ Seljuk *atabegs*,³⁷⁰ and the Ghōrid rulers of Ghazna³⁷¹ continued this arrangement at first. However, in 1190, for instance, it was ‘suggested’ to the *atabeg* Qyzyl Arslan in Isfahan that he should appoint himself *pādhishāh*, which thus dissolved Seljuk rule and saved the caliph having to take any direct action. The *atabeg* was only too happy to act on this suggestion,³⁷² but the Commander of the Faithful need not have been surprised when, after the complete fall of the Seljuks in 1194, the Khwarazm-shāh appointed himself sultan without even asking Baghdad’s opinion.³⁷³

Thus the relations between the Iranian uplands and the caliph are a good indicator of the latter’s changeable political fortunes. During the Umayyad and early Abbasid eras it had been the caliphs themselves or their chosen representatives (such as Ziyād or al-Ḥajjāj) who would appoint and dismiss governors in Persia purely according to the requirements of the central power. After the emergence of dynasties of governors, which occurred approximately parallel to the development of Arab dynasties of civil servants in the central administration, the caliphs were limited to the formal confirmation of their legality,³⁷⁴ while the governors decided according to their own wishes on the succession and appointment of their relatives to the administration of individual districts. At times they would even annihilate one another, but they could always rely on the caliph’s granting his approval once they had firmly established themselves. The caliphs’ political authority of the early centuries had given way to pure formality, understandable only through the theocratic system of the state. Separate forces had established themselves in Persia, only to be replaced or superseded around the turn of the millennium by Turkish or Turkish–Mongolian dynasties for centuries to come.

[333]

The Postal Service and Government Control Systems

A functioning postal service was the precondition for any close association between the various parts of the Persian territory and Baghdad even at a time when the administration was in fact already in the hands of independent dynasties. The postal service was based on ancient models, especially the

369 1000: Bayh. 666; 1196: Rav. 385; Juv. II 43; 1199: Ibn al-Sā‘ī 19.

370 Ca. 1165: Ḥus. 108.

371 1205: Ibn al-Sā‘ī 120.

372 Rav. 363.

373 Ibid. 370.

374 The Qābūs-nāma/Diez, 759ff., 764, states this quite clearly as well.

Persian one, which dated back to the Achaemenid period, but had fallen into disuse. This explains why not only the name of the post in Arabic (*barīd*) but also numerous other terms related to it are of Persian origin.³⁷⁵ The unit of measuring distances travelled was the parasang (*farsakh*), which is reckoned to be around six kilometers (3.7 miles),³⁷⁶ although it was actually a time – distance measure in the sense of ‘an hour away’. In the area that had been Roman/Byzantine territory the mile (*mīl*)³⁷⁷ was used as a measure. In the east the post routes had always been along well-built roads,³⁷⁸ which had stopping posts every two parasangs. Here the post often used mules rather than horses, although they also occasionally employed fast riding camels (*jammāzāt*)³⁷⁹ and runners.³⁸⁰ The postal service was primarily for the government’s use: to transport goods for the caliph or high-ranking civil servants,³⁸¹ to accompany government civil servants to their destination³⁸² and to convey the ruler’s orders. The central authority was the ‘postal bureau’ (*dīwān al-barīd*),³⁸³ which appointed individual postmasters for the separate districts,³⁸⁴ about which we hear from in, for example, Khurasan.³⁸⁵

The postal officials’ second, particularly important and generally well-known duty was the transmission of messages³⁸⁶ to the caliph’s court, which is why they were called *ṣāhib al-barīd wa-l-khabar* (‘head of the post and of information’) and *mushrif* (‘inspector’).³⁸⁷ | News of battles and victories,³⁸⁸ [334] invasions of nomadic tribes,³⁸⁹ and the contents of intercepted letters³⁹⁰ were

375 For details see Maf. ul. 63f., also Mez 464; Fries 86–88. Sam. 77 v.

376 Muq. 65; Ibn Khurd. 83.

377 Mez 464 and n. 11.

378 See Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten, passim*; Pedersen 61f.; Ṭab. II 1453 (722–23).

379 Athīr/Tornberg VIII 480 (975); Bayh. 67f. (1030).

380 Mez 464 and n. 7; Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, 2; Barthold, *Turk.* 230f.; Kremer, *Cultur.* II 195f.

381 Bal. 402; Jahsh. 197 (785).

382 Athīr IV 173 (697–98), v 57 (729–30). See the letter, written in 718–19, from the Sogdian ruler Divāstīch to the emir al-Jarrāḥ in Transoxiana, in Kračkovskiy, *Sogd. Sbornik* 56f. (ll. 12–13 of the letter).

383 Details in Qud. 184f. (ca. 925). Löck. 151.

384 *Ṣāhib al-barīd* (Bayh. 153), also *Mutaṣarrifī a’māl al-barīd*: Ibn Ḥawq. 369.

385 Ṭab. III 712 (807); Ibn Ḥawq.² 369 (ca. 950); *ibid.* 430 (ca. 978); Bayh. 153 (ca. 1039 in Balkh).

386 Clearly in Bayh. 429 (ca. 1035).

387 Ibn Khurd. VIIIf.; Ya’q., *Hist.* II 556: *ṣāhib al-khabar*; Barbier de Meynard in *JA* 1865, 9; *EI* II 422. *Siyāsat-nāma* 57–65 has detailed information about the supervisor.

388 Athīr VI 81 (810–11).

389 Bayh. 506, 515 (1035).

390 Ṭab. III 1583 (865).

sent to the banks of the Tigris as well as to the courts of individual regional princes. It is understandable that great speed was a major concern. A particular achievement mentioned in 810–11 is that news of a victory was reported within three days over a distance of 250 parasangs.³⁹¹ By punishing slow post couriers, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla succeeded in raising the average distance travelled in a day to 150 parasangs.³⁹² News of particular urgency was also sent by carrier pigeon from Persia.³⁹³ Of course, postal officials had to be particularly reliable in these circumstances and were consequently selected with great care.³⁹⁴ They were often chosen from old, established families of postmasters³⁹⁵ and trained from early youth to carry out their spying duties.³⁹⁶ Furthermore, professional spies supported them, in particular during the Buyid era.³⁹⁷ They were in great danger when a rebellious politician feared being given away by them, such as, for example, Ṭāhir I after he stopped having the caliph’s name mentioned in the Friday prayers in 821. Postal employees were aware of this and consequently their behaviour was most circumspect.³⁹⁸

For early Islamic Persia in particular we have no detailed information about the running of the postal service,³⁹⁹ despite it being an organisation of such importance in the administration of the empire. About the postal roads, on the other hand, we are well informed, as they are clearly marked on maps. We will return to this subject in the context of trade.

Leading Officials of the Administration⁴⁰⁰

In the postmasters we can recognise the officials who, along with the governor in charge (and to some extent monitoring him) maintained the direct

391 Athīr VI 81.

392 Mez 22 (after Ibn al-Jawzī 120 r).

393 Ibn Isf. 155 (ca. 838). The so-called ‘dovecotes’, however (*kaftar-khānas*, Pers. *kaḅūtar*), have been proved (through excavations) to be a kind of living quarter or storage area, not actual dovecotes: Field and Prostov, ‘Recent Excavations in Khwarazm’, 141.

394 Qud. 184f.

395 Bayh. 140f. (1020).

396 Krymśkiy I 61 (according to Gard. under ‘Amr ibn Layth). Similar scouts are also mentioned by Sa’dī.

397 Siyāsāt-nāma 68–70.

398 Aghānī/Bulāq XIV 38; Athīr VI 129; K. ‘Uyūn 453. Kremer, *Cultur.* I 194f.

399 See Qud. 226f.

400 Concerning administrative structures in general see Maf. ul. An overview of the central administration in Baghdad and the administration of Mesopotamia may be found in

connection between individual districts and the central power. | We must [335] now proceed to an overview of other administrative organs. We have already seen that the responsibility for a district was often divided in two ('war' and 'tax') and that in many cases the governors were entitled to appoint deputies (*khalīfa*) in the more remote parts of their territories.⁴⁰¹ These deputies would also take on the governor's duties during his absence on military campaigns⁴⁰² or after he had been recalled until his successor arrived.⁴⁰³ Their office was consequently always subject to a time limit. The position of governor's adviser, on the other hand, was a permanent one, although its title might change occasionally. Thus this person was often called a 'secretary' (*kātib, dabīr*)⁴⁰⁴ and in many instances the title *wazīr* was used as well.⁴⁰⁵ They were frequently, as is indeed the case in other cultures and countries, the most influential people around the official head of the administration. Of the Buyids⁴⁰⁶ and Ṭāhirids in particular it was said that their secretaries, the Christians Abraham and Stephen,⁴⁰⁷ were the decisive influence when it came to appointing people to all the other posts. As a sign of his great status the vizier would be given a ring, or at least this was what Qābūs of Gurgan in 1012 and Mas'ūd of Ghazna in 1035⁴⁰⁸ gave to their viziers.

Lökk. 143–91; see also Goitein, 'A turning point' (discusses the structure and meaning Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Risāla*, which is a 'handbook for the administration').

401 Ibn Isf. 132f. (ca. 796: Ṭabaristan); 157 (854–55: appointment of various representatives in separate parts of Ṭabaristan under the general supervision of a Ṭāhirid governor); Ḥamza Isf. 147 (ca. 870 *ibid.*). 'Awfī, 153–61, also discusses the principles of administration, in anecdote form, nos. 363–564.

402 Ṭab. II 1180, 1218, 1221 (705 and 710 in Marv, with one governor for war and tax); Ibn Isf. (ca. 805: Amul); Bayh. 440 (ca. 1033: in Ghazna. The title of this deputy was here *rāyāt-i 'ālī*); Browne, *Isf.* (ca. 1065: the Seljuk Alp Arslan for individual princes).

403 Ṭab. II 155 (671 in Khwarazm), 1767 (743 in Khwarazm). The Ṭāhirids explicitly conferred on their deputies the right of appointing their own representatives: TS 189.

404 Ibn Isf. 191¹ (894: Rayy). Concerning the Sasanid model see Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 212f.

405 Ṭab. II 1458 (722–23: Khurasan); Ibn Isf. 157 (854–55: Ṭabaristan); Narsh. 79 (Bukhara). *Wazīr* is after all probably of Arabic origin, see p. 230 above.

406 Misk. v 465.

407 Mez 48f. (after Shābushtī); Misk. v 352.

408 Athīr IX 82; Bayh. 151.

There were numerous other ‘assistant’ posts.⁴⁰⁹ It was customary to delegate the control of the police to a *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* (also *amūr-i shurāt*),⁴¹⁰ who would [336] be responsible to the governor.⁴¹¹ An important position was that of the chief judge (*qādī ’l-quḍāt*) in the district,⁴¹² although later it could also be jointly held by several districts.⁴¹³ It was originally filled according to the governor’s wishes,⁴¹⁴ but since al-Manṣūr (754–75) this position was put directly under the caliph’s,⁴¹⁵ and later the regional sovereign’s,⁴¹⁶ control. This appointment was often for life, and could consequently run for decades.⁴¹⁷ It was frequently passed from father to son as it was in Fars in the tenth century, where members of one family were also active in Kirman and Ghazna,⁴¹⁸ and around 1000 in Ṭabaristan.⁴¹⁹ The Persians themselves compared this position with that of the ‘Supreme *mōbedh*’ of the Sasanid era.⁴²⁰ When Abū Muslim took over the administration of Khurasan in 747, he immediately filled these posts, each of which was accompanied by an annual salary of 4,000 dirhams.⁴²¹ There was also a ‘commander of the guard’ (*ḥaras*) and a ‘master of correspondence’ (*ṣāḥib al-rasā’il*).⁴²²

409 A dismissed vizier lists the following positions in the province of Rayy (916–17): officials for public safety and war, prayer leaders, tax administrators, administrators of estates (*dīyā’*), officials in the justice department, men in charge of post and news, campaign officers: Misk. I 46.

410 TS 101, 126 (ca. 682 and ca. 725: Sistan); Ṭab. II 496 (=Athīr IV 81) and 592 (683–84 and 684–85: Herat); *ibid.* 1404 (727–28: Khurasan); TS 151 (785: Sistan). Fries 17, 22.

411 The former governor of Khurasan declined the command of the police offered him with the reason that as a former governor he would not be satisfied with this post; he did, however, take over the administration of the sub-district of Tukharistan: Ṭab. II 862.

412 Ṭab. II 1504 (727–28: Marv); TS 127 (729 in Sistan: ‘office of a judge’).

413 Yāq., Irsh. II 314.

414 See Ibn Sa’d VII/2, 101, 103.

415 Qommī 17; Ya’q., Buld. II 468. See Mez 207; Émile Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam*, Paris 1938, 114ff., 132ff., 151, 169ff. Earlier the governor had been responsible for this appointment: Ṭab. II 1504 (727–28: Khurasan).

416 Siyāsat-nāma 38, 40f.

417 TS 155 (797).

418 Ibn al-Balkhī 116f. and xx; Muḥ. Ib. 4. See also Mez 221.

419 Ibn Isf. 76f.

420 See p. 186 above. Siyāsat-nāma 39.

421 Ṭab. II 1989.

422 Ṭab. II 1968; Athīr v 138.

As we have seen, often the governor (*‘āmil*, *wālī*) would develop into a practically independent regional sovereign, frequently called an *amīr*.⁴²³ While he would formally remain in a relationship of dependence upon the caliph, the structure of his administration in particular would show what constituted his actual position.⁴²⁴ Of course, due to their positions in Mesopotamia, their almost constant campaigns and the frequent changes in the countries they ruled, the Ṭāhirids and the Ṣaffārīds did not have a chance to establish a firm structure. However, they, too, had deputies (*khalīfa*) responsible for individual districts, commanding generals (*sipāhsālār*), a leading representative responsible for worship (i.e. prayer), | a finance minister,⁴²⁵ and they probably [337] also had a first minister.⁴²⁶ The Buyīds started the practice of appointing two viziers at the same time,⁴²⁷ at first in separate administrative territories, such as in Fars⁴²⁸ and Baghdad,⁴²⁹ but from 994 onwards they did this explicitly in order for the two viziers to monitor each other.⁴³⁰

A truly independent administration, however, developed only under the Samanīds. This followed the Abbasīd,⁴³¹ and consequently the Sasanīd, administrative model⁴³² and their contemporaries were aware of this. We have very

423 Athīr VII 5 (‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir in Khurasan, d. 844). *Et Turk.* I 402–4, s.v. ‘Āmil; has excellent information on the position and title of the *‘āmil* in general.

424 The Qābūs-nāma/Diez, 734–49, has some general social, rather than official, instructions for people in the nearer neighbourhood of princes and for their ‘companions’.

425 1186 (Khwarazm-shāhs) Shaykh al-Islām: *Juv.* II 23; also TS 216 (872).

426 Mentioned as *Hājib-i hujjāb* only in 969: TS 333 (and also under the Ghaznavīds, see p. 338, n. below).

427 *Mez* 86, 95f.; *Krymskiy* I 76.

428 In accordance with this divided administration there was a separate *dīwān al-sawād* for Fars under the Buyīds (ca. 1000): *Hil.* 401.

429 E.g. ‘Aḡud al-Dawla: *Misk.* VI 513–15; Athīr/Tornberg VIII 514ff. Also 992: *ibid.* IX 66.

430 *Yāq.*, *Irsh.* I 71ff.

431 See *Must.* I 386, 390.

432 See Barthold, *Vorl.* 84; Barthold, *Christ.* 29; *Krymskiy* I 85. Trever, ‘Sasanidskiy Iran v Šachname’ in *Firdawsī Collection*, 177–96, and Andersen, ‘Sasanidisk tradition i Firdausis kongebog’, have shown that due to his sources Firdawsī’s ideas of the court are entirely based on Sasanid conditions (and can thus be consulted with reference to the latter under certain circumstances), but do not furnish any information relevant to the Islamic era. Very similarly, and independently, Kurt Hansen (of Hamburg-Wandsbek) wrote to me on 6 Dec. 1946: ‘... the time of the Sasanids is portrayed in every detail (in the *Shāh-nāma*); not, however, from observation, but by having studied the literature. The Sasanid and, indirectly, the Achaemenid spirit is so vivid in the tradition that it makes its way down to Firdawsī. At his own time but little of it was still alive; the Sasanids’ firm structure of the state was long since lost. Where, however, individual scenes are especially vivid in the

detailed information concerning this structure.⁴³³ At the head of the ‘great divan’ in the capital (also ‘bureau of correspondence’ = *dīwān al-rasā’il*) was a vizier, who was usually a legal scholar.⁴³⁴ Nūḥ II also appointed a ‘grand chamberlain’ = *ḥājib-i buzurġ*⁴³⁵ to work closely with the vizier. | The *dīwān al-kharāj* dealt with financial matters;⁴³⁶ documents, deeds and charters were drawn up by the *dīwān ‘amīd al-mulk*; and salary and provisions for the army were overseen by the *dīwān ṣāḥib al-shawāriḥ*⁴³⁷ under the control of the *‘arīd*.⁴³⁸ The postal service was the responsibility of the *dīwān al-barīd*, and the *dīwān*

Shāh-nāma we are able to see how the custom must have survived into the Samanid era. Maḥmūd adopted a number of customs’.

433 Narsh. 24; Maf. ul. 54–58. Barthold, *Turk.* 227–32; Levy, *Soc.* II 216–18.

434 Subkī II 166; Mez 75. Flügel, *Ḥanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, 296. At the caliph’s court, on the other hand, not usually a legal scholar: Mez 82.

435 Nikbī 116. Sam. 549 r mentions members of the Mikālī family as the head of the *dīwān-i risālat*, which was closely linked to the vizier’s office. Should the reader wish to read one of the numerous encomiums on this minister (as an example of this genre of adulation in general), I would suggest he consult ‘Utbī 278f.

436 Khawārizmī 54–58 has a list of the sixteen books employed in the caliph’s treasury management at this time: 1. *Awārij*: for recording the rates of debts payable to the state; 2. *Rōznāmagh*: for daily revenue and expenditure; 3. *Khatma*: monthly overview of revenue and expenditure; 4. *Khatma ‘l-jāmi‘a*: the same, for a whole year; 5. *Tārij*: overall income over several years including the receipts of sums paid to individuals; 6. *Arīda*: accounts in separate chapters and titles, in three columns in order to emphasise the ratio of revenue and expenditure; 7. *Barā‘a*: cashiers’ account book; 8. *Jarīdat al-Sawdā’*: list of the parts of the army and their structure; 9. *Rij‘a*: overview of salary and provision of individual soldiers; 10. *Rij‘at jāmi‘a*: general ledger for all parts of the army; 11. *Šakk*: overview for the ruler listing the amounts paid to individual persons; 12. *Mu‘āmara*: regulations drawn up by the vizier’s *dīwān*; 13. *Istiqrār*: overview of the balance after subtracting all expenses; 14. *Sijill*: list of the amounts paid to envoys, messengers and travellers including the destination; 15. *Dastūr*: fair copy of the bills; 16. *Fihrist*: list of the individual books and documents used by the *dīwān*, including the strongboxes in which they are kept (see Uzun. 478ff.; Lökk. 148ff.). We may assume that this system prevalent in Baghdad and Samarra was also employed by the Samanids and Ghaznavids not least because the officials were certainly in many cases the same ones (or at least trained in Baghdad). It is not possible to prove this in individual cases; it is indeed difficult to imagine the practice due to the lack of documents (handbooks such as *Mafātīḥ al-‘ulūm* surely did not correspond to practice in all details). Muslim administration in its entirety in particular with reference to the Byzantine and Persian inheritance still leaves room for study, but see now Walter Hinz, ‘Das Rechnungswesen islamischer Finanzämter im Mittelalter’, in *Der Islam* XXIX (1949), 1–29, 113–41 (deals with the 14–15th centuries).

437 Narsh. 79 (875); *Ṣāḥib-i shurt* (see also p. 335 above).

438 Hence also *Dīwān-i ‘arz*: Nikbī 150 (989–90).

al-ashrāf controlled expenses and concerns of the court. Matters of urban administration, such as fixing prices, cleanliness, keeping order and peace, and punishing usury, were under the control of the *dīwān al-muhtasib*. Pious foundations were overseen by the *dīwān al-awqāf* and justice by the *dīwān al-qāḍī*,⁴³⁹ while military command lay with the commander of the guard (*ṣāhib al-ḥaras*).

Under the Ghaznavids there were five divans: 1) The *dīwān-i wizārat*, which was headed by the highest minister,⁴⁴⁰ who was the ruler's representative and as such appointed the other ministers. In financial matters he was responsible for cooperating with the *mustawfi-yi mamālik* and | his deputy was the *amīr ḥājib*.⁴⁴¹ 2) The *dīwān-i 'arż*, which dealt with defence matters and whose head (*'arīz* or *ṣāhib-i dīwān-i 'arż*) organised an annual parade to be held before the ruler in Shab haz near Ghazna. He was leader of the recruitment office (*dār al-tahrīr*) and, in times of war, would oversee matters of billeting, salaries and provisions, and the commanders in the individual districts (*lashkar-kāshī*) were responsible to him.⁴⁴² 3) The *dīwān-i risālat*, for communication with other rulers and issuing the relevant documents in appropriately formal language.⁴⁴³ 4) The *dīwān-i shughl-i ishrāf-i mamlakat*, the highest authority of the civil police whose duties included the gathering of confidential information, and consequently cooperation with the relevant information official within the palace, the *mushrif-i dargāh*. 5) The *dīwān-i wakalat* or *darbār* (also *bārgāh*),⁴⁴⁴ whose duties were approximately those fulfilled by a ministry of the court.⁴⁴⁵ Of these officials, the *ṣāhib-i dīwān-i risālat* and the *ṣāhib-i dīwān-i 'arż* were members of Mas'ūd of Ghazna's circle of confidential advisers, which also included the *sipahsālār* and the *sālār-i ghulamān-i sarā'ī* ('leader of the court pages').⁴⁴⁶

From the Samanid era onwards the vassal princes maintained their own governors in the provinces that they possessed. These would be referred to by various terms, such as *nā'ib*,⁴⁴⁷ *ḥājib*,⁴⁴⁸ *'āmit*⁴⁴⁹ or *wālī*, and they occasionally

439 Maf. ul. loc. cit.; *Siyāsāt-nāma* 121f. Gafurov 175–77.

440 Under Maḥmūd of Ghazna (*Amīr Ḥājib-i buzurg*: Bayh. 53; 'Utbi 51; ca. 1054 called *Ḥājib-i Ḥujjāb*: Athīr IX 201.

441 Concerning his position see Sam. 378 r (s.v. *'arīd*). Nāzīm 137f.

442 'Utbi 52 (Khurasan under Sübüktigin).

443 See also Sam. 549 r (Samanids in Nishapur, Mikālī); 'Utbi 32f. and Bayh. 59f.

444 Bārgāh e.g. 'Utbi 346.

445 Barthold, *Turk*. 229ff.; Uzun. 478–83; Nāzīm 128–37, 143–50; Levy, *Soc.* II 218f.

446 Bayh. 2; 'Utbi 247, 265–73, 321, 329–33.

447 E.g. under the Ṣaffārids: Athīr VII 86 (873).

448 Under the Ghaznavids 1016–17: Athīr IX 91.

449 845 under the Tāhirids in Fars: Ḥamz Işf. 147.

worked with a lieutenant (*katkhudhā*)⁴⁵⁰ and often supported by ‘margraves’ (*marzbāns*).⁴⁵¹ They were also responsible for appointing judges in this period.⁴⁵² Under the Seljuks the military commanders (*sipahsālār*) were also governors⁴⁵³ and had their own administrative bodies.⁴⁵⁴ By means of this organisation of the administration and the regular convening of ministerial [340] meetings,⁴⁵⁵ there emerged in the territories of the two most influential | dynasties of the East a clear procedure for the establishment of a full bureaucracy. It is understandable that the Seljuks, with the modifications mentioned above, and the *atabegs*⁴⁵⁶ followed this custom.⁴⁵⁷ It then provided the model for later dynasties and consequently was in use for many centuries – a phenomenon which can also be observed in many other countries with an old-established civil service tradition.

Minor Officials

As is the case anywhere where there is a lack of archive material, we have only very incomplete information as regards subordinate officials and minor executive bodies of the administration in early Islamic Persia. Manuals for the administration, which after all focus on the conditions at the caliphs’ courts, do not discuss this subject either. Consequently we must rely on a few fortuitous notes, although it will be impossible to give a complete picture of the situation.⁴⁵⁸ We do, however, know that each district had its own judge (*qāḍī*),⁴⁵⁹

450 1033 in Kirman under Mas‘ūd of Ghazna: Bayh. 438. When Mas‘ūd of Ghazna appointed his brother, who was being kept prisoner, as the nominal governor of Bust in 1030, he had the district administered by a deputy (*khalīfa*): Bayh. 9.

451 Ṭab. II 1462. Lökk. 168f.

452 TS 313 (928 in Sistan).

453 Ḥus. 72.

454 Around 1033 there was a Ghaznavid *ṣāhib-i dīwān* of Khurasan: Bayh. 442 (called ‘vizier’ in Athīr IX 174).

455 Bayh. 506 (1035). Köprülü, ‘Kay’, 440f. (1030–34).

456 Muḥ. Ib. 66 (1174), 96, 104 (ca. 1180), 156 (1190) (information on different offices). Concerning the question of the origin of the *atabegs* see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *La Syrie* 1923, LVI; Muḥ. Ib. 69; Uzun. 50f.

457 Concerning the Seljuk administration (which will not be discussed in detail here) see Uzun. 42–50 (with sources).

458 A number of these positions are listed in the *Siyāsat-nāma* 111, 114. See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 318f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 228f.

459 Hil. 157 (Khuzistan and Fars); Qommī 17 (Qom).

a postmaster and information official (also *ṣāhib al-barīd*),⁴⁶⁰ a tax administrator (*bundār* [*al-ajall*]),⁴⁶¹ who might also be working on behalf of a tax farmer,⁴⁶² a police bailiff,⁴⁶³ if necessary an administrator⁴⁶⁴ of crown property (*ṣawāfī*),⁴⁶⁵ and a garrison commander in the cities.⁴⁶⁶ In villages there would be a *raʿīs*, whose position was approximately that of mayor.⁴⁶⁷

The tax administrator would have individual tax collectors under him (*jābī*,^[341] pl. *jubāt*, also called *bundār*) who collected the regular taxes (*kharāj*) and the taxes owed to tax farmers (*damānāt*).⁴⁶⁸ The prefect of police (*amīr al-sūq*), who was subordinate to the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa*, was the head of the police bailiffs (*aṣḥāb muʿāwin*) and the enforcers of religious morals.⁴⁶⁹ The *muḥtasib* was also a member of this department and he was responsible not only for overseeing the markets but also for regulating the *dhimmīs*.⁴⁷⁰ He had to ensure that they did not ride a horse or bear arms, that their buildings were no higher than the Muslims', that they did not sit at the front or in a place of honour during public meetings, that they did not display wine and pigs in public, that they celebrated their divine service quietly and their feast days in private, and that they did not mourn their dead in public.⁴⁷¹

From an early date minor administrative offices tended to become hereditary as well, such as the office of judge and also the position of tax collector.⁴⁷² The latter was particularly sought after by the *dēhkāns*, who hoped to retain at least some of their rights of patronage in this way.⁴⁷³ ʿUmar II is said to have attempted to forbid them categorically from occupying this position, but

460 Aghānī/Cairo VI 240 (Khurasan; eighth century); Nikbī 131 (Nishapur 982).

461 Concerning *bundār* = businessman see Sam. 92 r; *ajall* is found as an attribute from the middle of the tenth century onwards, see Wiet 43.

462 II 1501 (ca. 727 Marv); Athīr VII 78 (870: Ahvaz).

463 Ibn Ḥawq.² 430.

464 It is not clear whether Masʿūd of Ghazna's treasurer (*khāzīnadār*) in Bust in 1037 was the same person: Bayh. 529, 543.

465 Concerning state property see pp. 443–45 below. In the eighth century the Ṭīrāz-weaving factories in Khurasan were overseen by a separate official: Aghānī/Cairo VI 240.

466 Ibn Ḥawq.² 307, 309. The name *nawwāb* (see nabob) for one of them in the Kurdish region of Shahrazur in 1013–14 is unusual: Athīr IX 84. Similar conditions are found in Mesopotamia: Michael 541. Mez 73f.

467 Athīr IX 49 (998 near Shiraz); Bayh./Morley 298, 352. Barthold, *Turk.* 234.

468 See p. 464f. below.

469 Ibn Ḥawq.² 430; Maf. ul. 118; Siyāsāt-nāma 41.

470 See p. 184f. above.

471 Shayzarī 106f. Grünebaum 217f.

472 Ibn Ḥawq.² 293f. (Fars; tenth century).

473 Muq. 275 (tenth century, Ispējāb region); 277 (Shāsh region).

this obviously had very little real impact.⁴⁷⁴ Al-Ḥajjāj's attempts to exclude Christians and Persians generally from working in the administration also met with little success. Just as in Egypt and Mesopotamia, there were simply too few Muslim (or Arab) officials who could have performed these tasks.⁴⁷⁵ That the *dhimmīs* were excluded from these posts repeatedly (under 'Umar II, al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn, al-Mutawakkil and al-Muqtadir)⁴⁷⁶ only shows that they were always recalled to them again.

The scribes (*kātib* = secretary),⁴⁷⁷ who were so important throughout the Islamic territory and in the entire Orient, formed a closed guild during the early Islamic period in Iran as they had before this time and were to do after it. They were also nearly all native Iranians.⁴⁷⁸ They were divided into 'correspondence', 'tax', | 'military', 'court' and 'police' scribes.⁴⁷⁹ Like all officials they were seen as mostly dishonest⁴⁸⁰ and, also like them, were paid out of the tax revenue.⁴⁸¹ As the Christians in Iran would soon not be playing any further part in the administration of the country, and as the Persians became Muslims, the occupation of these minor positions within the administration contributed significantly to keeping the administration in Persian hands. This reinforced the synthesis between Persian culture and Islam,⁴⁸² which in turn contributed to the rise of indigenous dynasties who would then have well-trained officials at their disposal from the outset. The fact that the titles of many officials⁴⁸³ were Turkish during the Seljuk era (such as *basqaq* for a tax collector⁴⁸⁴ and *kūtwāl* for the commander of a fortress)⁴⁸⁵ did not change the national circumstances at all as the administration as such remained in Iranian hands at all times.

474 Athīr/Tornberg v 49.

475 Bal., Ans. XI 343, 352 (al-Ḥajjāj's two Zoroastrian secretaries, father and son). Kremer, *Streifz.* 14; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 167f.

476 Tritton, 'Islam and the protected religions', 338; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 167f.

477 They could also become head of the tax office and the city administration, see Yāq., *Irsh.* I 130; Qommī 17.

478 Tanūkhī I 10 contains complaints about subordinate officials, see Mez. 74.

479 Bayh./Schwally, see Mez. 75 and n. 1.

480 Mez 77 (with examples), 393.

481 See TS 30–33.

482 See Iṣṭ. 146.

483 Bayh. 400 reports explicitly that they did not offer any resistance to the Seljuks (and certainly not to the other emerging Turkish dynasties either).

484 1210 in Samarkand: Juv. II 83.

485 Rav. 262. Uzun. 55. Similarly during the Seljuk era, see repeatedly in Aqsarā'ī's *Musāmarat al-Akhhār.*

Ceremonial, Rulers' Customs and Rulers' Emblems⁴⁸⁶

During the Umayyad era the governors, as we have seen, were wholly Arab and above all concerned to look after the interests of their fellow Arabs, which meant that among other things they would suppress members of hostile Arab tribes. When they were holding an audience,⁴⁸⁷ to which the public was admitted, this was just as much a meeting of the Arab ruling class as it would have been at the Umayyad court in Damascus, and the Persians were only very rarely included in this 'public'. The Abbasid administration, with its far-reaching impact on the position of Persia and the Persians, created a space for Iranian influences within Iran as well as in Mesopotamia, although this process took longer to come about in Mesopotamia than in Persia. Members of Abū Muslim's court would tell him extremely flattering stories about the Persian courtiers' etiquette in the presence of their sovereign and about the importance of the ruler's mercy.⁴⁸⁸

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Such reports most certainly fell upon fertile soil. Soon ancient Persian chivalric ceremonial practice was revived. Until this time it had been sufficient for a governor to enter his new capital on horseback,⁴⁸⁹ as opposed to riding on a donkey in the style of the Prophet.⁴⁹⁰ Now, however, custom demanded that when exchanging greetings, any lower-ranking official would dismount,⁴⁹¹ with the expectation that the higher-ranking man would return this honour.⁴⁹² If the latter did not do so but remained on horseback and greeted the former from this position, this would be understood as a grave insult,⁴⁹³ which could lead to serious disagreements and even, as occurred in the early case of a

486 Concerning rulers' emblems in general see Köprülü, *Senb.* 37f. (tenth-eleventh century); among the caliphs: Uzun. 1f. (ninth-tenth century); among the Turks: Barthold, *Vorl.* 118 (eleventh century).

487 The governor of Sistan ca. 675, on Thursdays: TS 95.

488 Mas. VI 124–27. Of a Samanid courtier it was said in praise that during an audience with the ruler he even endured a scorpion's sting: 'Awfi 198, no. 1305.

489 Ṭab. II 1505 (727–28 in Khurasan).

490 See Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 145.

491 Similarly the vanquished in the presence of the victor, as e.g. Qāvurd of Kirman before his nephew Malikshāh in 1074: Ḥus. 39.

492 Narsh. 83 (Samarkand 888); Gard. 83 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Qarakhanid Khān Qadyr of Kashgar 1024); Ḥus. 122 (1186–87 the *atabeg* Qyzyl Arslan towards the Seljuk sultan Tughril). In some circumstances it was possible to agree beforehand the ceremonial to be followed during the actual meeting: Ḥus. 62 (119 between the Seljuk Maḥmūd and his uncle Sanjar).

493 Juv. II 10 (1148 the Khwarazm-shāh Atsyz against the Seljuk Sanjar).

representative of Abū Muslim in 752,⁴⁹⁴ to murder. An avoidance of such a custom can be seen in 806, on the other hand, when the old and new governors of Khurasan called to one another and agreed that neither would dismount.⁴⁹⁵ Normally, however, once the honour due to everyone had been satisfied by both sides dismounting, ceremony then demanded that the lower-ranking official would help the higher-ranking one to remount his horse by holding the stirrup for him.⁴⁹⁶ In 1061 the Abbasid caliph on his return from a prison, where he had been held by the emir Basāsīrī, who had defected to the Fatimids, accorded even greater honour to his Seljuk liberator. The latter had dismounted in order to await him, but instead of dismounting, the caliph asked his saviour [344] to accompany him on horseback during the procession.⁴⁹⁷

The admission of members of the public to an audience, such as that for 'complaints',⁴⁹⁸ which had only occasionally been allocated to particular days of the week,⁴⁹⁹ was now strictly regulated. The Umayyads and early Abbasids were not yet familiar with the custom of kissing the ruler's foot in this context,⁵⁰⁰ but in Iran it soon became customary to kiss the carpet⁵⁰¹ or even the bare floor⁵⁰² before the ruler, even if he was not sitting on the throne.⁵⁰³ Furthermore, the custom of kissing the ruler's hand remained in use for some

494 Awl. 44; Ibn Isf. 117 (ca. 765 in Ṭabaristan); Narsh. 83 f. (888 in Samarkand); Muḥ. Ib. 89f. (ca. 1175 in Kirman).

495 Ṭab. III 720.

496 Narsh. 84 (888 in Samarkand). Nikbī 165 (as reproduced in Müller II 52) reports that Sübüktigin had received permission from the Samanid Nūḥ II to remain mounted because of his age. However, in the face of the Samanid's majesty, 'the reins of his fastidiousness slipped his hands': and he dismounted and kissed his stirrups. It is anyone's guess to what extent courtly flattery was guiding the pen in this instance.

497 Rav. 110. A similar honour within the Seljuk dynasty is reported in Ḥus. 40 (1074), or between an *atabeg* and Zengī in 1160: *ibid.* 109f.

498 *Siyāsat-nāma* 10, 17; Sam. 307 v ff., s.v. 'as-Sam'ānī'.

499 In 937 the ruler of Amul held audiences every Monday and Thursday: Ibn Isf. 218. In 1038 the Seljuk Tuḡhril dispensed justice publicly every Wednesday: Bund. 7 (according to Athīr IX twice weekly 'according to the custom of the governors of Khurasan'). Concerning the Ṭāhirid 'Abd Allāh see Gard. 6f.; Krymśkiy I 41.

500 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 247.

501 In Samarkand in 888: Narsh 83; in Sistan in 1000: TS 350; Seljuk emirs in 1187: Rav. 343.

502 Examples: Athīr VIII 353 (the Buyids before their most respected brother 'Alī = 'Imād al-Dawla); Mez 136 after Ibn al-Jawzī (979 the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla); Bayh. 34 (the commander of Bayhaq accorded Maḥmūd of Ghazna the honour of kissing his foot three times); Juv. III 218 (1124); Dawl. 84 (the poet 'Anvarī ca. 1140 before Sanjar); Ḥus. 110 (1160 the Kurdish emir Zengī at every step the Seljuk sultan Arslanshāh took).

503 Nikbī 206 (997 in Bukhara).

time⁵⁰⁴ (presumably due to being an older custom),⁵⁰⁵ especially in distant regions like Kirman, but also under the *atabegs*. It was a particular honour when in an audience in 1068 the caliph kissed a Caucasian prince on the head in response to the prince kissing his foot, because the ruler had just learned that the prince was converting to Islam at the same time.⁵⁰⁶ It was also a great mark of honour when the ruler rose to greet scholars of religion⁵⁰⁷ or addressed them in a familiar way.⁵⁰⁸ Apart from scholars, the only persons allowed to be seated in the ruler's company were very confidential advisers | or people [345] like, for example, the Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla when he had just been appointed his uncle's successor in 949.⁵⁰⁹ Such people were allowed to sit once they had paid their respects to the ruler, for example by forming an honour guard in two rows.⁵¹⁰ In Ghazna, even sovereign princes were expected to kneel when addressing the ruler.⁵¹¹

During the audience the ruler, like the ancient Persian Kings of Kings,⁵¹² would be sitting under a sunshade (Arabic: *shamsīya*; Pers. *chatr*, Turk. *četer/čatyr*, which derives from an Indian word).⁵¹³ The Seljuks often decorated this⁵¹⁴ with a woven image of a bow and arrow or their totem animal, the

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- 504 In 710 this was also customary before the ruler in Tukharistan: Ṭab. II 1224f.; Abū Muslim honoured the caliph's brother in this manner in 750: Ṭab. III 59.
- 505 In 1030 the Khwarazm-shāh and in 1031 the newly appointed vizier honoured Mas'ūd of Ghazna in this way; Bayh. 52f., 151. The *atabeg* Qyzył Arslan honoured the Seljuk sultan Tuğhril II in this way as well: Rav. 339, 343. 1180: Muḥ. Ib. 113.
- 506 Ḥus. 31.
- 507 In Samarkand in 885: Athīr VII 93 (in those days this was still seen as amazing): Maḥmūd ibn 'Uthmān 18 (another scholar before a twelve-year old in Fars in 974–75). The Qābūs-nāma/Diez 373f. recommends that reasonable and respectable men should generally be received courteously.
- 508 The Seljuk sultan Arslanshāh addressing the Shāh-i Arman Sökman (using the title *igi* = elder brother): Ḥus. III (1161).
- 509 Athīr VIII 159.
- 510 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VIII 86 (in 999 the Khurasani emirs for Maḥmūd of Ghazna).
- 511 Bayh. 52f. (1030).
- 512 Inostrancev in *Zapiski Vost. Otd.* VII/17 (1906), 1–113; Uzun. 29f.
- 513 Kāshgharī III 31; Brockelmann/*Kāshgh.* 51 (Qarakhanids); Bund. 133 (in 1119 among the Seljuks); 159 (ca. 1133); Ibn al-Sā'ī 204 (Ghōrids 1206–7). For a general overview see Rashīd al-Dīn I 206 and n. 57; Uzun. 477f.; Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 236. Maḥmūd of Ghazna had a tent erected on the occasion of his reception of the Qarakhanid ruler Qadyr Khān in 1024: Gard. 83.
- 514 Muḥ. Ib. 10 (ca. 1042 in Kirman): Siyāsāt-nāma 109 (ch. XXVIII: Seljuks). Köprülü, *Senb.* 41f. The Ghaznavids had the moon and a phoenix: *EI* Turk. II 405 (their colour was black as well). The black canopy of the ruler of Kish (twelfth cent.) is mentioned by Hirth-Rockhill 133f. (= Hirth, *Länder*, 40). Andreas Alföldi expresses some relevant assumptions with

eagle.⁵¹⁵ Just as would later be done by the Seljuks, the ruler would dispense justice in public, which was the only tradition that still recalled the customs of the Arab governors. After the admission of subjects there would often be a feast for the courtiers,⁵¹⁶ which would follow very strict rules and for which there were, at least for festive occasions, dedicated ceremonial officials and pages (*ghilmān*)⁵¹⁷ to ensure that there were no infringements of the prescribed etiquette, as this might have resulted in serious damage to the attendees' dignity.⁵¹⁸ One ceremony that required particularly careful observance was a new ruler's accession to the throne, as people in the east are more used to rely on such outward appearances than others when judging a ruler's power and importance. For the coronation⁵¹⁹ the diadem (*tāj*)⁵²⁰ 'in the old Persian style' soon became customary.⁵²¹ It was adorned with precious stones (*muraṣṣa*)⁵²² and the emirs put it on the prince's head during a celebration lasting several days.⁵²³ It is possible that the coronation using a cap (Arabic: *qalansuwa*)⁵²⁴ has the same meaning.

reference to the symbol-historical connections of this ceremonial in 'Die Geschichte des Thron-Tabernakels', in *La Nouvelle Clío* 10 (Dec. 1950), 557–66.

515 Tōz. See Köprülü, *Senb.* 33–52 (also for the Ghaznavids).

516 Nibkī 189 (996 a Samanid governor); Gard. 83 (the Qarakhanid khān). *Siyāsat-nāma* 82–84 (ch. xvii) deals with the ideal courtier.

517 *Siyāsat-nāma* 97–99 (in ch. xxvii the Samanids in particular).

518 Thus in 1200 and 1205 the Khwarazm-shāh Muḥammad II consulted an old and experienced courtier, who had seen the preparations for the feasts of sultan Sanjar (d. 1157), in order to ensure that his (Muḥammad's) feasts were in no way inferior to the sultan's: *Juv.* II 47: *Dawl.* 133.

519 884 coronation of the Zaydi of Ṭabaristan: Ibn Isf. 189; 998 of the Ṭabaristani ruler in Gurgan as well: *ibid.* 229; ca. 1200 the coronation of the *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan: *ibid.* 255.

520 Ṭab. II 1326 (716–17 in Gurgan); III 2204 (901 among the Samanids). The diadem is also called *afshar-i pādshāhī* (e.g. 1197 in Kirman, Muḥ. Ib. 183). Concerning the Sasanid era see Kurt Erdmann (p. 186 above). According to Michael 421f. the Sasanid crown was captured in 651 in Khurasan and deposited in the Ka'ba by 'Uthmān. Concerning the *K. al-tāj ft akhlāq al-mulūk* (wrongly attributed to al-Jāhiz) see Brockelmann, *GAL*, S I 246, 233 n. 3.

521 Mas IX 27; Misk. v. 489. A rebellious Daylami general (929–31) who wished to make himself ruler had not only a ruler's tunic (*badana*; see Ṭab. Glossary CCXXIX) made but also a 'tiara' 'like Anōshirvān's': Mas. IX 27.

522 Misk. I 318 (Mardāvij 929); Athīr VIII 96; Gard. 103 (Mas'ūd 1036); Rav. 141 (1092).

523 In Ṭabaristan ca. 1200 over seven days (with gifts from courtiers etc.), the actual accession to the throne took place on the eighth day: Ibn Isf. 255.

524 Athīr VIII 55 (the Zaydis of Ṭabaristan); Bayh. 46 (Mas'ūd of Ghazna's in 1030), 437 (1033 in Kirman: with two points).

The ruler's seat was the throne, simple at first, but the Ziyārid Mardāvīj (929–35), for instance, had a gold throne⁵²⁵ made which deliberately copied the 'old Persian' Sasanid model,⁵²⁶ and a silver throne was set out for his visitors.⁵²⁷ In this way he emphasized his dictum of 'like Solomon with his demons',⁵²⁸ intending to re-establish the Iranian empire and to crush Arab, and presumably Islamic, hegemony.⁵²⁹ Backward east Iranian tribes, like those from al-Rukhkhaj, were aware of the import of the throne,⁵³⁰ and considering the significance of this symbol it is not surprising that the Seljuk Tughril Beg marked his victory and | assumption of the rule of Nishapur by seating himself [347] on the throne of the recently deposed Mas'ūd of Ghazna.⁵³¹

One of the customary and indispensable events after the celebration of a ruler's accession to the throne, as well as during his entry into a foreign city,⁵³² was to scatter coins (*niṣār*) among the population.⁵³³ It happened many a time that on such an occasion the entire state treasury was spent:⁵³⁴ here, as everywhere, emirs and soldiers knew no limits. Like the payment of soldiers' wages, only unimportant princes, or those who were very 'particular', would personally carry out these distributions.⁵³⁵ The Persians' great national holidays, Nowruz and Mihragān,⁵³⁶ were also occasions of great expense, which included giving gifts of honour (see below) and symbolic gifts, such as apples.⁵³⁷ These were the favoured days for pardoning criminals (especially political ones), who, if they

525 Mas. IX 8.

526 When the last Sasanid ruler fled, he was supposed to have sent his throne and his treasures to the ruler (Pilān-Shah) of Sarīr in Dagestan. Therefore this ruler was supposed to bear the title *ṣāhib al-sarīr*: Mas. II 41; see Ḥud. 454.

527 Athīr VIII 61–67, 96, 105; Mas. IX 27. 738 the Arab governor of Balkh had a *sarīr*, his emirs had *kursīs*: Ṭab. II 1636.

528 Misk. I 162.

529 Misk. I 316f. The plan was to re-erect the Khusraus' ancient palaces in Ctesiphon, until which time Mardāvīj would reside in Wāsiṭ.

530 Athīr VII 107 (ca. 860).

531 Ḥus., 'Urāḍa/Turk. I 292. On Mas'ūd's golden throne in Ghazna see Gard. 103.

532 874 in Bukhara: Narsh. 78; 997 the Samanid Maṣṣūr: Athīr IX 44; 1030 Mas'ūd of Ghazna: Bayh. 5; 1056 the Seljuks: TS 380.

533 Athīr IX 138 (Muḥammad of Ghazna in 1030); Gard. 98 (Mas'ūd 1030).

534 Nikbī 112 (976 in Bukhara). The distribution of the harvest after a campaign as well: Bayh. 114 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna).

535 Ca. 900 the Zaydi in Ṭabaristan: Ibn Isf. 48.

536 Ṭab. II 1635 (739 in Balkh). See p. 189 above.

537 Ṭab. II 1637 (738 in Balkh). See p. 164 above.

were of royal blood, would be presented in golden shackles⁵³⁸ or silver chains⁵³⁹ and then be allowed to drain a ‘cup of mercy’ (*kāsa-yi amān*).⁵⁴⁰ Prisoners were also occasionally freed on these occasions; thus in 1050 a Georgian nobleman was released who had distinguished himself through his courage in Tughril Beg’s service.⁵⁴¹

While for the population the ruler’s coronation was the symbol of his accession to the throne, the caliph still had to grant the diploma (*manshūr*,⁵⁴² *‘ahd*) and the standard⁵⁴³ as signs of his acknowledgment of the new ruler.⁵⁴⁴ This ceremony was repeated with every change of government.⁵⁴⁵ |
 [348] The banner (*‘alam*; Persian: *dirafsh*)⁵⁴⁶ and the standards (*maṭārid*)⁵⁴⁷ were very old symbols of kingship. They appear to have originally been modelled⁵⁴⁸ on the silk banners carried by the Chinese.⁵⁴⁹ Among the Persians such banners were known from Parthian and Sasanid days;⁵⁵⁰ in the wars with the invading Arabs, Rustam demonstrated the seriousness of the imminent decision during the battle of Qādisiyya by unfurling the sacred banner of the realm (*dirafsh-i kāvīyān*), which was believed to be ancient. It was made from leopard skin, ‘eight cubits wide and twelve cubits long’.⁵⁵¹

538 Ṭab. II 1206 (709 in Tukharistan).

539 Ṭab. III 798.

540 Uzun. 31f. (eleventh century) after an unedited MS of Ibn al-Jawzī.

541 Matthew 88. Even the usually most anti-Muslim Armenian writer had to admit this act of magnanimity; according to Stephen Orbelian (thirteenth century), however, the man referred to had died in battle.

542 See *EI* III 268f.

543 See p. 348 n. below.

544 Ṭab. III 841; Athīr VI 85 (both: 812 al-Faḍl ibn Sahl) (a flag ‘with the sword of two points’ = *līvā’ ‘alā sinān dhī shu’batayn*, perhaps reflecting ‘Alī’s *dhū ‘l-fiqār*): Ibn Taghribirdī I 593 (821: the Ṭāhirid ‘Abd Allāh): Ṭab. III 2195, 2204; Athīr VII 178f.; Ibn Khall./Eg. II 323 (all these refer to the Samanid Ismā‘il in 900); Bayh. 75 (1030 Mas‘ūd of Ghazna).

545 Ṭab. III 2133 (892).

546 Maf. ul. 115.

547 Misk. II 5 (940–41 in Ṭabaristan). For a general overview see P. Ackerman, ‘Standard, banners and badges’, in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, III 2766–82 (esp. 2772–75: The Islamic period: the early centuries).

548 Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, 67 (links the name *sara* with Chinese *sier* > Σῆρες).

549 Persian: *sara*, Arabic: *saraq*, Tukharian: *Šarak*, see Stein, *Serindia*, III 937f., with illustration IV on plate 56.

550 *EI* Turk. II 404 (incl. references to the Shāh-nāma).

551 Ṭab. I 2337; Athīr II 168. Christensen, *Smeden Kāvāh*, esp. 8ff. and 18, and *Les Kayanides*, 43, with further literature. See also Sarre, ‘Die alt-orientalischen Feldzeichen’.

The Arabs had already had flags before the emergence of Islam⁵⁵² and consequently Islamic and Persian traditions met in the symbol of the caliphs. The Commanders of the Faithful also bestowed flags on governors and vassal princes as a symbol of their investiture. During the Umayyad era, and in Spain,⁵⁵³ these flags were white;⁵⁵⁴ under the Abbasids their colour would usually⁵⁵⁵ be black.⁵⁵⁶ | Significant families had their own flags.⁵⁵⁷ The Seljuks, [349] who had originally flown red flags, adopted the colour black after their occupation of Baghdad,⁵⁵⁸ while the Qarakhanids always kept their (orange-) red flags.⁵⁵⁹ The colour of canopies never changed but always remained the same. Red had been the colour of the Khārijites and white the colour of the Alids, and consequently also the Fatimids.⁵⁶⁰ It was possibly due to a compromise between Abbasid⁵⁶¹ and Alid colours that on the occasion of the Imam ‘Alī al-Riḍā being appointed heir to the throne by the caliph al-Ma’mūn

552 Dīn. 144 (642 in the battle of Nahavand). Ṭab. II 990 mentions 645–46 the flag of the Banū Sa’īd; 687–88 in the fight against the Azraqites (see p. 168 above); Aghāni/Cairo III 295. See Fries 25–27; *EI Turk.* II 405; Levy, *Soc.* II 307ff.

553 In Khurasan in 746–47 the Abbasid troops had a ball of wool on their spear as their emblem: *EI Turk.* II 405. For a general overview see Şerefeddin Yaltakaya, ‘Tarihçe renk’ (Colour in history), in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* VII/VIII, 41–47.

554 Ṭab. II 1921.

555 See, however, Mez 130f. and sources. Concerning the change between black and white among the Qarakhanids: Nachman Schapiro, ‘Zum ursprünglichen Charakter der alt-arabischen Fahnen’, in *Archivum Philologicum* III (Kauen 1932), 113–24. The change from white to black is also known from the Byzantines and the Chinese: T’ang-shu 3614/4; Sung-shu 5718/3 (966) in Hirth, *Länder*, 29.

556 Ṭab. II 1949; Athīr v 143; Assemani II (text) 109 (747–48); Ḥamza Isf. 153 (925); Şūlī 232. Vloten, *Abb.* 138–140; Vloten, *Rech.* 63f. The followers of the Abbasids in Khurasan had two particular party flags: *al-zill* (the shadow) and *al-sihāb* (the cloud), with inscriptions from the Qur’an (23:40); Ṭab. II 1954; Athīr v 133. Uzun. 2; Vloten, *Abb.* 78, 97.

557 The Ash’arīs in Qom: Qommi 282f. (with ill.). Sadighi 41.

558 Rav. 144, 148; Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. I 279. Uzun. 478; *EI Turk.* II 407f. (s.v. ‘Bayrak’).

559 Bayh. 352 (1033). Köprülü, Senb. 40; Uzun. 30. N. 2; *EI Turk.* II 406f.

560 Ca. 930 a Ṭabaristani prince considered the wearing of white clothes to be a typical mark of Alid sympathies: Ibn Isf. 151; the same was true of the Zaydis: *ibid.* 167 (865).

561 Black was also the colour of the turbans (985 on the occasion of the investiture of a Shī’ite Buyid: Rud. 99) and of clothing in general (Dīn. 359f.: 747). Thus the followers of the Abbasids were simply called ‘the ones wearing black’ (*al-musawwida*): Ibn Isf. 177. A list of the different symbolic colours may be found in Wellh., *Arab.* 332, n. 1.

(18 April 817) the colour green was chosen.⁵⁶² After this, green became specifically ‘the Prophet’s colour’.

If someone changed his colours, this was generally an indication that he had changed his party allegiance as well.⁵⁶³ The Iranian dynasties, such as the Samanids, would also fly colours that were certainly not all granted to them by the caliph. During military campaigns they (like the Ghaznavids, the Seljuks and also the Arabs)⁵⁶⁴ had flags⁵⁶⁵ and standards,⁵⁶⁶ which would be carried by standard bearers (*ṣāhib al-‘alam*).⁵⁶⁷ Once the caliph had bestowed a banner on a regional prince, he would be entitled to maintain a court band⁵⁶⁸ that [350] included a drum | (kettle drum,⁵⁶⁹ *ṭabl*), even if the prince was a minor.⁵⁷⁰ This drum might be beaten five times⁵⁷¹ on special occasions, such as entering the royal residence or proclaiming news of a victory,⁵⁷² or three⁵⁷³ or even two times in the case of semi-dependent princes.⁵⁷⁴ Princes (such as the Samanids) also became entitled in this period to give robes of honour (*khal‘a*, *khil‘a*) as a token of their appreciation⁵⁷⁵ or present their vizier⁵⁷⁶ with a robe of office.⁵⁷⁷

562 K. ‘Uyūn 353; Ya‘q., Hist. II 545 551. Ya‘qūb Muḥammad al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi‘fi ‘ilm al-dīn* (*The well-known Shi‘ite collection of traditions*), lithograph, Tehran 1889, 201.

563 896, when they joined the Zaydis in Ṭabaristan: TS 252.

564 Ṭab. II 1926 (745–46).

565 Concerning the etymology of the Turkish word *bayraq* see *ET Turk.* II 401–03.

566 Matthew III (1059 in Armenia).

567 Ṭab. II 1582 (735 in Khurasan).

568 Concerning the word *nawba* see Rashīd al-Dīn I 418, n. 196; on the court band in general: H. Farmer in *EI S* 233–37.

569 Bayh. 437 (1033 in Kirman); Ibn al-Balkhī xv (the Buyid ‘Alī in Fars).

570 Muḥ. Ib. 128 (1195; Seljuks).

571 Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. I 95, 147 (Seljuks).

572 Bayh. 5 (1030 Mas‘ūd of Ghazna); 441 (1033 the same).

573 See ‘Awfī 158, no. 494 = 234, no. 1802 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna granting his brother this right). Uzun. 30 n. 5. There are further examples here, referring to Syria and Mesopotamia, also Massé, *Croyances*, I 160, II 509.

574 E.g. the founder of the settlement of Shabānkāra Kurds (ca. 1000): Zark. 40f., and a Kurdish chieftain near Darabgird ca. 1070, who was later forbidden to do this by the Seljuks: Ibn al-Balkhī 165 (and xvii). See also Richard Frye in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* x/2 (Sept. 1947), 232, and the literature listed there.

575 Narsh. 77 (874); Nikbī 153 (988 in Nishapur); Bayh. 23 (1030: Mas‘ūd of Ghazna); 297 (1032: according to this the *fuqahā’* received special robes of honour decorated with gold weighing fifty *mithqāl*); 542 (Mas‘ūd 1038).

576 The Christian vizier of the Buyid ‘Alī 934: Misk. I 303.

577 On the robes of honour at the caliph’s court see Kremer, *Streifz.* 32.

The 'robe of honour', which the Umayyads appear to have adopted from the Byzantines and Sasanids, only became a custom during the Abbasid era.⁵⁷⁸ Often it was only worn on the day it was given, and on the very next day the recipient would wear his 'sleeved robe' (*qabā'*) at court.⁵⁷⁹ Robes of honour were often decorated at the hem, with ornaments or with verses from the Qur'an (*tirāz*),⁵⁸⁰ which were manufactured in dedicated workshops, located in particular in Khuzistan.⁵⁸¹ Friday⁵⁸² was the favoured day on which to present these robes, although it was not, of course, possible to decide on a particular day in the case of generals who were going to war and who were also being given sabres of honour⁵⁸³ and collars.⁵⁸⁴ Caps (*qalansuwa*)⁵⁸⁵ or other items⁵⁸⁶ | might also be presented as awards. The robe of honour, however, [351] remained the most frequent token of a prince's favour, akin to our Western medals,⁵⁸⁷ the latter having been adopted in the East only very recently (for example in Turkey from 1831 onwards). The now common practice in the East of repeated presentation of a medal was already known to the Seljuks in that they would present dignitaries with numerous (up to seven) robes of honour.⁵⁸⁸

Regional rulers who had been recognized in this way had their names mentioned in the Friday prayers and minted on coins (*sikka*), but the problem of whether to mention the caliph or another dynasty at the same time would

578 *EI* Turk. v 483–486 (with further literature); Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v. The opinion expressed by Maqriẓī (and repeated by Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 100) that this only became common at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd is mythical.

579 Thus one of Mas'ūd of Ghazna's viziers in 1031: Bayh. 152.

580 See *EI* IV 858–58 and s 265–57.

581 Ibn Ḥawq 213f.; Ibn Taghribirdī II 192.

582 See Bayh. 410: 1034.

583 Ṭab. III 796 (811 during the dispute between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn).

584 Ṭab. III 1701 (869).

585 It was said of Ya'qūb ibn Layth that he would betray all those whom he had presented with robes of honour made from sable: Athīr VII 97 (875–76).

586 Thus before going to war against Shiraz in 1000 a Buyid vizier was given: a sleeved robe (*qabā'*), another 'toga' (*farajīya*), a sword, a belt (*minṭaqa*) and a gilt *dasta* (according to Amedroz' glossary 'a mark of honour conferred onto a vizier'): Hil. 379.

587 Athīr VIII 153 (948–49 the Samanid Nūḥ II). 'Utbi 214f. describes the extraordinary celebration with which e.g. Maḥmūd of Ghazna would accept a robe of honour presented to him by the caliph.

588 See e.g. Ḥus. 13 (1056–57) and 71 (1133). When the Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla was invested with the fief of Gurgan in 985, he was presented with seven robes of honour, a black turban, a sword, a necklace, a bracelet, two flags and two horses bearing golden saddles (i.e. symbols of the investiture as well as gifts): Rud. 99.

frequently lead to conflicts.⁵⁸⁹ Connected to this custom was the reference to reconciled enemies in the Friday prayers⁵⁹⁰ and a particular honour was given to Sanjar, whose name was mentioned even after his death (in 1157) during worship, at least in Khurasan.⁵⁹¹ Other deaths were honoured by the court wearing mourning attire,⁵⁹² which included going barefoot⁵⁹³ if the climate permitted.

During the ninth and tenth centuries a genuine courtly life had grown up in Iran. In nearby Baghdad and Samarra the palace, and later the government in general, began to be called the 'gate of power' (*bāb al-sultān*),⁵⁹⁴ which became *dār-i sa'ādet* and *bāb-i 'ālī*⁵⁹⁵ under the Ottomans and Šafavids respectively, which then ultimately resulted in the name the 'Sublime Porte' used in the West. The Samanids Aḥmad (d. 914) and Našr 11 (d. 943) had their palace⁵⁹⁶ [352] guarded symbolically | by a tamed lion,⁵⁹⁷ and they had a saddled horse (*faras al-nawba*) ready for flight.⁵⁹⁸ Just as the Abbasids moved their residence out of the turbulent and in some ways dangerous Baghdad to Samarra (838–92), the palaces of many rulers now moved out of the cities,⁵⁹⁹ where they were easier to manage, but also easier for people to attack. The ruler (*zūnbīl*) of al-Rukhkhaj already had a particular summer residence in Zābulistān,⁶⁰⁰ and the Samanid Našr ibn Aḥmad had his winter residence in Bukhara, his summer residence in Samarkand or some nearby place, and sometimes he stayed in Herat.⁶⁰¹ Similarly the rulers of Kirman moved their residence between November/December and April/May from the 'cold zone' to Gīruft.⁶⁰² Thus the population was used to the ruler not being tied to one particular place, and the Seljuks Mas'ūd (1146/49), Arslan (1160ff.) and Tughril (ca. 1175) had no

589 See p. 328f. above; Richard Vasmer in Schrötter, *Münzkunde*, 633–35.

590 1207 by the Khwarazm-shāh Muḥammad 11: Juv. 11 65.

591 Rav. 171; Athīr XI 147.

592 Juv. 11 14 (three days general mourning in Khwarazm after the death of the Khwarazm-shāh Atsyz in 1156, and a letter of condolence from a Seljuk prince).

593 935 the Daylamis near Mardāvij: Misk. 1 316.

594 Ṭab.111 1892 (875–76). Similar also in Armenian sources: Matthew 157 (1066–67).

595 In 1139 the Seljuks' seat of power was known as *takht-i a'lā*: Rav. 231.

596 'Utbi 107 calls the palace of the high Samanid dignitary Abū 'l-Ḥasan ibn Sīmjūr (p. 103 above) *sarāi*.

597 Gard. 25, Athīr VIII 25, Krymskiy I 75f.

598 Niẓāmī-yi (trans. Browne 55); on the origin of this custom see Browne I 317.

599 982 in Pirrīm in Ṭabaristan: Ḥud 136. The sultan of Badghhis resided in Kūghanābād in the tenth century: Muq. 308.

600 Athīr V 224 (768).

601 Niẓāmī-yi 31.

602 Muḥ. Ib. 35.

objection to travelling the country with their entire court.⁶⁰³ As we know, under the Mongols this became a firm custom.

While the Buyids had been satisfied with titles granted them by the caliphs ('Aḡud al-Dawla, etc.),⁶⁰⁴ the Seljuks went a step further. They adopted a 'motto' (*tawqī*⁶⁰⁵ or *imḡā*) chosen for its apparent reminiscence of the name of an Abbasid caliph.⁶⁰⁶ Soon this motto was deliberately written on documents⁶⁰⁷ or engraved onto the seals⁶⁰⁸ with which decrees and other documents would be | stamped.⁶⁰⁹ Over time this motto together with the tribal emblem (*tamgha*) were absorbed into a calligraphic monogram (*tughra*). It is possible that, just like originally the caliphs' adoption of throne names, this motto was meant to represent a kind of government programme⁶¹⁰ and that the Seljuks were partly influenced in this matter by recollections of the throne names of central Asian rulers such as the Qarakhanids and through them, indirectly, possibly the Chinese emperors. [353]

While not possessing the same ethical content as the changing government mottoes, the bow and arrow had great symbolic significance for the Seljuk dynasty. These images were found not only on their banners⁶¹¹ and canopies⁶¹² but also on documents. They were soon designated as *tughra*⁶¹³ and would

603 Rav. 243f. (with more details), 291ff.

604 See p. 358 below.

605 This might occasionally be transferable: Juv. II 85 (among the Ghōrids 1212–13). For a general overview see Uzun. 28 and n. 2 and EI IV 764. In Turkish deeds of the sixteenth century *tevqī* simply means the *tughrā*, and later a document, see Ludwig Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie der türkischen Botmäßigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, xxxi, xlv, 5.

606 Alp Arslan: *bi-naṣrihi* (although in this case al-Nāṣir was later): Ḥus., 'Urāḡa/Turk. I 489. Malikshāh I.: *i'tīṣamtu bi 'llāhi* (al-Mu'taṣim): ibid. II 249. Barḡiyāroq: *i'timādi 'alā 'llāhi* (al-Mu'tamid): ibid. II 266. Sanjar: *tawakkaltu 'alā 'llāhi* (al-Mutawakkil): Rav. 167, 185. Malikshāh II (1152ff.) *ista'antu bi 'llāhi* (al-Musta'in); similarly the Seljuk Sulayman (1159–60): Rav. 249, 274. Arslan (1150ff.) *i'taḡadtu bi 'llāhi* (al-Mu'taḡid): Rav. 281.

607 Thus Maḡmūd of Ghazna in 1038: Bayh. 548.

608 The issuing officials were called *al-muwaqqi'ūn*, see 'Umarī 56 and n. 4.




609 Bayh. 437 (1033 in Kirman); 473; Rav. 185 (1098; Seljuks); EI Turk. II 407. Its meaning consequently developed parallel to that of the Mongolian word *payza*, see Aleksandr Samoylovič, 'Cucu ulusu'nda Payza ve Baysaya dair' (On 'payza' and 'baysa' in the Ulus Ḡoči), in *Türk Huku ve İktisat tarihi mecmuası* II (1932–39), pp. 53–64.

610 See p. 352 above.

611 Muḡ. Ib. 10 (ca. 1042).

612 See p. 345 above.

613 Muḡ. Ib. 10 (ca. 1042 in the case of the Seljuks of Kirman). Originally this symbol at the beginning of documents was called *kamāncha* (see Vullers, *Lexicon*, II 884, Steingass, *Dictionary*, 1047), but in this place it is simply identified with *tughrā* (see Kāshgharī I 385).

over time⁶¹⁴ grow into the curlicued royal signatures that became well known later due to their use at the Ottoman court,⁶¹⁵ though there is no evidence that they were used in this way (i.e. as signatures) during the Seljuk era.⁶¹⁶ This *tughra* replaced the symbols (*‘alāmāt*) that had evolved from the ancient *tamgha* (a cattle branding mark or possibly Middle Persian letters), and which Tughril Beg had still used in the form , and later as ⁶¹⁷ On coins we can find ⁶¹⁸ Similar ancient signs survived much longer in Khurasan,⁶¹⁹ on the borders of Central Asia, than in central Persia, where the connection to their Turkish home was broken much sooner.

In central Iran, however, we do see ancient Persian tradition being expressed ever more clearly, not least in the customs of the rulers. One instance of this was the renewal of the ‘principle of legitimacy’, which had been the basis of the [354] Persian constitution under the Arsacids and Sasanids.⁶²⁰ | The Umayyads had already emphasized that after al-Walīd II (705–15) married a granddaughter⁶²¹ of Yazdagird III, the blood of the glorious Sasanid dynasty was now flowing in the veins of the caliphs through their son Yazīd II. Of course, the more the Alid cause merged with the Iranian worldview, the less the Alids could stand aside. A daughter of Yazdagird III’s son Pērōz was thus reported to have married the imam Zayn al-‘Ābidīn,⁶²² with the consequence that henceforth the Alids embodied not only the Prophet’s and ‘Alī’s legacy but also that of the legitimate dynasty. People had already resigned themselves in the case of Fatima to the trick of fate that daughters had to play a role in the transmission of bloodlines, and in the Persian view⁶²³ this would not necessarily have been an obstacle anyway.

It was clear that dynasties who had arrived on the scene at a later date as well as local princes could not just stand aside either. The Ṭāhirids claimed

614 Uzun. 27 with nn. 1 and 2 (1131 Sanjar).

615 See *EI* IV 890–94 (with ill. facing 889); also, more generally L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford 1933 (with bibliographical information).

616 Muḥ. Ib. 10, Maqrīzī III 367. Uzun. 29.

617 Kāshgharī I 56.

618 Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV, 58f., no. 84f. (Tughril 1055–57); cf. the Orkhon Russians.

619 Ḥus. 54; *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. 35. Barthold, *Vorl.* 119.

620 Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 123.

621 According to Ṭab. I 2873, II 1247 with his daughter by a slave woman; this, however, is impossible for chronological reasons (Athīr III 416).

622 Ibn Khall./Wüst. v 3 = Slane I 442.

623 Also already in the case of Kurush (Cyrus) II 559 BC, who married a daughter of the old Median kings: Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 17.

to be descended from Rustam,⁶²⁴ the Ziyārīds from Kavādh (488–531), the Buyīds from Bahrām Gōr (420–38),⁶²⁵ the Samanīds from Bahrām Chōbēn,⁶²⁶ and the Qarakhanīds and Seljūks, finally, from Afrāsiyāb, as well as from the house of Qynyq.⁶²⁷ National concerns played no part at all in this. Abū Muslim had already pointed out his august descent from Buzurgmihr, the vizier of Anōshirvān.⁶²⁸ At the same time, however, the Samanīds Nūḥ I and Maṣṣūr I, as well as later Maḥmūd of Ghazna, assumed the title *sayyid*, thus claiming to be members of the Prophet's family.⁶²⁹ With Iranian romanticism firmly established thanks to Firdawsī, the Seljūks in particular documented the continuing appeal of ancient Iranian traditions in their choice of names (Kay Kāvōs, Kay Qobādh, etc.). Among the ruling houses on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, who had not been Islamized until quite late, such customs were based on genuine tradition, for | here claims to descent from the Sasanīds (as made by, for example, the princes of Ṭabarīstan)⁶³⁰ are relatively likely to have been based on reality.⁶³¹ [355]

Political marriages, such as we have seen above in the context of reasons for gaining legitimacy, did take place in other contexts as well, which will be discussed below.⁶³² In this respect the calīphs were obstructive. The marriage between an Abbasīd princess and the Seljuk Tughril Beg in 1061 only took place under pressure.⁶³³ Political marriages were facilitated by Muslim polygamy and the ease with which a divorce could be achieved. In order that the claim to their inheritance might be guaranteed for children from these (and other) marriages,⁶³⁴ the most daring means could be tried. It had become clear very

624 Mas., Tanb. 347 (after him Krymśkiy I 25).

625 Bīr. 38f. (Chronol./Sachau 44–48), after him Most. I 413f.: Athīr VIII 83 (does not believe it); Abū 'l-Fidā II 372f.; Ibn Khall./Wüst. I 98 = Slane I 82. See Josef Marquart, 'Der Stammbaum der Bujiden', in *ZDMG* 11 (1895), 660f.

626 Krymśkiy I 66f.

627 Kāshgharī I 56 (one of the 24 Oghuz clans).

628 Barthold, *Vorl.* 106f.

629 Ibn Khall./Wüst. IV 70 = Slane I 393. A 'son of the king of the Persians' with his own standard is found in the army of the rebel Ustādhsis: Ṭab. III 356.

630 Lane-Poole II 103, no. 384; 107–12, no. 395–415; 231f., no. 459.

631 See p. 310 above.

632 Thus Karl Mlaker in *OLZ* 1930, 538, n. 4. See also Krymśkiy I 103.

633 Ca. 1141 the Seljuk princes Sanjar and Muḥammad: Bund. 244, 287, 297 (another Seljuk ruler).

634 Rav. 111. For details see Schabinger, 'Zur Geschichte', 264–67.

quickly that in such cases, provisions⁶³⁵ made in wills were not observed, and as the caliphs would occasionally interfere in the case of minor sons,⁶³⁶ many a ruler took the precaution during his lifetime of appointing his sons, or at least the one he had chosen to be his successor,⁶³⁷ as a joint ruler⁶³⁸ and had him mentioned in the Friday prayers and on coins.⁶³⁹ This was all the more necessary as the ruling houses, and particularly the Turkish ones, such as the Ghaznavids, Seljuks, etc., did not have a true order of succession⁶⁴⁰ (and, indeed, it was lacking in the Ottoman Empire for a long time).⁶⁴¹

Of course, none of these means, including the occasionally attempted concealment of a ruler's death over some days,⁶⁴² could change the course of destiny and prevent the most competent, most devious, or indeed luckiest contender from reaching his aim. The exception to this, however, was found in [356] the case of 'Aḍud al-Dawla when in 949⁶⁴³ | his brothers, and after his death in 983 the Daylami nobles,⁶⁴⁴ peacefully agreed to appoint the one who was the most competent.⁶⁴⁵ Descriptions of political history draw attention to the success of those who had less honourable traits so frequently, however, that individual examples would be superfluous here. This situation would often lead to all the adult members of a ruling house being massacred. During the Seljuk era, the power was in the hands of the guardians of minor princes, the *atabegs*,⁶⁴⁶ who in turn felt compelled to attempt to name their own sons as the successors⁶⁴⁷ and to do away entirely with their wards. In other places the

635 Athīr VIII 172 (957–58 in Azerbaijan); Rav. 139 and Athīr X 112 (1092 Malikshāh); Rav. 227 (the Seljuk Mas'ūd); Rav. 277 (the Seljuk Sulayman 1159).

636 Such wills were left by e.g. the Tāhirid Muḥammad in 867 (Ṭab. III 1502) and a Ṭabaristani nobleman ca. 1130; Ibn Isf. 248.

637 1092 in the case of Malikshāh's son; Rav. 139.

638 Thus Maḥmūd of Ghazna with his son Mas'ūd in 1014–15 (although he later changed this himself); Bayh. 109.

639 The Sasanid Kavādh had even had his son Khusrau I crowned in his lifetime; Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 113.

640 Rav. 277 (1159 the Seljuk Sulayman).

641 Rav. 84f.

642 See Friedrich Giese, 'Das Seniorat im osmanischen Herrscherhause', 250 (in *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* II, 1923–26, 248–56).

643 1156 in the case of the Khwarazm-shāh Atsyz; Juv. II 14.

644 Nikbī 137.

645 'Utbi 84. Until such time as the absent, newly-elected successor was able to assume the office, the nobles appointed his brother as 'deputy and administrator' (*khilāfat u niyābat*): 'Utbi 84.

646 The other offices at court during the Seljuk era are listed by Uzun. 35–41.

647 Rav. 336 (ca. 1177).

emirs took over and determined the choice between two pretenders.⁶⁴⁸ Thus the considerable inner decay of Persian princely courts had begun and paved the way for the type of government that would ultimately assert itself in many regions: the 'mamluk' type, as one may be justified in calling it, in an extension of the specifically Egyptian term.

Rulers' Titles

The Arab conquest had not only annihilated the Sasanid dynasty, but at the same time had also obliterated the title of the Persian 'King of Kings'. At the edges of the Iranian plateau, however, many minor princes remained in possession of their lands, or indeed took possession of them only during the seventh or eighth centuries, once the King of Kings' power had waned. These minor princes would often retain their old titles, such as in the East the *zūnbīl*⁶⁴⁹ in what is now Sistan and Afghanistan, the *ikhshēdh* (from *khshaētha*) in Sogdia,⁶⁵⁰ the *afshīn* of Ustrūshana,⁶⁵¹ the *shār* | of Gharshistan⁶⁵² and his subordinate ruler the *tamrān* or *tamazān Varanda*,⁶⁵³ and many more.⁶⁵⁴ All of them were commonly referred to simply as 'king' (*malik*) by the Arabs.⁶⁵⁵ [357]

Archaic titles also survived on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. Besides the *sālār* (from *sardār*) of Ṭārom,⁶⁵⁶ the *ispāhbadh* (which equated to 'general') of Ṭabaristan, just like one of Bābak's commanders,⁶⁵⁷ insisted on

648 Ca. 1029 in Fars: Zark. 38, and 1049–50 in Ghazna: Athīr IX 193.

649 Ṭab. I 2706 (644). A list of sources for this title is found in Krymskiy I 52, n. 1. On the meaning see Theodor Nöldeke in *ZDMG* LVI (1902), 432f., and in particular Marquart and Groot, 'Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn', 281. *Zūnbīl* is spelled *zūnbīl* in Arabic, often wrongly *rutbīl*.

650 Ṭab. II 1242 (here derived from *shēdh* 'son'; see Smirnova, 'Sogdiyskie monety', 359 and nn. 1–2, 360); Maf. ul. 119. It is well known that their descendants retained this title when they became the rulers of Egypt (Ikhshidids). On the linguistic aspect, see Herzfeld, *Sam*. VI 145 and n. 2.

651 Maf. ul. 119. See p. 66 above.

652 Athīr IX 51 (999).

653 Ḥud. 106 (982).

654 Ya'q., Hist. II 479 gives a list of the titles of the 'Kings' of Khurasan and the east; Ibn Khurd. 39, 41.

655 Ṭab. II 1218f. (710), 1242 (Shāsh 712), 1488 (Gharshistan 725–26).

656 Athīr IX 176 (1042–43).

657 Ṭab. III 1178 (835).

using his old title,⁶⁵⁸ frequently in conjunction with the name ‘Gēl-i Gēlān’.⁶⁵⁹ Other archaic titles that survived into the Islamic era were Bukhara-khudāh in Bukhara,⁶⁶⁰ although this title soon fell into disuse, and Khwarazm-shāh,⁶⁶¹ a title that was revived by the Turkish dynasty that settled there later.⁶⁶² The Sasanid titles of Saghān-shāh (leader of the the country of the Sakas, i.e. Sistan)⁶⁶³ and Kirman-shāh⁶⁶⁴ are not found in the early Islamic period. The *afshūn*⁶⁶⁵ of Usrūshana expected his subjects to address him in letters in the old style as ‘God of Gods’ (840), a fact that would cause great consternation among [358] Muslims during his trial.⁶⁶⁶

These Iranian titles were joined by Arabic ones, with the latter ultimately gaining ascendancy. The most important were ‘emir’, which was intended to express the relationship of dependence⁶⁶⁷ between the title-holder and the

658 Ṭab. I 2875 (651 in the address to Yazdagird III).

659 Ṭab. I 2659 (643); Nāṣir-i Khosraw 5 (1046). See Ṭab. III 1298 and Ya‘q., Hist. II 382 (for Māzyār 839): ‘Gēl-i Gēlān Ispāhbadh-i Ispāhbadhān Pishvārgarshādh Muḥammad ibn Qārin, Mawlā amīr al-mu‘minīn’. See Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 145.

660 Ṭab. II 1230 (710). Mirra M. Javič, ‘Zamečaniya o neissledovannom sredneaziatskom alfavite’ (Remarks on a Central Asian alphabet not yet examined), in *Gos. Ermitaž. Trudy otdela Vostoka IV* (Leningrad 1947), 204–24, considers the reading Bukhara-khudāh on coins to be erroneous and the writing to be an as yet unknown ‘Bukharan’ language (not Sogdian or Khwarazmian).

661 Ṭab. II 1238 (712).

662 Barthold, *Vorl.* 139.

663 Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 96 (293 Bahrām III as the governor before his accession to the throne).

664 Bahrām IV, 389–99; *ibid.* 102.

665 There are also those of Maymurgh and Panjikent; the ruler of Samarkand uses this title besides *ikhshēdh*, see Smirnova 360. With reference to this study see also Frye, ‘Add. Notes’, 112, and ‘Ṭarxūn–Türxūn’.

666 Iranian ‘Bagh-i Baghān’, see p. 140 above, and on the trial Ya‘q., Hist. II 344; Ṭab. III 1308f.; Smirnova, ‘Sogdiyskie monety’, 359f., 362f.; Sadighi 296f., 297 n. 1. Such titles are indeed found on coins (Smirnova, ‘Sogdiyskie monety’, 361; Frye, *Coinage*, 21, 31–33) and in the address on documents discovered 1932 from the Mugh Mountain in Tajikistan: ‘*τ βαγω γωβω rβēh ‘ywth*’ (approximately ‘ku baghu khvabū mazēkhchi ēwti’) = ‘to God, the great and only King’, see Freimann, ‘Nachodka’, 12f. (doc. 36 A 14) and ‘Opis rukopisnykh dokumentov’, 44f.

667 This relationship was often emphasized especially by adding ‘Mawlā amīr al-mu‘minīn’, see Ṭab. II 1238 and Athīr IX 41; Nāṣir-i Khosraw 6 (a ruler of Tabriz).

caliph⁶⁶⁸ particularly clearly, and ‘sultan’,⁶⁶⁹ which was originally an abstract noun denoting ‘power’ and ‘government’ and was used by Ṭabarī in his account from ca. 860 onwards to denote the concrete Abbasid government in Samarra and later Baghdad.⁶⁷⁰ Soon this word would become the general title of secular rulers in Iran and elsewhere. There are great discrepancies between the dates given for the first years in which this title was being ‘granted’ by the caliph, from around 800⁶⁷¹ to around 1000.⁶⁷² By the second half of the tenth century it was becoming customary, with the Buyids using it regularly,⁶⁷³ after the Ṣaffārīds had done so only occasionally, and the Samanīds in their function as overlords of minor vassals doing so frequently and even styling themselves ‘sultan of sultans’ (*sultān al-salātīn*) and Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-mu’minīn*).⁶⁷⁴

Under the Seljuks ‘sultan’ was the title of independent rulers, while minor princes from this dynasty held the title *malik*,⁶⁷⁵ which had originally been used by the Buyīds as well.⁶⁷⁶ The title *malik* was now, as opposed to at an earlier period, intended to be used in place of the Persian ‘King of Kings’ title (*shāhanshāh*),⁶⁷⁷ which had up to this time been considered to be blasphemous.⁶⁷⁸ Aḍud al-Dawla (d. 983) revived this title and the later Buyīds retained it.⁶⁷⁹ While the abovementioned form ‘Sultān al-Salātīn’ used by the Samanīds was an even more exact equivalent of this title, it did not stand the

668 When referring to themselves on coins at all, the caliphs used ‘Amīr al-mu’minīn’. Al-Ma’mūn also used ‘Dhū ’l-riyāsatayn’ (Lane-Poole I 92, no. 249ff; Lavoix I 211, no. 874 and elsewhere; 227, no. 924; Nishapur 812–13 = AH 197; Tiesenhhausen 346; see Codrington 60) and al-Mu’tamid (870–92) ‘Dhū ’l-wizāratayn’ (Lane-Poole I 123, no. 352; Lavoix I 248, no. 966: both Ahvaz 883–84 = AH 270; Tiesenhhausen 346).

669 See Ibn Khaldūn II 8f.

670 See e.g. Ṭab. III 1698 (869).

671 Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. I 489, n. 2.

672 Athīr IX 45. See Mez 133 and n. 4.

673 Krymśkiy I 124ff.; Barthold, *Turk.* 271.

674 Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* II 90 (‘Awfi: Jāmi’ al-ḥikāyāt, maybe after Sallāmi); Mas. VIII 47 (re: Ya’qūb ibn Layth).

675 Ḥus. 69 (1131ff.).

676 Ibn Khall./Wüst. VI 30 = Slane I 581. According to this, the Buyid Aḍud al-Dawla was the ‘first one who bore this title since the foundation of Islam’.

677 Concerning the development of this title (already in the ancient Persian era) see Krymśkiy 126f. Use of the title Shāhanshāh during the Islamic period is documented for the first time in 984 (AH 374) by Miles, *Razy*.

678 See Mez 133f. and n. 1.

679 Hil. 388; Yāq., Irsh. II 120.

[359] test of time. It is possible that the Buyids' use of the title | was influenced by the fact that they as Shi'ites did not have any religious scruples about it.⁶⁸⁰

The title 'master' (*ṣāhib*) is used only rarely to refer to the members of Persian dynasties; for example, in the case of the Samanid Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad in 913.⁶⁸¹ Soon *ṣāhib* would become the title of the viziers, the first being the Buyid vizier Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn 'Abbād al-Ṭāliqānī (939–95), followed by his successors.⁶⁸² In 1046–47 the vizier of Abū Kālījār of Fars was granted the title 'chief of chiefs' (*ra'īs al-ru'asā*).⁶⁸³ Governors, who had initially, for instance in 643,⁶⁸⁴ signed themselves, even in treaties, as 'agent (*āmīl*) of the Commander of the Faithful', bore the title *āmīd* (lit. 'support') or *khōjā 'āmīd* (lit. 'noble support') in Iranian cities during the ninth to eleventh centuries.⁶⁸⁵

Coins only rarely show more complete forms of the titles borne by the members of Iranian dynasties. The Ṭāhirids called themselves simply emir,⁶⁸⁶ Muḥammad explicitly emphasizes his relationship to the caliph, who is usually referred to as Commander of the Faithful (only once, by Ṭalḥa, as 'deputy of God' = *khalīfat Allāh*),⁶⁸⁷ with the title 'client (*mawlā*) of the Commander of the Faithful'.⁶⁸⁸ The founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty simply had written on his coins 'Ya'qūb' without any title;⁶⁸⁹ his brother, rather more magnificently, was known as 'al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, al-Muwaffaq billāh, 'Amr ibn Layth',⁶⁹⁰ while the later princes of Sistan from this dynasty once more dispensed with titles. The Samanids Ismā'īl and Aḥmad are referred to only as emir.⁶⁹¹ Starting with Nūḥ II, several members of this dynasty call themselves *sayyid*, that is, 'descendant of the Prophet'.⁶⁹² Manṣūr I uses the title 'al-amīr al-sayyid, al-malik al-muḥaffar, ayyadahu Allāh', as does his son, the only difference being the phrase 'al-malik al-manṣūr'.⁶⁹³ Nūḥ I once described his relationship to

680 See Barthold, *Vorl.* 106.

681 Misk. I 16.

682 Ibn Khall./Wüst. I 133 = Slane I 110.

683 Athīr IX 182.

684 Ṭab. I 2665.

685 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 93 (1052). See p. 315 above.

686 Lane-Poole II 73f., no. 242f.; IX 176, no. 239.

687 Ibid. IX 176, no. 239.

688 Ibid. II 74, no. 243.

689 Ibid. II 75, no. 244.

690 Ibid. II 76, no. 246; IX 177, no. 245.

691 Ibid. II 79, 84–85, 86–97, no. 251, 278–92, 293–95.

692 Lane-Poole II 101, no. 377f.; 107–22, nos. 395–415.

693 Ibid. II 103, no. 384; 109, no. 403; 111, no. 411f.; Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV., 40f., nos. 67–69 (coin of a vassal).

the caliph as ‘mawlā amīr al-mu‘minīn’.⁶⁹⁴ From 999 onwards Maḥmūd of Ghazna’s title was ‘al-amīr al-sayyid⁶⁹⁵ yamīn al-dawla wa-amīn al-milla Abū ‘l-Qāsim walī amīr al-mu‘minīn’. His brother Muḥammad’s title was similar,⁶⁹⁶ while his son Mas‘ūd had only his name minted on his coins, without an epithet.⁶⁹⁷ According to documentary evidence, as there are no literary accounts | [360] on this subject, the Samanids also used the title ‘King of Kings’⁶⁹⁸ (Shāhanshāh = Malik al-Mulūk). In the case of the Shi‘ite Buyids this title is also in evidence on coins from 973 or 1012 onwards.⁶⁹⁹

The Seljuks adopted the titles ‘sultan’ and ‘Shāhanshāh’ (intending Shāhānshāh),⁷⁰⁰ from the Buyids, who would soon strike their epithets (*alqāb*) onto their coins.⁷⁰¹ The Seljuks also used customary honorific titles such as ‘right hand (*yamīn*) of the Commander of the Faithful’, ‘proof (*burhān*) of the Commander of the Faithful’, ‘partner (*qasīm*) of the Commander of the Faithful’⁷⁰² or ‘reinforcer of the regime’ (*mu‘izz al-dawla*).⁷⁰³ There is no space for details of these titles and the development of titles among the Qarakhanids (Ilig-Khans),⁷⁰⁴ who usually used ‘Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn’, and the Qara-Khitay (Gürkhāns)⁷⁰⁵ here.⁷⁰⁶ The title used when addressing the Buyids⁷⁰⁷ and other

694 Lane-Poole II 102, no. 379.

695 Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV, 43–51, nos. 70–81; Lane-Poole II 231f, no. 459.

696 Lane-Poole II 154, no. 519.

697 Siyāsāt-nāma 206; Max van Berchem and Josef Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, 38, n. 4.

698 *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, Cairo 1931ff., vol. v, no. 1831f., 1956, vol. vi, no. 2177, 2577; Siyāsāt-nāma 90f. Bahā' al-Dawla: Lane-Poole II 213f., no. 668ff. (from 997 or 999 = AH 387 or 389 onwards, then 1005 = 396 in Baghdad). See Wiet II 8, nn. 5–6.

699 Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV 53f., no. 82f.

700 See e.g. the coins of Tughril (1040–63): ‘Al-sulṭān al-mu‘azzam Shāhanshāh Tughril Beg Abū Ṭālib’: Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV 58–61, nos. 84–87; Barthold, *Vorl.* 105.

701 E.g. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla: Lane-Poole II 206f., no. 654ff.

702 Rav. 85f.; Ḥus. *passim*; Uzun. 25.

703 Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* 62f., nos. 88–90.

704 See Pritsak, *Karach.* 69; Barthold, *Vorl.* 150. Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV 1, 10–35, nos. 14–65.

705 Possibly derived from Kūl-Khān (> Kūr-Khān): Pritsak, *Karach.* 89–98, and Karl Wittvogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of the Chinese Society of Liao (907–1125)*, Philadelphia 1949, 431 (see also Appendix v: Qarā-Khitāy, by Karl Menges, 619–675). The Muslims explained ‘Gürkhān’ as ‘Khān-i Khānān’ (highest khān): Rav. 174; Juv. II 86; Jūzjāni/Raverty 91; Nizāmī-yi 113. See also Caferoğlu, ‘Tukyu ve Uyğurlarda Han unvanları’, and Köprülü, ‘Eski türk unvanlarına ait notlar’.

706 Juv. II 122 (ca. 1200). Barthold, *Vorl.* 150.

707 Athīr IX 9 (982–83: Fakhr al-Dawla).

rulers, which appears in letters as well, was ‘Yā mawlānā’;⁷⁰⁸ occasionally ‘Yā amīr’ was also used, for instance among the Ṭāhirids.⁷⁰⁹

[361]

Chancelleries and their Documentary Practices

Due to the lack of surviving documents from the Iranian territory and also from Mesopotamia, it is entirely impossible to make any exact statements on the subject of chancelleries and documents, which were such essential instruments for any orderly administration, in the East of the Islamic Empire. This is quite unlike the situation in Egypt, which has numerous surviving papyri. The few random notes in works of literature from our regions only show that the texts the Arabs worked on during their advance into Persia from 636 onwards were entirely devoid of the flowery embellishments otherwise so typical of such documents. They begin simply with the *basmala* (the formula *bi-ṣmi ‘llāhi ‘l-rahmāni ‘l-rahīm*) and continued *hādhā kitāb min . . .* (‘this is a letter from . . .’) and conclude with a list of witnesses.⁷¹⁰ Occasionally the main text (after the greeting and felicitations) is introduced with *ammā ba’d*, which was to become so characteristic of later documents.⁷¹¹ If there is a date given at all, it is found at the end of the document.⁷¹²

Soon, however, the Sasanid and Byzantine chancelleries became the model for the caliphs’ court. To begin with, Greek remained the language of official written documents in the West, while Persian was used in Mesopotamia and Persia. It was not until 697 that Arabic superseded these languages as the main language of the bureaucracy.⁷¹³ Despite this change, the influence of the ancient tradition of chancelleries remained unaffected in practice, just as, by and large, the workforce remained the same. It is not without reason that stories and histories of chancelleries and viziers⁷¹⁴ talk about the structure of the Sasanid chancellery with its surveillance, trial periods and advancement

708 Mez 137 which contains some examples.

709 Tanūkhī I 36.

710 Ṭab. I 2632f., 2633, 2641, 2655f., 2657, 2658, 2898f. (between 639 and 652: treaties with various Persian cities).

711 Ṭab. I 2689 (652). Cf. imperial Aramaic *ūkē’eneṭ* in Esra IV 11 and 5.

712 Ṭab. I 2633.

713 Jahsh. 33–35. In Khurasan the change did not take place until 742: *ibid.* 64f. See p. 244 above, also Caet. v 524–27; Sadighi 31; on the Sasanid chancellery: Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 214–17.

714 Thus Jahsh. 3f. See also Maf. ul. 54–58 (with technical terms which probably refer to the Sasanids); ‘Awfī 180–82, nos. 987–1023.

of officials in the context of the administration of the country as well as the command of the army, and that they emphasize the introductory formulae in official documents, the mottoes on seals, the *dīwāns*, etc. This was, after all, the model to which the caliphs' chancellery would aspire, especially in Baghdad during the Abbasid era.

Of course, the customs of the caliphs' court were not without influence in the Persian territory, where they were added to the more direct tradition of the Sasanid era, which survived in particular in the independent minor states. While we may lack immediate evidence of the structure of the chancellery and the system of deeds and documents at, for instance, the | Samanid court or [362] under the Ghaznavids, the advice the *Qābūs-nāma* has for the ruler with reference to establishing chancelleries reflects what was expected of the chancellery and its officials in those days: calligraphy,⁷¹⁵ a practised style, the ability to interpret hidden allusions,⁷¹⁶ and to compose them oneself. Unconditional discretion was necessary, and the ability to imitate the handwriting of others was seen as most useful,⁷¹⁷ for forgeries were as frequent here as everywhere else.

The layout of the documents (*manshūr*) was strictly prescribed. They opened with the *basmala* and occasionally further religious formulae (the *invocatio*),⁷¹⁸ and wished the ruler a long life, in the old-established Iranian,⁷¹⁹ and generally eastern, fashion; according to Achaemenid custom,⁷²⁰ this was also expected in a direct address.⁷²¹ The exact words usually employed in such documents would be graded according to the rank of the addressee. Mas'ūd of Ghazna granted the Khwarazm-shāh the greeting 'may God make his might endure' (*adāma 'llāhu 'izzahu*),⁷²² while a Khōja received merely 'may God make his support endure' (*adāma 'llāhu ta'yīdahū*).⁷²³ These wishes were linked to further inquiries concerning the ruler's health, as was customary among

715 There is evidence that under the Ghaznavids chancellery officials would produce documents in draft form (*sawād*) first and then in fair copy (*bayād*) (Bayh. 143: 1020), but it was of course customary at other times as well.

716 Maf. ul. 72. See p. 339 above and *EI* IV 27f. s.v. 'Ibrāhīm b. Hil. aṣ-Ṣābī'.

717 *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 750–71.

718 Bayh. 71 (1030 in a letter from Mas'ūd of Ghazna to the Ilig-khān).

719 Of the kind also found in e.g. the documents in the Book of Daniel (II 4): *Malkā lē'ālēmīn hēyi*.

720 In Daniel v 10 the king's mother says to her son: 'O king, live forever!'

721 *Zindāghān-i Khodāvand dirāz bāshadh*, says one of his subjects to Mas'ūd of Ghazna in 1034: Bayh. 448.

722 Bay. 85 (1030).

723 Bayh. 84 (1030).

diplomats all over the Orient.⁷²⁴ Only during the Seljuk era do we find information on the layout and appearance of documents, the use of the ‘thick pen’ (*qalam-i ghalīz*) for the *tughra*,⁷²⁵ the *basmala* underneath it and the ruler’s name. The *tughra* would be used in the place of the signature and the seal.⁷²⁶

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Envoys and Ambassadors

Communication between individual rulers of Persia and the caliph, or among Persian rulers with foreign princes, was the responsibility of envoys. Their duties also included delivering documents regarding foreign affairs from the chancelleries. The Samanids and Ghaznavids, as well as other dynasties, followed the Abbasid example and established a ‘bureau of correspondence and ministries’ (*Dīwān-i rāsālāt u wizārāt*) to look after this.⁷²⁷ Sasanid and Byzantine traditions, which were in turn based at least in part upon oriental customs, also had significant influence on diplomatic communication. Arab informality was gradually replaced by the custom of appointing two parallel envoys, one member of the world of scholarship, usually a respected *faqīh*,⁷²⁸ and one representative of the chancellery or the court bureaucracy. Soon a grand retinue came to be expected,⁷²⁹ which has remained characteristic not only of the Orient but also of Eastern Europe until modern times.⁷³⁰ The letter of credence (*‘ahd-nāma*)⁷³¹ addressed to the foreign ruler would express the expectation that the envoys would not be delayed unnecessarily and allowed to return without impediment. In fact diplomatic immunity was a warranted principle even then,⁷³² however often it may have been breached in reality, as

724 A list of sample documents from the years 1182–84 (especially from Khwarazm) may be found in the *Kitāb al-tawaṣṣul ilā ‘l-tarassul* by Muḥammad ibn Mu‘ayyad al-Baghdādī, in Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* I 73–80. (The author was employed by the Khwarazm-shāh Tekesh, see *ibid.* II 34). Mez 137 has some examples. See p. 365 below.

725 See p. 353 above.

726 Maqrīzī III 367. See also Uzun. 29 and p. 353 above.

727 Maf. ul. 72–79; Bayh. 500 (1035). On the diplomatic political missions in general see Ḥamidullāh I 199–206.

728 Rav. 385 (1196 from the caliph to the Khwarazm-shāh).

729 1183–84 twenty-two of the twenty-four members of the mission from an Indian maharaja died during the journey: Ibn Isf. 68.

730 Concerning Turkey and Russia see Spuler, *Ilch.* 370 and ‘Europ. Dipl. in Konstantinopel’, 207f.

731 Bayh. 211 (ca. 1000). See Maf. ul. 57 (Samanids, ca. 975).

732 *Siyāsāt-nāma* 87 (ch. xx1/1).

envoys were seen (for example by, and as late as, Frederick the Great) as ‘honest spies’.⁷³³

Besides the letter of credence there was the ‘first envoy’s’ (out of the two who were sent together) instructions, which contained exact directions and, if required, a complete draft treaty ready for the contracting partner to sign. If he refused his signature, further negotiations could take place, with the envoys’ government kept informed constantly, until the desired agreement had been reached or not. As secret negotiations were already very common in those days, there would often be oral instructions along with the written ones.⁷³⁴ In order to win the favour of the court, gifts (see below) were of particular importance. In case of successful assignments these would be particularly generous, such as occurred under the Ghaznavids.⁷³⁵ Every mission was, if at all possible, reciprocated by the other party.⁷³⁶

In Persia the reception of envoys and ambassadors followed a most archaic ceremony that had already been in place during the Achaemenid, Arsacid and Sasanid eras. It suggests, for instance, that a Sasanid official should receive the messengers of foreign armies, such as the invading Arabs, ‘surrounded with the splendour of his office’, seated on a throne, wearing a diadem on his head and surrounded by an honour guard of pages, as this would represent the importance of his own realm. However, when the Arab envoy al-Mughīra did not show himself to be impressed with this and instead comported himself with great confidence, he was maltreated, beaten and kicked. Al-Mughīra had to declare explicitly that Arabs were not used to such treatment. It is hardly surprising that the fighting continued after this episode (642).⁷³⁷

The decline of Persian independence did not, however, put an end to indigenous courtly custom, nor to Iranian culture either. On the contrary, we see the Persian dynasties in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries behaving in exactly the way ancient Eastern custom would expect – to say nothing of the caliphs’ courts. The envoy would be met at the border of his own sovereign territory, from where a designated official (*ḥājib*)⁷³⁸ and escort led

733 Explicitly *Siyāsat-nāma* 87f. (ch. XX1/2).

734 Bayh. 210.

735 See Vladimir P. Potëmkin, ‘Varvarskie gosudarstva’ (Barbarian states), in Sergey V. Bachrušin and E.A. Kosminskiy eds., *Istoriya Diplomatii*, Moscow 1941, 108–11.

736 Bayh. 211.

737 Tab. I 2642f.

738 The importance attached to such a post in Iran in particular can be seen clearly in the report that when visiting the caliph’s brother in Marv the Persian Abū Muslim waited on the *dihlīz* (terrace) in front of the former’s house insisting to be announced by the *ḥājib*

him to the capital or the current abode of the ruler. Here he would have to wait until the time when the prince was ready to receive the envoy.⁷³⁹ In the case of envoys from the caliph⁷⁴⁰ or friendly rulers, or those whose favour one intended to win,⁷⁴¹ the city would be decked out for a celebration by hanging [365] rugs out of the windows in an old Eastern style,⁷⁴² | spreading precious fabrics (such as ikat/atlas) under the horses' hooves and scattering coins among the population.⁷⁴³ An envoy who deserved this honour would be met outside the city gates by nobles (*martābā-dārān*), as well as generals, judges, *sayyids*, *'ulamā'*, *fuqahā'* and other courtiers, who presented him with a mount. Their accommodation in the city would be in a dedicated palace, such as the one to which the caliph's envoy to Mas'ūd of Ghazna in 1030 was shown, where meals would also be provided for him. A special programme was prepared for the actual reception, and an astrologically favourable day was selected.⁷⁴⁴ Thus Mas'ūd of Ghazna would surround himself on these occasions with thousands of courtiers, soldiers and pages in precious clothes and, in some cases, very valuable weapons. Most of those present wore a cap with two points (*dōshākh*). After a ceremonial feast with formulaic dialogue and a parade of noble horses wearing black blankets (the colour of the Abbasids) the envoy would appear before the ruler. The master of the reception (*rasūldār*, Arabic: *hājib*) held him by the arms in order to guide his steps and led him to his seat opposite the ruler who sat on his throne.⁷⁴⁵

even after having been assured that he might enter at any time without further formality: Ṭab. III 59 (750).

739 TS 379 (1056).

740 Bayh. 41 (1030; Mas'ūd of Ghazna in Nishapur): *ibid.* 289 (1031); Rav. 385 (1196 the Khwarazm-shāh in Hamadan). Of course all this served at the same time to prevent espionage.

741 Bayh. 433f. (1033: Qarakhanid envoys to Mas'ūd of Ghazna).

742 Thus also in 1030 in Shādhayākh on the occasion of Mas'ūd's entry into the city (Bayh. 35) and 1169 for a victorious general entry into Hamadan (Ḥus. 116). Similarly if the occasion was the visit of a prince (particularly one who might become dangerous and who consequently had to be treated with respect) houses, palaces, bazaars and ships in Baghdad were bedecked with rugs bearing the prince's name: TS 246 ('Amr ibn Layth 888–89).

743 See p. 347 above.

744 E.g. in 1031 the 1st Muḥarram 423 (19 Dec. 1031), which, however, was a Sunday, even though the text states that it was Thursday. Later it becomes clear that this is a mistake, when we see a note stating that after three days of celebrations, preparations were undertaken for Friday prayers which would fit reality, but not the information given earlier in the text. All the days of the week mentioned later in the text are given wrongly, too.

745 See p. 345 above. While the more important dynasties certainly followed this custom at all times, the ruler of Ṭabaristan, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Rustam, is reported (Ibn Isf. 60) to have been the first one who sat on his throne when receiving envoys.

In the case of the caliph's envoy, Mas'ūd of Ghazna was satisfied with a mere kiss on the hand (*dastbōs*).⁷⁴⁶ When receiving the four Seljuk brothers, his father had even honoured one of them by inviting him, as their spokesman, to sit on the throne next to him;⁷⁴⁷ however, later he heinously took him prisoner. After this ceremony the envoy would convey the Commander of the Faithful's greeting, while a flag was raised above him,⁷⁴⁸ and then present the letter, which was translated into Persian in the sultan's presence. | The ruler ^[366] would rise every time the caliph's name was mentioned, as rising as a mark of respect was seen as a typically Persian custom,⁷⁴⁹ and kiss the carpet before the throne. 'Amr ibn Layth kissed the diploma of investiture itself and raised it to his head before putting it on the table.⁷⁵⁰ Afterwards drums and tambourines were beaten to show the ruler's power.⁷⁵¹ Thus the audience ended, but it was immediately followed by a feast lasting, in the instance of the visit of the caliph's envoy to Mas'ūd of Ghazna, three days and concluding with celebratory worship during which the new caliph's name would be mentioned in the Friday prayers (Dec. 1031 in Balkh) for the first time. This was another occasion for Mas'ūd of Ghazna to display extreme pomp and a great deal of money was distributed among the people.⁷⁵²

The actual political negotiations⁷⁵³ took place in the following weeks in the *dīwān-i wizārāt*. For an envoy to be received only in this place and only by the vizier, the letter he was bearing would have had to be addressed to the vizier directly and have been sent by the vizier in his homeland as well.⁷⁵⁴ Once an agreement had been reached, the draft treaties were read at another audience (2 Jan. 1032)⁷⁵⁵ first in Persian and then in Arabic translation, which the envoy would endorse explicitly⁷⁵⁶ with the word *shunūdām* 'I have heard'. A few days

746 See p. 344 above.

747 Ḥus., 'Urāḍa/Turk. I 281; Aqsarā'ī II.

748 During such a dialogue with the ruler one was supposed not to be perturbed by anything. 'The paragon of courtiers was he who did not move during conversation with the emir of Bukhara, although he was stung by a scorpion': Athīr VIII 196 (after him, Mez 137 and n. 1).

749 Goldziher, *Shu'ub*. 154.

750 Gard. 18.

751 See p. 349 above.

752 Similar, if even more opulent, pomp was displayed by Maḥmūd in 1029 on the occasion of the reception of the Qarakhanid ruler Qadyr Khān from Kashgar: Gard. 83f. (detailed information).

753 These were certainly the occasions for which the envoys were given specific oral instructions (Bayh. 211). See Ḥamīdullāh II 162–70.

754 Bayh. 513 (1037 a vizier of Mas'ūd of Ghazna).

755 Sunday, although the text states 'Thursday'.

756 Cf. Russ. '*ponyatno*' in the modern Russian army after orders have been read.

later (7 Jan)⁷⁵⁷ the envoy was granted the farewell audience and was able to start on his journey home, having been showered with gifts.⁷⁵⁸

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Gifts

The exchange of gifts between rulers of the same rank, and the presentation of gifts to a ruler of a higher rank, was a fixed component of Iranian, and Eastern ceremonial in general, during both inaugural and farewell audiences.⁷⁵⁹ Many a mission was sent for this reason alone and the envoy would receive a gift as well.⁷⁶⁰ To begin with, the gifts from provincial dynasties to the caliph were modest: around 765 the *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan gave precious stones and regional produce.⁷⁶¹ By 869, however, Ya'qūb ibn Layth sent fine carriages, hunting falcons, garments and scents (musk and camphor), and 'whatever else is fit for a ruler'.⁷⁶² In ca. 999 the ruler of Gurgan sent the last Samanid ten Arabian horses with trappings and headdresses made from gold, thirty good pieces (*bāghil*) made from silk, twenty mules with gold and silver headgear, thirty camel-loads of beautiful carpets and 'precious wares', one million Shāhī dirhams, 30,000 gold dinars, fifty tiers (*takht*) of fabric from Shūshtar, as well as other fabrics, and Egyptian linen.⁷⁶³ Mas'ūd of Ghazna finally sent to Baghdad in 1032 a hundred valuable robes, ten of which had gold embroidery, fifty bags

757 Friday; the text states 'Saturday', which is impossible in relation to the preceding dates.

758 The description of the reception of the caliph's envoy in Nishapur in 1030 (Bayh. 41–44) and of the caliph's envoys in Dec. 1031/Jan. 1032 (Bayh. 298–97) are, besides a short account in TS 379 (reception of the Seljuk Chaghry in Sistan in 1056), the only detailed accounts we have of ceremonial receptions and audiences in the time under discussion. There must be no doubt, however, that the reception described here in some detail can be assumed to have been a typical instance. Centuries later we still see a similar picture at the Safavid and Ottoman courts.

759 Mas'ūd of Ghazna's envoys to the Qarakhanid ruler in 1031: Bayh. 217.

760 In 1030 the caliph's envoys received from Mas'ūd: 200,000 dirhams, a horse with a saddle decorated in gold, fifty unsewn robes, aloe wood, musk and camphor (Bayh. 44); the envoy of 1032 received a mule and two horses (Bayh. 297).

761 Ibn Isf. 118.

762 Ṭab. III 1706; TS 214. His brother 'Amr sent golden tent poles 'and similar things' in 879 (Krymskiy I 59 and nn. 2–3) and later (896) also a hundred camels from Khurasan, many camels of different origin, chests filled with precious fabrics, 4,000,000 dirhams in cash, a female Indian idol with four hands, decorated with jewels (Mas. VIII 125f.; TS 261).

763 Nikbī 218f.

of musk, a hundred camphor tablets, two hundred rods (*mīl*)⁷⁶⁴ of beautiful veils, fifty Indian sword hilts, a golden cup weighing a hundred *mithqāl* filled with pearls and ten hyacinths, twenty rubies from Badakhshan, ten horses from Khurasan and five valuable Turkish slaves.⁷⁶⁵

Mas'ūd was also most generous towards rulers who had the same rank as he, such as the Qarakhanid Khāns, to whom he gave two cloth of gold robes encrusted with precious stones, pearl bracelets, garments of all kinds from Byzantium and Baghdad, Isfahan and Nishapur, various linen fabrics, veils, musk, aloe, amber and two pearl necklaces.⁷⁶⁶ The number and value of gifts were, of course, | a measure of the khāns' power and wealth. In 932 the Samanid Naṣr ibn Aḥmad had sent the ruler of Sistan ten red hyacinth stones, ten valuable robes, ten slaves and ten Turkish slave-women with all their jewelry, clothes, horses and belts, and finally a poem by Rūdagī.⁷⁶⁷ [368]

There is no need for separate evidence to prove that this custom followed ancient tradition.⁷⁶⁸ It was just as ancient a custom for the caliph to expect the governors of individual districts to send him gifts. In 743 the outgoing governor of Khurasan had jugs made from gold and silver⁷⁶⁹ as well as sculptures of gazelles, lions and stags to send ahead of him to the caliph. The latter, however, then asked for guitars (*barābiṭ*, from *barbiton*, and *ṭanābīr*)⁷⁷⁰ as well. A year later a Chinese saddle arrived as a gift from China,⁷⁷¹ and in 805 a blackmailing governor sent horses, slaves, robes, musk and money in order to placate Hārūn al-Rashīd. Cleverly, he delighted the other members of the court by sending them gifts as well.⁷⁷² The governors for their part helped themselves to ample compensation in the form of gifts from their subjects and the local nobility. According to ancient custom, the days for this were the feast of Mihragān, but

764 The size of one *mīl* varies: see Georg Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Vol. IV, Halle 1837, 225, and Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I/7, London 1885, 3026. It appears that the veils were rolled around these rods.

765 Bayh. 296 (the list is in the order in which it is found in the original). However, 'Utbī's account of the negotiations between Sübüktigin and 'Aḍud al-Dawla ca. 975 shows that there was nothing modest about the requests for (tribute) gifts.

766 Bayh. 217; Gard. 84 (the gifts sent in return were appropriate: particularly valuable animal skins: *ibid.*).

767 TS 316. The poem, a paeon to the recipient, is printed on pages 316–23.

768 See the lively description in Christensen² 407ff.

769 This kind of thing is of course forbidden to Muslims.

770 Ṭab. II 1765. Barthold, 'Vostočno-iranskiy', 379.

771 Ṭab. II 1846.

772 Ṭab. III 702, 704.

also Nowruz.⁷⁷³ The governors did not always pass the gifts on to those around them. This was done by the governor of Khurasan during the autumnal feast in 738, with gifts including one gold and one silver basin, one gold and one silver dish (all from Herat), also silk from Marv, Kohistan and Herat and a gold sphere.⁷⁷⁴ | On other occasions as well, horses, usually with their saddles,⁷⁷⁵ camels, elephants,⁷⁷⁶ domestic animals such as cattle and goats,⁷⁷⁷ garments,⁷⁷⁸ scents, weapons, gold and silver ingots,⁷⁷⁹ pearls, gold coins, and slaves had an important part to play in the giving of gifts.

Money, as well as robes of honour, was the most common reward for loyalty,⁷⁸⁰ for having saved a life,⁷⁸¹ for extraditing, or, depending on the occasion, releasing,⁷⁸² a political prisoner,⁷⁸³ for reconciling enemies who had surrendered⁷⁸⁴ and for victorious generals.⁷⁸⁵ Indeed, whenever gifts were given, despite all the courtly ceremonial, their monetary value was always borne in mind as well.

773 See p. 189 above. Ca. 940 the Ziyārid Vashmgīr reintroduced these gifts in Qom in redemption of his ‘monthly payments’; under the Buyid Rukn al-Dawla 900 dinars were raised; the custom was abolished in 987–88: Qommī 165. See also Ehrlich, ‘The celebration and gifts of the Persian New Year’.

774 Ṭab. II 1636–38. Lökk. 188f.; Vloten, *Rech.* 9.

775 Ibn Isf. 60 (ca. 1110); Ḥus. 115 1166–67).

776 Nikbī 198 (ca. 995: Sübüktigin). White elephants: Juv. II 65 (1207 the ruler of the Ghōr).

777 Ibn Isf. 60 (ca. 1100).

778 TS 144 (768); Gard. 17 (ca. 890); Ṭab. II 1889 (also animal skins and furs: 744).

779 Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. I 278 (the Ilig-Khan ca. 1020); TS 379 (1056).

780 Ṭab. II 1581, III 1064 (822).

781 Athīr IV 110 (687–88).

782 TS 307 (917), 331 (964).

783 Ṭab. III 1232 (838 to an Armenian for handing Bābak over; he also received a pearl-encrusted belt and a ‘patriarch’s diadem’).

784 Ṭab. III 2018 (881–82: ‘Amr ibn Layth), see also Bayh. 673 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Khwarazm-shāh).

785 Ṭab. III 1066 (822–23).

The Legal Situation

[370]

Thanks to historical sources we are comparatively well informed on at least the practical application of constitutional and administrative law. When it comes to penal law and civil law, however, the majority of sources are lost. We have neither legal documents nor legal regulations relating to events of everyday life within the Iranian territory, and although we have them for events concerning religious law and the teachings of the *fuqahā*, they could have only theoretical application. As historiographical reports do not devote much attention to such mundane occurrences, we have no records on which to base individual examinations of these questions. There can be no doubt that Sasanid notions of law and lawfulness¹ were influential in this field as they were in administrative law. However, it does seem doubtful whether the differences between Sunni and Shi'ite civil law would allow us to 'guess' how much Sasanid legal custom may have prevailed here;² not least because Shi'ite law is by no means based exclusively on internal Iranian developments. [371]

It was certainly seen as meritorious for the ruler of a country to take an interest in the decision of legal matters regularly, for example two or three times a week, and we have evidence that the Samanids,³ and later the Ghōrids,

1 See Christian Bartholomae, *Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch*, Heidelberg 1910; id., 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des sasanidischen Rechts', in *WZKM XXVII* (Vienna 1913), 347–74; id., 'Der Verbalkontrakt im sasanidischen Recht', in *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten II*, Heidelberg 1917, 3–15; id., *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, 1–5, Heidelberg 1918–23. Eduard Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, Berlin 1914, III 1–201 (the book of laws of the Metropolitan Īšō'bōkt compiled on the basis of Sasanid law ca. 750–800 for the Persian Christian congregation). Farrokh, *Mâdîgân-i-hazâr-Dâdistân* ('The book of a thousand legal decisions'), a facsimile with an introduction by Jivanji J. Modi, Poona 1901; summary in Arthur Christensen, 'Introduction bibliographique à l'histoire du droit de l'Iran ancien', in Jacques Pirenne: *Introduction à l'histoire du droit Égyptien*, Brussels 1928. Much relevant material is also found in A. Pagliaro, 'Tracce di diritto sasanidico ne tratatelli morali Pehlevici', in *RSO X*, 468–77, and id., 'L'anticresi nel diritto sasanidico', *ibid.* xv (1933), 275–315. The Chinese (T'ang-shu 3614/2) remarked on the non-written (oral) proceedings, as well as the long duration of imprisonment (there is also a list of penalties here).

2 Thus Nasr 112 f.

3 Muq. 328 (985 in Nishapur: criminal courts on Sundays and Wednesdays; administrative matters on Mondays and Thursdays).

did indeed observe this custom,⁴ while the Ṭāhirid ‘Abd Allāh had revived the ancient Persian custom of dispensing justice at Nowruz and Mihragān.⁵ We must assume that all these rulers, and to a certain degree the *qāḍīs* as well,⁶ would dispense justice arbitrarily, even though there were certain rules in legal matters, aside from those judgments which were based on religious law, which would be adhered to. Thus a treaty confirmed by oath and blood⁷ would be seen as unbreakable, or dangerous criminals would be surrendered but (sometimes) not political delinquents.⁸ In order to catch criminals a monetary reward might be promised⁹ or an escaped prisoner might be declared an outcast.¹⁰ The place where justice was dispensed was usually the mosque,¹¹ or occasionally it might be the ruler’s palace.

Punishment and Execution

Although we are able to say relatively little about the foundations of the law and trial proceedings,¹² we do have a wealth of information on different types of punishment and the execution of criminals, as these acts of ‘justice’ [372] frequently took place in public | and it was consequently possible to observe them.¹³ Historians describe them with obvious interest, which is not surprising given the ‘delight the Orientals take in remarkable acts of mercy and criminal justice, as these reveal a consoling equality in the face of despotism’.¹⁴ Indeed, in most cases those punished were political criminals or victims of arbitrary justice, but there were just as many cases of enemies captured in battle (or

4 Ibn al-Sā‘ī 171 (1206).

5 ‘Awfī 155, no. 412.

6 The Qābūs-nāma/Diez mentions the demands made of a *qāḍī*, 652–662. See Levy, *Soc.* I 373–79.

7 See Ṭab. II 1509 (728–29 in Khurasan). For a basic description see Johannes Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strasburg 1914, and Heinrich Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen 1940, 438–63 (an Arian view on breach of contract).

8 This was the basis of the negotiations between a Ṭāhirid, the grandson of ‘Amr ibn Layth, and the caliph in 906: Athīr VII 180.

9 Athīr VI 118 (817–18 al-Ma’mūn).

10 Awl. 52 (ca. 800 in Ṭabaristan the murderer of a woman).

11 Mez. 215 after Subkī III 59.

12 Only part of the interrogation in the trial of the *afshīn* in 840 is reported, see p. 357 above.

13 When during the execution of an Abbasid propagandist the sword slipped several times to begin with, the crowd shouted ‘Allāhu akbar’ (727–28: Ṭab. II 1502), even expressing their emotions during these spectacles.

14 Thus during the Sasanid era: Burckhardt, *Konstantin*, 79.

under other circumstances), who were often seen as possessing no rights¹⁵ and were consequently treated as criminals.

Dismissed viziers or governors as well as prominent prisoners were taken to the nearest city or the capital, where they would often be exposed to the mockery of the mob. They were dressed in ridiculous garments made from foxes' tails¹⁶ or from felt,¹⁷ and made to sit backwards on a donkey, camel¹⁸ or even an elephant.¹⁹ If they were only made to suffer this and pay a large sum of money (*muṭālaba* or *muṣādara* or also *muqāsara*),²⁰ which was seen as (and might well have been) repayment for sums extorted or misappropriated, they could count themselves lucky to have got off lightly. In many instances, however, they would be bound hand and foot²¹ and punished²² with a beating,²³ which might be exacerbated by tying the victim to a tree²⁴ and undressing him, which was seen as especially humiliating,²⁵ or even | shaving his head afterwards.²⁶ Many a prisoner would be kept captive for many years (for reasons of extortion).²⁷ [373]

However, even this was not the worst form of punishment. Criminals, including those who were innocent but were considered to be criminals, and prisoners often had their hands²⁸ and feet²⁹ cut off; their ears and noses frequently

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- 15 See p. 502f below. Abū Yusuf speaks about the principles, 88–109; see Levy, *Soc.* I 384–97.
- 16 Athīr VIII 32 (919); 87 (934).
- 17 Athīr v 48 (723–24: an Arab emir at the instigation of his own companions). Ṭab. III 135 (758–59 in Khurasan: an alb (liturgical robe) = *midraʿa*).
- 18 Athīr v 188 (758–59: the governor of Khurasan), VI 15 (777), 165, 174 (902–3 ‘Amr ibn Layth and one of his generals), VIII 32 (917–18 in Rayy), IX 2 (980–81 in Hamadan).
- 19 Athīr VIII 20 (910–11).
- 20 Bal. 413 (the governor of Khurasan: the technical term is not used here yet); Must. I 425 (two Buyid viziers ca. 990); Gard. 96f. (Masʿūd of Ghazna 1030). See p. 323 above and *EI* s 172, Lökk. 162.
- 21 Bund. 134 (Daylam).
- 22 Athīr v 69 (735 Abbasid propagandists): Bayh. 136; ‘Utbi 346; *Siyāsat-nāma* 66f. (Maḥmūd of Ghazna). In 840 the rebellious Māzyār died from the effects of 450 lashes: Ṭab. III 1303; Gard. 8.
- 23 One of the reasons for removing the governor Asad of Khurasan from his office was, however, that he had whipped a free Arab: Athīr v 52 (727–28).
- 24 Rav. 384 (1196 the Khwarazm-shāh, because of looting contrary to orders).
- 25 Athīr IV 182 (701 the governor al-Muhallab).
- 26 Ṭab. II 1455 (722–23: Herat).
- 27 Narsh. 53 (ca. 900 in Bukhara).
- 28 Ibn Isf. 185 (ca. 880: but because of this cruelty on the part of the Zaydis, thousands of their followers defected to the *ispāhbadh*).
- 29 Ṭab. II 1492 (726–27: Khurasan), III 470 (776–77: Khurasan); TS 175 (816). After a rebel fortress in Tukharistan had been stormed, a third of the garrison were executed, a third had their hands and feet cut off, and a third only the hands: Athīr v 72 (736).

mutilated³⁰ (all these punishments together fell under the term *musla*);³¹ and pro-Abbasid propagandists had their tongues pulled out (736).³² A particular favourite, which started already with the Sasanids,³³ was blinding,³⁴ either with a red-hot rod³⁵ or by dripping camphor into the eyes,³⁶ a method used with particular relish on deposed princes, as according to religious law this would render them incapable of continuing government duties but did not kill them. A particularly Persian custom ('in Isfahan or Rayy') was to put red-hot pans on someone's body in order to extort something from him, a practice that was not customary in Baghdad.³⁷ Another practice reported only in the East was to urinate on bound prisoners after a feast.³⁸ And finally, hanging people by their feet was considered another popular form of torture. Of course, in many cases torture was not the end of the victim's punishment but rather a prelude to his execution,³⁹ which could, however, also take place immediately and without any previous torment. The criminal would occasionally be able to prepare himself for the execution with a prayer, but if this should take too long, the executioners had no qualms about dragging him from his religious exercise.⁴⁰

[374] The most frequent type of execution was by the sword, frequently carried out in such a way that the victim's body was | cleft in two.⁴¹ If the victims were particularly detested political enemies such as Bābak and his brother, they first had their hands and feet cut off, then their stomachs cut open,⁴² before finally

30 TS 306 (916 in Sistan); Juv. III 224 (ca. 1150: at the same time *ibid.* 250 among the Assassins).

31 See Steingass, *Dict.* 1172f.

32 Athīr v 72 (736).

33 *Ibid.* II 167 (634 the Sasanid queen Azarmēdukht).

34 Athīr VIII 166 (953–54); Must. I 391 (999 the Samanid Mansur ibn Nūḥ).

35 Rav. 127 (ca. 1072 in Kirman); Bund. 71 (1084–85 the Seljuk Malikshāh to his brother Tekish), 86.

36 Bayh. 196 (989 in Bukhara).

37 Misk. v 570 (936 a Turkish emir).

38 Ṭab. II 594; Athīr IV 81 (683–84 among the Banū Tamīm). Also after the end of the fights in Herat described in Spuler, *Ilch.* 110.

39 On the types of execution favoured during the Sasanid era see Christensen¹ 304f., with reference to the caliphs' empire: Mez 349ff.

40 Ṭab. III 1273 (839).

41 Ṭab. II 1502 (727–28 an Abbasid propagandist in Khurasan); TS 370 (1049–50 in Sistan); Juv. II 5 (1139 Sanjar); Rav. 242 (1147 in Fars), 176 (1152–53 a Ghōrid at the hands of Sanjar); Rav. 242 (1174 the Khwarazm-shāh).

42 Ṭab. III 1231; Athīr VI 161 (838).

being beheaded. There were also frequent instances of crucifixions (*ṣalaba*)⁴³ and hangings⁴⁴ (*bā[r] dār kārdan* or *kashūdan*).⁴⁵ Hanging someone by their feet was a rare form of execution.⁴⁶ There are occasional accounts of criminals being drowned by binding them hand and foot and then throwing them into a river,⁴⁷ or into a well, which would then be filled up.⁴⁸ Suffocating victims, either with fumes⁴⁹ or by rolling them up in a carpet,⁵⁰ was rare. The latter was a method of execution used more frequently by the Turks on enemy rulers, since, according to an ancient Turkish superstition, their blood could not be shed.⁵¹ Only occasionally would people be hanged from trees and then shot with an arrow,⁵² strangled with a palm rope,⁵³ stoned,⁵⁴ starved (including by walling them up for this purpose),⁵⁵ left to die of thirst,⁵⁶ or left to freeze⁵⁷ and |^[375] at the same time die in the mud.⁵⁸ People could also be burned,⁵⁹ occasionally with an entire building to the railings of which they would have been tied.⁶⁰

43 Bal. 328 (ca. 651 in Azerbaijan), 420 (707 in Khurasan); Ṭab. II 1207 and Athīr IV 208 (709 in Ṭālīqān: so many crosses that they stretched for four parasangs along both sides of the road); Bal. 340 (839–40 a man from Ṭabaristan in Baghdad); Athīr IX 90 (1016–17: Maḥmūd of Ghazna), 148 (1033 in Sāva).

44 These two types of execution are occasionally mistaken for one another: Athīr renders Pers. *avēkhtan* (Rav. 160, 1107) as *ṣulība*.

45 ‘Awfī 164, no. 633 (Ya‘qūb ibn Layth ca. 870); Nikbī 151 (990 in Gurgan; hanged from a tree); Bayh. 675 (ca. 1000), 185 (1032); Gard. 96 (1030).

46 E.g. in the case of one of Maḥmūd of Ghazna’s viziers who had fallen from favour: Bayh. 442f. (the sultan was soon to regret his action); in 1199 a robber emir in Khwarazm: Rav. 399 (Hamadan).

47 Dawl. 93 (1151–52 the Khwarazm-shāh).

48 Ḥus. 10 (1041: murder of Mas‘ūd of Ghazna).

49 Gard. 13 (875 enemies of Ya‘qūb the coppersmith).

50 Athīr V 139 (746–47 in Khurasan).

51 See the summary in Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, ‘Türk ve Mogol (sic) sülâlerinde hanedan âzâsının îdamında kan dökme memnuiyeti’ (The prohibition against shedding the blood of Turkish and Mongolian dynasties in executions), in *Türk hukuk tarihi dergisi* I (1941–42), Ankara 1944, 4f. (includes instances from the Mongol era, see Spuler, *Ilch.* 378 and Bibliography no. 365).

52 Ibn Isf. 250 (ca. 1165 in Ṭabaristan).

53 Ṭab. III 1273 (a young hostage 839); Ḥus. 40 (1074).

54 Gard. 91 (1029 Isma‘îlis and Qarmatis in Rayy on the order of Maḥmūd of Ghazna).

55 Gard. 13 (875 an opponent of Ya‘qūb); Ibn Isf. 197 (ca. 904 in Bukhara).

56 Rav. 279 (1161).

57 Athīr IX 82 (1012–13 Manūchīhr of Gurgan to his own father Qābūs).

58 Ibn Isf. 152 (833 in Ṭabaristan).

59 Juv. III 249 (1121 the Assassins).

60 Ibn Isf. 248 (ca. 1130 four hundred persons in Ṭabaristan).

The ancient Sasanid custom⁶¹ of having specifically political prisoners trampled to death by elephants, who were antagonised for this purpose,⁶² re-emerged gradually. Indeed, all these types of executions had been entirely unknown among the Arabs and should be seen as conforming to old Western Asian and Persian tradition. The preferred method for executing women was by suffocation, for instance in the hot steam of a bathroom,⁶³ by hanging (in the case of slaves)⁶⁴ and above all by drowning.⁶⁵ This occurred throughout the Islamic territory. Poisoning was only used in the case of murderers,⁶⁶ not as a general means of execution, and strangling with a bowstring is also mentioned in the context of executing murderers.⁶⁷ Impaling on stakes, which was used frequently in later times, especially among the Turks, is not mentioned at all.⁶⁸ It was not unheard of that in addition to the criminal or prisoner being executed, that his whole family would be exterminated⁶⁹ or at least exiled.⁷⁰ In the case of a political murder, the avengers thought nothing of destroying an entire village.⁷¹

[376] Despite all this, even an execution did not always satisfy the judge's or the ruler's rage. It was quite common for the body to be decapitated, either in order to put the head on show⁷² or in order to send it to others as a sign of victory or

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- 61 Müller I 21 (the Lakhmid Nu'mān v of Ḥīra in 602).
- 62 Misk. v 423, VI 514 (the first instance of this kind in Islam: Mez 21); TS 358 (1009–10 in Ghazna); Bayh. 677 (1017 Maḥmūd of Ghazna); Muḥ. Ib. 145, 155 (1187 in Kirman).
- 63 Ibn al-Balkhī XIVf. (ca. 1052 in Fars).
- 64 Ibn Isf. 216 (ca. 930 in Ṭabaristan).
- 65 Awl. 52 (ca. 800 in Chālūs).
- 66 Athīr v 43 (722–23 in Khurasan); 'Awfī 164, no. 640 (ca. 830 al-Ma'mūn's attempted assassination of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir); Ibn Isf. 216 (ca. 930 in Ṭabaristan); Gard. 44 (962 in Khurasan); see also the anecdote narrated by 'Awfī, 166, no. 695 (Qābūs ibn Vashmgīr and his son). In Khwarazm an act of revenge once led to the poisoning of the public drinking water: 'Awfī 222, no. 1652.
- 67 Ḥus. 102 (ca. 1160).
- 68 On the possibly corresponding old Persian expression (according to which impaling on stakes would already have been a form of execution under the Achaemenids) see Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar*, New Haven 1950, 178 (*uzma-*), also Friedrich W. König, *Relief und Inschrift des Königs Dareios am Felsen von Bagistan*, Leiden 1938, 72f.
- 69 Ṭab. II 1218 (710 in Marv al-Rodh); Juv. III 256 (1255 the Assassins).
- 70 Athīr v 188 (758–59).
- 71 Ibid. IX 52 (999 a village near Shiraz). On one such occasion a 'Kurdish' chieftain offered his own son in revenge to the father of a prisoner who had died (maybe accidentally) in prison; the other one was magnanimous enough to decline the offer: Athīr IX 182 (1045–46).
- 72 Bal. 418 (building pyramids of severed heads [Jawsaqīn] in Tirmidh ca. 700); TS 207 (865 in Zarang: heads and torsos put on show separately); Athīr VIII 29 (921–22); Rav. 109

‘justice’.⁷³ Often the body would be put on show even without its head, and frequently it was defiled beforehand.⁷⁴ There were even occasions when a body was disinterred in order to be subjected to these indignities.⁷⁵ Frequently the body, rather than the head, of the person executed was thrown into water as a further degradation,⁷⁶ or burned⁷⁷ or even crucified⁷⁸ against his own door.⁷⁹ Criminals who had been crucified or hanged were often left on the cross or the gallows for a very long time.⁸⁰

Of course these cruelties were public knowledge at the time. There is no mention in the sources of any opposition to them; only ethical literature⁸¹ expressed itself theoretically against these practices. Thus a captured criminal or political opponent must have known what lay ahead of him. Even so, Islamic ethical attitudes (which, as we know, have the same effect to this day), or possibly a general Eastern inclination, meant that hardly any of the condemned criminals | attempted to escape their punishment by committing suicide. On the contrary, suicide, which could also happen among non-Muslims,⁸² is seldom

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(ca. 1060 al-Basāsīrī); 261 (1153 thrown down before the assembled emirs of the executed man); Ibn al-Sāʿī 152 (1205 the Ghōrids).

- 73 Ibn Isf. 105 (ca. 680 in Ṭabaristan); Bal. 414 (ca. 684 in Khwarazm); *ibid.* 416 (ca. 685 in Khurasan); Ṭab. II 1021 and Athīr IV 171 (696 captured Khārijites to al-Ḥajjāj); Athīr IV 192 (in 703 also the non-Muslim [Hephthalite?] *zūnbil* in eastern Iran); TS 117 (704 in Sistan); Bal. 424 (715–16 in Khurasan); Athīr V 181 (755–56 in Rayy); *ibid.* VI 142 (832 the head of a rebellious governor of Azerbaijan); Ibn Isf. 193 (900 in Ṭabaristan); Gard. 31 (940 Mākān); Athīr VIII 201 (970 in Kirman); Bayh. 441f. (1033 near Lahāvur = modern Lahore); Rav. 154 (ca. 1102 in Khurasan); Muḥ. Ib. 159 (1192 in Kirman); Juv. II 32 and Ḥus. 136 (the Khwarazm-shāh in 1194); Ibn Isf. 256 (ca. 1200 in Ṭabaristan); Juv. II 52, 67 (ca. 1203 in Marv and Khurasan).
- 74 Ibn al-Balkhī XVI; Matthew 81 (the Seljuks near Lake Van in 1045–46); Athīr/Tornberg X 48 (the Kurds of Shabānkāra in 1071).
- 75 Rav. 383 and Athīr/Tornberg XII 73 (1196 in Hamadan).
- 76 Rav. 239 (the Seljuks in Baghdad in 1146); Juv. II 81 (the Khwarazm-shāh in 1210).
- 77 Juv. III 256 (the Assassins in 1255).
- 78 Athīr IV 210 (710 in Eastern Iran); Ṭab. II 1932 (745–46 in Marv: the torso crucified without its head); Athīr VI 171 (839 a ruler of Ṭabaristan next to Bābak); VI 176 (840–41 the general Afshīn, who had died in prison).
- 79 Athīr III 180 (666 in Khurasan).
- 80 Athīr V 100 (743); Bayh. 185 (1032; the executed man remained for ‘seven’ years on the gallows); Rav. 161 (1107 in Isfahan).
- 81 See the passage in ‘Awfī 223f., nos. 1667–81.
- 82 Ṭab. II 1230 (Türkūn the Sogdian fell on his sword in 710); Athīr V 190 (759–60 the *iṣpāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan).

reported⁸³ and with greater frequency only in the early years, when relevant Islamic concepts had not yet taken root everywhere.

Marriage

The fact that Islam permitted marriage to four women at the same time,⁸⁴ while still allowing the possibility of having contacts with slave women,⁸⁵ was of fundamental importance with regards to the legal form and social concept of marriage. As a result of this, Islam did not pose any obstacle to the forms of marriage which had been inherited, in particular from the noble classes, in Persia from the Sasanid⁸⁶ and earlier eras. Of course, princes would not adhere to the limit of four free wives for a long time to come,⁸⁷ and it was not until a relatively late date that they were required to observe the relevant Qur'anic rules.⁸⁸

Ancient indigenous marriage customs survived among many of the primitive tribes in the mountainous regions south of the Caspian Sea, for instance the custom of allowing marriage within the same tribe only, as in the late tenth century in Daylam.⁸⁹ This may be linked to the inherited custom of consanguineous marriage⁹⁰ still found during the Sasanid era, | which is forbidden in Islam at least within certain degrees. Attempts at eradicating it in other parts

83 Ṭab. II 1134 (704: the condemned man jumps off the roof of a house, but his head is cut off and sent off anyway); Athīr IX 60 (1003: the imprisoned ruler of Sistan *allegedly* commits suicide while in prison); Athīr IX 76 (a Ghōrid by taking poison in 1010–11); Sā'ī 170 (the leaders of a tribe surrounded by the Ghōr threw themselves into the fire, as due to their apostasy from Islam they had to expect the worst).

84 This is how Muslim exegesis interprets Sura 4:3.

85 Some *umm walad*' are already mentioned in 744 in Khurasan: Ṭab. II 1861, 1933.

86 Concerning Sasanid marriage law see Bartholomae, *Frau*, 10 and 14f. (culture and language: vol. v). On the different kinds of marriage (such as group marriage) see e.g. Georg Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, Stuttgart 1922, vol. I, 8–10.

87 Ca. 755 the *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan had 93 wives 'in the mountains', each with her own household. For his favourite wife he built a palace by the lake. He (like Muḥammad) followed a certain cycle of visits: Ibn Isf. 115f.

88 Thus Maḥmūd of Ghazna with the Buyid Majd al-Dawla, who had more than fifty free wives. Majd al-Dawla defended this as being 'the custom of his ancestors': Athīr IX 128.

89 Muq. 368f. (transgressing this commandment was punishable by death).

90 Christensen 318f.

of the country, such as Sistan, encountered serious problems in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁹¹

In the regions which were still predominantly Zoroastrian, namely in Ṭabaristan,⁹² the custom of abducting women survived for some time although at a later period it was only practised as an act of violence, not as a tradition.⁹³ In this time a ruler's violation of the wives, daughters or slaves of his subjects was seen as a punishable crime.⁹⁴ In what may have been an attempt at diverting the custom of gratuitously abducting women onto a more orderly path in Daylam, the winner of the customary Friday wrestling contest was allowed to choose a woman and marry her with her father's consent, thus winning her with his prowess, while any earlier contact between women and men was punished by death.⁹⁵ As there are accounts from the same time which state that women in this country only went out at night wearing a veil,⁹⁶ it seems that in everyday life only parentage, or the personal relationship with the father, were relevant: the connections between families of a similar social class, even consanguineous ones, were the deciding factor. In those days courtship in Ṭabaristan, aside from in the case of the above mentioned exception, meant that the groom went to the house of his prospective father-in-law where he would then deliver a courtship speech. If they agreed on the match, the marriage was arranged and a water bottle, which the groom had brought, was smashed against the wall.⁹⁷

The strict national segregation when it came to marriage, which the Arabs had at first observed and which the caliph 'Umar I had attempted to enforce in the case of the relations of his occupying army in Mesopotamia with women, including Jewish and Christian women, by means of regulations,⁹⁸ could not, of course, be maintained for any length of time, as in all instances of this kind. Even in a distant country such as Ṭabaristan there were native women married to Arabs as early as 738. However, during a rebellion, they left their husbands and handed them over to their fellow countrymen to be killed.⁹⁹ Marriages | [379]

91 Ibn Khall./Wüst. II 88. See Goldziher, Had. 72.

92 Ḥud. 136 (982).

93 In 1203 the Sultan of Ghōr Shihāb al-Dīn married his brother's abducted wife (a singer); later, however, he rejected and exiled her: Ibn al-Sā'ī 100.

94 Athīr IV 217 (711–12 in Khwarazm). See also Athīr VIII 61 (929 Mardāvīj).

95 Muq. 369 (985). Inostrancev, *Sas. Et.* 115–26 with reference to older Iranian and universally Indo-European consanguineous marriage.

96 Muq. 370.

97 Ibid. 369f.

98 Ṭab. I 2347f. Goldziher, Arab. 129; Caet. III 787.

99 Ibn Isf. 128.

between Arabs and Persians soon become frequent for the simple reason that – as is the case always and everywhere – marriage soon became a political instrument. The possibility of polygamy greatly favoured this means of underpinning opportune political alliances in particular,¹⁰⁰ and the number of political marriages, which were occasionally explicitly described as ‘a comfortable means of preventing wars’,¹⁰¹ was immense.¹⁰² There were not only unions between Arabs and Persians but also between members of either of these nations and Turks. Of course, where possible, people strove to ensure partners were of equal birth.¹⁰³ However, a politically defeated ruler would frequently offer the victor his daughter in marriage, while he himself would be satisfied with ‘the daughters of servants and slaves’.¹⁰⁴ It would then depend on the circumstances whether one ruler took the other’s sister or daughter into his harem, or whether the decision was for a marriage among the next generation, such as the common double union: son and daughter of one ruler marrying daughter and son of the other. These details were of no genuine relevance. Only very rarely would the suggestion of such a political marriage originate with a woman.¹⁰⁵ Religious differences were only rarely ignored,¹⁰⁶ usually the previously ‘unbelieving’ party would be required to convert to Islam.¹⁰⁷

These conditions also prevailed among the socially lower classes to some degree, and are certainly the reason why the prohibition of marrying a widow,

100 A list of examples from the ancient Persian era can be found in Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 9, 11, 17.

101 Athīr v 113 (744 in Khurasan) [AD: Athīr is not here voicing a general principle, but referring to the specific example of Naṣr ibn Sayyār’s decision to neutralise the rebel al-Kirmānī by binding their children together in marriage rather than by executing or imprisoning him].

102 Ṭab. II 1858, 1866 (744: Khurasan); Ṭab. III 137 (758–59: Ṭabaristan/caliphs); Athīr VIII 66 (930: Samanids/Gurgan); Misk. II 8 (940–41) = Athīr VIII 127 (941: Buyids/Gurgan); Athīr VIII 207 (972: Samanids/Buyids); IX 46 (Khwarazm/Maḥmūd of Ghazna); 65 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna/Qarakhanids); 82 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna/ Gurgan); 131 (1037–38); 171 (1041–42); 184 (1047–48: Seljuks/Fars); 202 (1052–53: against the woman’s wishes); Ḥus. II (1049); 12f. = Athīr X 49 (1056–57: the caliph marries a Seljuk princess); Athīr VIII 249 = Ibn Khall./Slane I 250 (tenth cent.: the Buyids despite being Shi’ites and the caliphs; see Krymśkiy I 129); Muḥ. Ib. 13 (ca. 1073 Qāvurd of Kirman); Rav. 265 = Dawl. 131 (1118 Sanjar); Bund. 222 = Rav. 236 (1146: Seljuks); Muḥ. Ib. 128f. (1185: Seljuks).

103 See the accounts in Athīr VIII 158 (948–49: Samanids) and Muḥ. Ib. 27 (ca. 1110: Kirman). Similarly already among the Sasanids: Ṭab. I 2879 (ca. 650: Yazdagird III).

104 Ḥus. 12f. (1088–89: the Sultan of Kashgar to Malikshāh).

105 Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. II 256 (1094: Malikshāh’s widow); Ḥus. 129 (1188: the widow of two Seljuk sultans to the successful pretender).

106 Matthew 121 (Alp Arslan marries an Armenian princess).

107 Barthold, *Vorl.* 88f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 286 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna).

which was still known in Daylam in the tenth century,¹⁰⁸ | was slowly forgotten.¹⁰⁹ [380] After all, political marriages of this kind could easily be dissolved again should the need arise, as this presents no problems in Islam.¹¹⁰ In order to prevent a remarriage, and with it the danger of a son losing his succession rights to a second husband and possible children from a second marriage, a Seljuk sultan on his deathbed had no qualms about ordering his wife's murder.¹¹¹ By the same token, it might happen that a woman killed her husband so that she should not become a victim of a change in the political constellation.¹¹² Not only was it easy to dissolve a marriage, but a 'temporary' marriage evolved, which was regulated¹¹³ by the Shi'a (*mut'a*) and would soon gain importance in Persia, all the more so because it harked back to similar practices during the Sasanid era.¹¹⁴

Consequently 'ethical' unions between a man and a woman were less important, especially in the 'upper' classes, where political and related considerations played a major role. It was reported as an exceptional situation that Abū Shujā', the father of the first three Buyid brothers, was not only deeply saddened by his wife's death but even expressed his grief in public.¹¹⁵ In the context of advice on choosing a wife the *Qābūs-nāma* limits itself to discussing her prudence and pointing out the advantages of a virgin over a widow. The main consideration is that the woman should come from a wealthy family, but of course not be of greater status than the groom, as otherwise she might make excessive demands. While she must be looked after well, she should be secluded from the outside world if possible and she might at most have a male black slave as her servant.¹¹⁶

The reason why many marriages were not successful, as historians admit frequently and openly, was the extraordinary prevalence of | pederasty (*livāt*),¹¹⁷ [381]

108 Muq. 370. See Schwarz VII 857.

109 Bayh. 193f., 432, 537 (all Ghaznavids/Qarakhanids); Hus. 125 (ca. 1188: Seljuks).

110 Consequently the murder of a wife in order to 'rid oneself of her' is a rare occurrence: Juv. II 73 (1209–10: Mazandaran).

111 Matthew 297 (however, we must be on our guard when reading the works of this Armenian enemy of the Muslims).

112 Athīr IX 173f. = Bund. 295 (ca. 1160: the Seljuk Malikshāh).

113 It was also discussed among Sunnis, see Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ* (textual references are listed in EI III 836), s.v. (printed also in R.E. Brünnow's *Arabische Chrestomathie*, ed. August Fischer, 3rd edn., Berlin 1924, 164f.).

114 Bartholomae, *Frau*, 14f.

115 Athīr VIII 84 (ca. 900).

116 *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 571–76.

117 In *ibid.* 466ff. it is also discussed theoretically (rivals, etc.).

which was long established in Persia¹¹⁸ and which was repeatedly reported during the seventh to eleventh centuries.¹¹⁹ It was clearly not always kept a secret; in many cases the people even knew the names of the ruler's 'favourites',¹²⁰ or that there was a large number of them.¹²¹ The Christians in Iran attempted to tackle this vice (for example by excluding the Nestorian Metropolitan of Marv because of it),¹²² but the evil was not to be eradicated. On the contrary, it soon spread to include the Arabs living in Khurasan, who brought it with them to Mesopotamia and beyond in around the middle of the eighth century.¹²³ It reached the Turks in the same way. Prostitution was also widespread. There were attempts at regulating this by establishing brothels, which would be taxed, as was the case in Fars and Khuzistan.¹²⁴

Women

Despite being much respected in the home, especially as mothers, Persian women were rarely prominent in public life. The Sasanid legal system treated women more as objects under the law than persons. However, the respect in which they were held increased, even though formally the ancient system was preserved. This development, which, incidentally, ran parallel to the improvement in the legal position of slaves,¹²⁵ is reflected in the romantic narrative of King Khusrau II's relationship with his Christian wife, Shirin. During [382] the confusion before Yazdagird III's accession to the throne a princess named Āzarmēdukht even took on the duties of government for a short time.

However, due to the strict ideas concerning the position of women in public that were prevalent in all of Western Asia, including Byzantium, the originally

118 Also among the Hephthalites in Kohistan (Bal. 403). According to Ammianus Marcellinus, however, it was unknown in Persia in his day: Christensen¹ 505.

119 Muq. 281 (tenth century; Bukhara).

120 Nizāmī-yi 34–36 (with regards to Maḥmūd of Ghazna); Bund. 265f. (Sanjar).

121 A list regarding Sanjar: Bund. 271–74; one regarding the emirs of Maḥmūd of Ghazna: Bayh./Nafīsī, 295–300 (see Köprülü, 'Kay', 423 and n. 1). Ḥus. 127 (ca. 1188f. a Seljuk atabeg).

122 B.H. eccl. III 171ff. (the metropolitan converted to Islam and afterwards maligned the Christians).

123 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 130; id., *Streifz.* 42; Mez 337 and n. 6.

124 Bīrūnī, *India* II 157; Muq. 407, 441. Schwarz II 46.

125 Bartholomae, *Frau*, 7; Christensen 317ff. I am not familiar with the content of O. Pesle's study, *La femme musulmane dans le droit, la religion et les moeurs*, Rabāṭ 1946, or Sa'īd al-Afghānī's, *Al-Islām wa-l-mar'a*, Damascus 1945. Levy, *Soc.* I 131–91, discusses the subject with reference to Islamic legal theory.

much more liberal ideas of the Arabs gradually vanished, with women being veiled and locked away in harems. In the more distant regions of Iran the older Sasanid tradition had remained alive, and the freedom of movement of women always remained very restricted. In Daylam, at the end of the tenth century, women were allowed to go out only at night and only dressed in black,¹²⁶ and sources from Ṭabas in the salt desert state that as late as 1052 any woman who spoke with a man who was not related to her would be killed.¹²⁷ As is often the case in primitive cultures, in Gilan the hard work of tilling the soil was the women's duty.¹²⁸ Seeing women in this oppressed position without rights led the Arabs to believe that, in accordance with the Qur'an,¹²⁹ they were entitled to see women as mere objects and assault female prisoners.¹³⁰ This would occasionally culminate in the conclusion of individual rulers – such as the brother of the ruler of Khwarazm, who was known to be a violent man – that they could force their subjects to hand over beautiful wives and daughters.¹³¹ Another result was that al-Muqanna's sect introduced the sharing of women.¹³²

Contrasting with this restriction of, and limitation on, women was the custom in other parts of the country, such as Ṭabaristan, where the fortnightly market in Pirrīm was an opportunity for young men and women to meet. This indicates that among this peasant population – most of whom were Zoroastrians – the veiling of women had not yet gained popularity.¹³³ It was also compatible with an older Arab tradition that the wife of the governor of Khurasan presented the victorious general of the Turkish campaign, al-Ḥārith (perhaps her cousin), with a gift in public.¹³⁴ Of course, the information we have is too scanty for us to decide with certainty whether opposites, such as settled/nomadic, self-contained/dispersed settlement, married/unmarried, nobles/common people, played a part as well.

Above all, it was obviously the old inherited respect for the mother which paved the way for a more dignified position of women. It was the mother of the captured Marzbān who persuaded some merchants to free him while he

126 Muq. 370.

127 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 94.

128 Ḥud. 137.

129 Sura 4:34 [AD].

130 Ṭab. II 1181 (the brother of Qutayba assaulted the captive wife of the priest Barmak of Nawbahār).

131 Ṭab. II 1237 (711–12).

132 Narsh. 73. See pp. 52 and 199f. above.

133 Ḥud. 136 (982).

134 Ṭab. II 1889.

[383] was in disguise | (953–54);¹³⁵ it was the mother of the Buyid Şamşām al-Dawla who consoled him after a lost campaign in Khuzistan (994);¹³⁶ and it was the mother of the Buyid Majd al-Dawla who took on the duties of government on his behalf in Rayy, and after an attempt at rebellion replaced him with his brother Shams al-Dawla (1006–7).¹³⁷ Furthermore it is said of old women in particular that they might dare approach a ruler directly in order to ensure the punishment of disloyal officials, as in the case of Maḥmūd of Ghazna.¹³⁸

A change towards even more freedom, partly even emancipation, came with the invasion of the Turkish peoples into Iran and Western Asia. So far the Turks, in particular before their contact with Islam, had enjoined fewer restrictions on their women, and while they did soon assimilate to Western Asian civilization, in general public appearances of women would be granted some small degree of acceptance. Not only were women now able publicly to distinguish themselves through charity and found mosques and madrasas,¹³⁹ they also began to play a more significant part in politics, even though the *Siyāsat-nāma* considered this to be a particular danger.¹⁴⁰ Terken (Turkān) Khatun, one of Malikshāh's widows, was able to propose to her brother-in-law Ismā'īl (ca. 1093) and attempt in this way to influence political development in favour of her son Maḥmūd.¹⁴¹ The wife of the Seljuk ruler Muḥammad (1105–18) had her own vizier,¹⁴² and the mother of the Seljuk sultan Arslan, who died in 1174, had great influence in the administration of the state as well; she even looked after the requirements of the army and would herself take part in campaigns.¹⁴³ Such an enterprise was, of course, not without danger. After all, Barqiyāroq's wife was killed during a battle (1095).¹⁴⁴ However, greater liberty also entailed the possibility of establishing illicit liaisons,¹⁴⁵ and one of Barqiyāroq's viziers even believed himself to be justified in seeking sanctuary in the sultan's harem, which did not, however, prevent his meeting a violent end.¹⁴⁶ Of course, there

135 Athīr VIII 166.

136 Rud. 260.

137 Athīr IX 70.

138 Qābūs-nāma/Diez 801f. (in an anecdote).

139 Ca. 1100 the wife of the *atabeg* of Shiraz: Zark. 45f. Ca. 1165 the daughter of the (murdered) *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan: Ibn Isf. 250f.

140 Siyāsat-nāma 156.

141 Rav. 141; Matthew 208.

142 Bund. 100. Uzun. 47.

143 Rav. 290–300.

144 Ḥus. 53.

145 Barqiyāroq's mother and his *atabeg*: Ḥus. 52 (1093).

146 Ḥus., 'Urāḍa/Turk. II 263 (1099).

was no instance in which a woman was named the actual ruler under the Seljuks. This only happened among the Qara-Khitay (1170) who came from Eastern Asia and were strongly influenced by Chinese culture,¹⁴⁷ and later among the Mongols.

147 Juv. II 17. Menges in Wittvogel, *History of the Chinese Society of Liao* (as p. 360 n. above), 672.

[384] **The Social and Economic Situation****Agriculture¹ and Land Ownership**

As is still the case today in the East, agriculture was the basis of the state and the backbone of the population's economic existence during the early Middle Ages in Persia. Only commercial activity could rival it in importance for the economy as a whole. We are not able to form a clear idea of the degree of development of cultivation, as there is hardly any information on the subject, as is usually the case for 'everyday' matter.² The existence of the plough is mentioned,³ and there are references to windmills in Sistan⁴ and Afghanistan⁵ (although only in the east of the country). But excavations, so far only sporadic, have unearthed only very few agricultural implements: handmills, grain mashers, metal and earthenware pots, bowls and horses' harnesses.⁶ Literature confirms that fertilisers were used everywhere.⁷ Despite the importance of this branch of industry, agriculture in general commanded very little respect. Consequently it is noted as an exceptional occurrence when military commanders prevented their soldiers from devastating fields,⁸ or when individual rulers ensured support for agriculture. Rulers who excelled in this regard were

1 With reference to the statistical information given in this section see the map. It must be pointed out that in the place of small villages mentioned in the sources, we name the districts and nearby economic centres. On the subject of agriculture in general, including the subject of irrigation, see Mohammed A. Khan, 'Ibn al-'Awwāms Kitāb al-Filāḥah', in *IC* xxiv (1950), 200–17, 285–99.

2 The agricultural advice in the *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 817f. is very brief as well. Jakubowskiy, *Mach.* 61–64 also has only very general information.

3 *Yāq.* I 86 (stating that when the ground was frozen in Ardabil, people would plough with eight oxen).

4 *Ḥud.* 110. Or possibly a reference to wind-catcher shafts which cooled the houses.

5 *Ibn Ḥawq.* 299; *Muq.* 333.

6 *Terenožkin* 179: description of the appearance of such tools. These implements were frequently manufactured in Amul: *Ḥud.* 135.

7 *Mez.* 428f.

8 *Rud.* 288f. (the Kurd Badr, son of Ḥasanōē 996); *Dawl.* 77 (the Seljuk Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad ca. 1130).

‘Abd | Allāh ibn Tāhir⁹ and later the Seljuk Malikshāh, who also ensured devas- [385]
tated tracts of land were cultivated again.¹⁰

There was one aspect of agriculture, however, that was also of great importance for the urban population, and required the constant attention of the government: irrigation. It was in particular the east of the Iranian territory, namely Khwarazm¹¹ and Fergana,¹² which was dependent on careful water management if it was to be agriculturally viable. Here, the practices of building canals and artificial irrigation¹³ have survived over the centuries until the present day and are even now of such great significance that the ‘Fergana System’ occupies an important position in the Soviet Union.¹⁴ During the tenth century many canals were also diverted from the Oxus¹⁵ and the Murghab near Marv via a ‘water distributor’ (*muqassim al-mā’*)¹⁶ to supply more than 10,000 landowners with water allotments (*mustaqā*). The canals were opened and blocked by means of little boards and pipes, which let the water through automatically once it reached a certain level. This was supervised by a dedicated official, who had a number of assistants.¹⁷ Irrigation canals were also found in Khuzistan (Ahvaz),¹⁸ Isfahan,¹⁹ Fars (Darabgird)²⁰ and Iṣṭakhr,²¹ in Kirman, which has a very dry climate, it was the Arabs who dug the canals.²²

9 Ibn Khall./Eg. I 262. Krymskiy I 39f.

10 Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. II 243.

11 Tolstov, Chor. 48–54 believes that the irrigation network here only fell into disarray because of the rebellions of Abū Muslim and al-Muqanna’.

12 Muq. 271.

13 See Maf. ul. 68–72; also Barthold, *Ist. Oroš.* and Mez 423f. (wooden irrigation systems). The water in the canals constructed by the Persians was used (as *kharāj* water) to irrigate *kharāj* land: Lökk. 86. Abū Yūsuf, 53–58, discusses the basic principles of water rights (especially Euphrates and Tigris); Māwardī 313–22.

14 See Werner Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion. Natur, Volk und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1950, 251f. Matters of irrigation with particular reference to the Oxus are discussed in V. Zinserling (‘Cinzerling’), *Orošenie na Amu-Dar’e* (Irrigation by the Oxus), Moscow 1927, and M.R. Davidovskiy, *Zemli drevnego orošeniya Karakalpakii i perspektivy ich osvčeniya* (*The ancient areas of irrigation in Karakalpakia and the prospects for reclaiming them*), Moscow and Leningrad 1934.

15 Muq. 292f.

16 Qommī 42–53 has a detailed description of the distribution system in Qom (tenth century).

17 Ibn Ḥawq.² 436; Nāšir-i Khosraw 270f.

18 Muq. 411.

19 Schwarz v 619.

20 Muq. 428. See also Mez 425.

21 Muq. 436.

22 Bal. 392.

[386] Once again it was the aforementioned ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir (829–44), arguably the most competent of the Ṭāhirids, who made the most significant contribution to the development of the irrigation system. Like the Samanids, the Ṭāhirids had ‘open ears’ and, in particular, ‘open hands’ when it came to the needs of the population,²³ which was without doubt one of the most important reasons behind the prosperity of those decades. It was, however, unfortunate that ‘Abd Allāh commissioned local and Iraqi *faqīhs* to work together to regulate irrigation in accordance with the Shari‘a. They paid no attention to local tradition, which would have been so very necessary in this area in particular; the *Kitāb al-qunīyy* (*Book of Canals*) written at that time, but now lost, does not mention it at all. While this book was consulted until the eleventh century,²⁴ it is safe to assume that old traditions continued to inform actual practice and remained relevant during the Mongol era as well.²⁵

The construction of canals had the further fundamental significance of providing drinking water for the towns. In humid Ṭabaristan, the rulers had a canal constructed that would carry drinking water from the mountains into the city (Tamīsha).²⁶ It was, however, the north and east Iranian cities – Nishapur,²⁷ Qumis,²⁸ Rayy,²⁹ Qom,³⁰ Qazvin,³¹ and then Zarang,³² Shiraz³³ and Darabgird³⁴ – which were more likely to have water conduits (*qanāt*, pl. *qunīyy*; Pers. also *ka(h)rēz* and *gōy*). They were often underground (in the form of a

23 Ṭab. III 1326; ‘Awfī, after Barthold, *Turk. Russ.* 1 83f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 213. Summaries in Barthold, *Oroš.* 15f. On irrigation law in legal theory see Yahyā 69–87 and Lökk. 51.

24 Gard. 8; after him Barthold, *Ist. Oroš.* 26f. On irrigation legislation see also Lökk. 51.

25 Barthold, *Vorl.* 129.

26 Ibn Isf. 115.

27 Muq. 329; Išt. 255; Ibn Ḥawq.² 433.

28 Išt. 211.

29 Išt. 208 (complemented by other manuscripts: BGA IV 410).

30 An exhaustive list of the canals of this city may be found in Qommī 41; see Lambton 589f. (details concerning the construction and distribution; 1/4 to 1/5 of the water was *waqf* and available for use by the population.

31 Nāšir-i Khosraw 4; Must. 833.

32 Išt. 241.

33 Ibn al-Balkhī 132–34.

34 Muq. 428.

cutting³⁵ along the upper reaches) and supplied individual houses with water.³⁶ In Samarkand the conduits had lead pipes.³⁷

Agricultural production was very varied. However, we must bear in mind [387] that vast stretches of the country consisted (and still consist) of deserts and/or mountains. There were also large regions famous for their fertile soil, namely Fergana,³⁸ the area around Samarkand,³⁹ Kish,⁴⁰ Khwarazm,⁴¹ the district of Balkh,⁴² Badghhis,⁴³ Herat,⁴⁴ parts of Sistan⁴⁵ and Kirman,⁴⁶ Ṭabaristan⁴⁷ and Gilan.⁴⁸ As the population increased, agriculture was expanded. This was done mainly by clearing forests,⁴⁹ such as occurred in Khwarazm where, however, this led to an increase in drifting sand in the western and central parts of the region.⁵⁰

35 'Mountain path, mountain stream, gorge'.

36 Muq. 283. There were, however, also canals with brackish water (presumably contributing to the universal supply of water as well as for drainage): Qommī 45 (Qom; tenth century). See also Lökk 120f.; C.G. Feilberg, 'Qanāts, Iran's subterranean irrigation canals', in *Øst og Vest*, 105–13; very briefly also in B.M. Tirmidhi, 'Canalization in early Islam', 30f. (in *Isl. Review* XXXVIII/12, Dec. 1950, 28–31).

37 Muq. 279. See *EI* II 759f.

38 Muq 271. The statistical information in the following is above all intended as complementary to and evidence for the map.

39 Muq. 279.

40 Muq. 283.

41 Muq. 284.

42 Muq. 303.

43 Muq. 308.

44 Muq. 307.

45 Iṣṭ. 247.

46 Iṣṭ. 162 [AD: Iṣṭ. does not support this and Kirman has little cultivable land].

47 Ḥud. 134.

48 Iṣṭ. 201 [AD: concerns Media, not Gilan]; Ḥud. 136f.; Athīr VIII 77.

49 Woods are mentioned only rarely, e.g. near Marand in Azerbaijan: Ṭab. III 138 (848–49); near Tabriz: Misk. II 33 (941–42); in Daylam, Gilan and Ṭabaristan: Iṣṭ. 205, 211; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 377f., 381; near Isfahan, where the trees necessary for the Zoroastrian Sadhāq celebrations are cut in the forest (936): Misk. I 311; near Samarkand: Athīr VIII 41 (922–23). Concerning the feast of Sadhāq = Sadā see Modi, *Religious ceremonies*, 436.

50 Ibn Faḍlān 114f., in the Excursus para. 13a (including further literature on the subject); see also G.E. Grum-Gržimajlo, 'Rost pustyń i gibel' pastbiščnych agodiy i kul'turnych zemel' v Central'noy Azii za istoričeskij period' ('The expansion of deserts and the disappearance of pasture and cultivated land in Central Asia throughout history'), in *Izv. Gos. Geografičeskogo Ob-va* LXV, 5 (1933), 437–54 (an overview with particular reference to climate, including Mongolia). Pertinent remarks may be found in V. Kazakevič in *Bibliografiya Vostoka* VII (1934), 140–42.

The main agricultural produce was, as everywhere, cereal (mostly wheat and barley;⁵¹ in Kirman mainly millet due to the dry climate)⁵² that was then ground in mills (*āsyā*).⁵³ Fergana,⁵⁴ Ṭabaristan,⁵⁵ Mazandaran,⁵⁶ Khuzistan⁵⁷ and Iṣṭakhr⁵⁸ also grew rice, frequently with artificial irrigation. The main source for producing fat was olives, especially near Nishapur,⁵⁹ in Gurgan,⁶⁰ [388] Daylam,⁶¹ Rāmihormizd,⁶² Arraghān⁶³ and Fars.⁶⁴ | Sugar cane was grown mainly in Khuzistan,⁶⁵ including Sus⁶⁶ and Gondēshāpūr,⁶⁷ and in Hormuz,⁶⁸ Kirman⁶⁹ and Balkh.⁷⁰ Iran was famed of old for its fruit. A major part was played even in those days by melons (in Khuzistan,⁷¹ Ardabil,⁷² Rayy,⁷³ Marv⁷⁴ and Gīruft in Kirman)⁷⁵ and by peaches, which, after all, were named ‘per-

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- 51 Gharshistan: Ḥud. 105; various places in Khurasan: Ḥud. 108; Marv: Muq. 299; Gurgan: Tha’ālibī, Laṭ. 112f.; Sarakhs: Muq. 313; Nishapur: Muq. 318; Badhghis: Muq. 208; Zarang: Muq. 305–6; Khuzistan: Muq. 412; Iṣṭ. 91; Ibn Ḥawq. 173.
- 52 Mez 105.
- 53 In 987 there were 51 mills in Qom alone: Qommī 53–56.
- 54 Muq. 271.
- 55 Muq. 354, 358; Iṣṭ. 40 [AD: last two references not relevant to Ṭabaristan].
- 56 Ibn Ḥawq. 272.
- 57 Muq. 402.
- 58 Muq. 436.
- 59 Muq. 318.
- 60 Muq. 357; Iṣṭ. 213; Ibn Ḥawq. 382.
- 61 Muq. 353.
- 62 Muq. 407.
- 63 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 91.
- 64 Muq. 420, 433; Iṣṭ. 128; Ibn Ḥawq. 184.
- 65 Tha’ālibī, Laṭ. 107. See Mez 410; Kremer, *Cultur.* II 283; Schwarz IV 424. The cultivation of sugar cane had entered the country at the beginning of the Islamic era along the Persian coast: Kremer, *Cultur.* II 323; Pedersen 85.
- 66 Muq. 405.
- 67 Muq. 405, 408; Iṣṭ. 91.
- 68 Iṣṭ. 167; Ibn Ḥawq. 32f.
- 69 Ḥud. 123.
- 70 Iṣṭ. 280; Ibn Ḥawq. 451; Ḥud. 108.
- 71 Muq. 414. Schwarz IV 356.
- 72 Ibn Ḥawq.² 335.
- 73 Muq. 391, 396.
- 74 Iṣṭ. 262.
- 75 Muq. 465. Schwarz III 272.

sicum' after this country (in Kāshān,⁷⁶ Rayy⁷⁷ and Isfahan).⁷⁸ There were also apples and pears (Khuzistan,⁷⁹ Shushtar,⁸⁰ Iṣṭakhr,⁸¹ Kirman,⁸² Jibāl,⁸³ Isfahan,⁸⁴ Rayy,⁸⁵ Qumis,⁸⁶ Biṣṭam,⁸⁷ Gurgan,⁸⁸ Ṭabaristan,⁸⁹ Bamiyan⁹⁰ and Marval-Rōdh),⁹¹ quinces (Isfahan⁹² and Nishapur),⁹³ pomegranates (Hulwan,⁹⁴ Khuzistan,⁹⁵ Isfahan,⁹⁶ near Dāmghān⁹⁷ and in Gurgan)⁹⁸ as well as currants and other berries (Fars).⁹⁹ Finally we must mention citrus fruit (Khuzistan,¹⁰⁰ Shushtar,¹⁰¹ Sus,¹⁰² Fars,¹⁰³ Gīruft¹⁰⁴ in Kirman, Daylam,¹⁰⁵ Gurgan¹⁰⁶ and

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- 76 Muq. 390.
 77 Muq. 396.
 78 Ibn Rustah 156. See also Schwarz VII 879f.
 79 Muq. 402.
 80 Muq. 405.
 81 Muq. 436.
 82 Muq. 462, 465.
 83 Iṣṭ. 199; Ḥud. 132.
 84 Muq. 389.
 85 Muq. 385.
 86 Muq. 353.
 87 Muq. 356.
 88 Muq. 357.
 89 Iṣṭ. 211.
 90 Iṣṭ. 280.
 91 Ḥud. 105. Also Bust and Ghazna: Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 121, 123.
 92 Ibn Ḥawq. 364; Ibn Rustah 156.
 93 Muq. 316.
 94 Iṣṭ. 200.
 95 Muq. 402.
 96 Ibn Rustah 156.
 97 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 5.
 98 Muq. 357.
 99 Muq. 420.
 100 Muq. 402.
 101 Muq. 405; Nāṣir-i Khosraw 91.
 102 Ibn Ḥawq. 175; Ḥud. 130.
 103 Ibn Ḥawq. 184.
 104 Muq. 465.
 105 Muq. 353; Ḥud. 135.
 106 Muq. 354, 357; Bayh. 461; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 113.

Balkh)¹⁰⁷ and grapes¹⁰⁸ (Khuzistan,¹⁰⁹ Shushtar,¹¹⁰ Sābūr in Fars,¹¹¹ Jibāl,¹¹² Sistan,¹¹³ Herat,¹¹⁴ Zarang,¹¹⁵ Bust,¹¹⁶ Nishapur¹¹⁷ and the surrounding area,¹¹⁸ [389] several places in Khurasan,¹¹⁹ Balkh,¹²⁰ Daylam,¹²¹ Gurgan,¹²² | Marv,¹²³ Marv al-Rōdh,¹²⁴ Kish,¹²⁵ along the lower reaches of the Oxus near Khwarazm¹²⁶ and Ispējāb).¹²⁷ Besides winemaking,¹²⁸ these grapes were widely used for raisins. Of great importance were also figs (Hulwan,¹²⁹ Fars,¹³⁰ Kohistan,¹³¹ around Nishapur,¹³² Daylam¹³³ and Gurgan)¹³⁴ and dates (mainly Kirman including

107 Iṣṭ. 280; Ḥud. 108.

108 On the different types of grapes in the empire see Mez 406f. Wild grapevines grew in western Georgia (near the Black Sea), in Armenia on the banks of the Terek, and as far as the Talysh mountains, also further east in Gilan and as far as Turkestan. See Viktor Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien*, Berlin 1902, 87f.

109 Muq. 402.

110 Muq. 405.

111 Muq. 433; see Ḥud. 127.

112 Iṣṭ. 244/48; Ibn Ḥawq. 318.

113 A list of the names may be found in Schwarz VII 881.

114 Muq. 306. Grapes from Herat were considered to be of particularly high quality: Muq. 326; Ḥud. 104.

115 Muq. 306.

116 Muq. 304; Iṣṭ. 245.

117 Muq. 316.

118 Muq. 318.

119 Ḥud. 104f.

120 Iṣṭ. 278f.

121 Muq. 353; Iṣṭ. 208; Ibn Ḥawq. 379.

122 Muq. 275; Thaʿālibī, Laṭ. 113.

123 Muq. 299.

124 Iṣṭ. 270.

125 Muq. 283.

126 Muq. 289.

127 Muq. 275.

128 See pp. 512 and 515 below.

129 Iṣṭ. 200.

130 Muq. 424.

131 Muq. 389.

132 Muq. 318.

133 Muq. 353.

134 Muq. 354, 357; Iṣṭ. 213; Ibn Ḥawq. 382.

Hormuz, which supplied all of Persia,¹³⁵ also Khuzistan,¹³⁶ Rāmhōrmizd,¹³⁷ Fars,¹³⁸ Ṭabasayn in Kohistan,¹³⁹ Sistan,¹⁴⁰ Isfahan¹⁴¹ and Gurgan;¹⁴² in Jibāl ‘the palm trees remained small’).¹⁴³ Dates that had been blown off the tree by the wind were not the property of the tree’s owner, but could be collected by the poor.¹⁴⁴ We must furthermore mention walnuts (Khuzistan,¹⁴⁵ Fars,¹⁴⁶ especially around Ištakhr,¹⁴⁷ Kirman,¹⁴⁸ Kohistan,¹⁴⁹ Rayy,¹⁵⁰ Daylam,¹⁵¹ Samarkand,¹⁵² Fergana¹⁵³ and Gōzgān),¹⁵⁴ almonds (Fars,¹⁵⁵ Rayy),¹⁵⁶ hazelnuts (Qom)¹⁵⁷ and spices, including the much-loved garlic (produced near Nishapur¹⁵⁸ and in Ṭabaristan),¹⁵⁹ pistachios (Qom¹⁶⁰ and Ṭabas),¹⁶¹ caraway (Hormuz¹⁶² and Kirman)¹⁶³ and asafoetida (Marv,¹⁶⁴ Andarāb in Khurasan).¹⁶⁵

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- 135 Muq. 459, 463, 469; Išt. 162, 166; Ibn Ḥawq.² 140, 312; Ḥud. 125; Ya’q., Buld. 286. See Mez 409; Schwarz III 271.
- 136 Išt. 91, 94; Ibn Ḥawq.² 254, 257.
- 137 Muq. 407.
- 138 Muq. 420f., 424; Ibn Ḥawq. 184; Ya’q., Buld. 362; Išt. 128.
- 139 Išt. 284.
- 140 Ḥud. 110.
- 141 Ibn Rustah 156.
- 142 Muq. 354; Išt. 213; Ibn Ḥawq. 382; Ya’q., Buld. 277.
- 143 Išt. 201; Ibn Ḥawq. 370; Ḥud. 132.
- 144 Išt. 167; Ḥud. 124.
- 145 Išt. 91; Ibn Ḥawq.² 254.
- 146 Muq. 420; Ibn Ḥawq. 184.
- 147 Muq. 437.
- 148 Muq. 459.
- 149 Muq. 389.
- 150 Muq. 389.
- 151 Išt. 208; Ibn Ḥawq. 379.
- 152 Muq. 279.
- 153 Muq. 271.
- 154 Išt. 270.
- 155 Muq. 420.
- 156 Muq. 393.
- 157 Išt. 200.
- 158 Muq. 319.
- 159 Muq. 354, 359.
- 160 Išt. 200.
- 161 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 95.
- 162 Išt. 167; Ibn Ḥawq. 32.
- 163 Ḥud. 123.
- 164 Ḥud. 105.
- 165 Ḥud. 108, 110.

We also see diligent cultivation of cash crops, such as saffron (Jibāl,¹⁶⁶ Nahavand,¹⁶⁷ Qom,¹⁶⁸ Kohistan,¹⁶⁹ Isfahan¹⁷⁰ and Bust),¹⁷¹ hemp (Isfahan),¹⁷² flax (Ṭabaristan,¹⁷³ Marv),¹⁷⁴ cotton, indigo (introduced by ‘Aḍud al-Dawla)¹⁷⁵ (Sīr[a]gān and Mughūn in Kirman,¹⁷⁶ Hormuz),¹⁷⁷ reeds (Ahvaz,¹⁷⁸ Sus¹⁷⁹ and the district of Sābūr in Fars)¹⁸⁰ and the production of carmine (Azerbaijan).¹⁸¹ [390] Flowers such as violets (Khuzistan),¹⁸² roses (Shiraz and its environs),¹⁸³ water lilies (Balkh),¹⁸⁴ jasmine and daffodils were grown for the production of scent, but they were also planted for purely decorative purposes¹⁸⁵ in gardens and parks, where they would often be shaded by trees, especially poplars.¹⁸⁶ The cultivation of flowers also allowed for beekeeping. There was an abundance of honey and wax¹⁸⁷ produced (Arraghān,¹⁸⁸ Tārom¹⁸⁹ in Fars, Isfahan¹⁹⁰ and Azerbaijan;¹⁹¹ similarly in Khazar territory).¹⁹²

166 Iṣṭ. 199; Ḥud. 132. Schwarz VII 869–71.

167 Muq. 393.

168 Ḥud. 133; ‘Iqd III 258.

169 Muq. 384.

170 Ibn Rustah 157; Tha‘ālibī, Laṭ., I 10.

171 Ḥud. III. The main export region for saffron was Jibāl: Karabaček, Nadelmalerei 52ff.; Mez 412.

172 Ibn Rustah 157.

173 Muq. 354.

174 Ḥud. 105.

175 Athīr VIII 518.

176 Muq. 465f.

177 Iṣṭ. 167; Ibn Ḥawq. 32f.

178 Iṣṭ. 90.

179 Muq. 405.

180 Muq. 433.

181 Ḥud. 142.

182 Muq. 414.

183 Muq. 432.

184 Iṣṭ. 280; Ibn Ḥawq.² 451; Ḥud. 108.

185 Pedersen 85.

186 See Bayh. 345, and also 346f., as well as the numerous miniatures showing Persian gardens in manuscripts.

187 Azerbaijan: Ḥud. 142.

188 Ibn Ḥawq. 177.

189 Aghānī/Cairo VI 271, l. 5–7; Muq. 429.

190 Ibn Rustah 157; Tha‘ālibī, Laṭ. 110.

191 Ḥud. 142.

192 Muq. 355.

We have only limited knowledge concerning the legal position of individual peasants. What information we have on the legal provisions after the Arabs had conquered the country really only concerns that part of Mesopotamia that had until then been under Persian sovereignty. We may, however, assume that the approach in Iran proper would have been similar. It was stipulated that peasants could remain on the land they held, as long as they paid the *jizya*¹⁹³ and confirmed their status as *dhimmīs*.¹⁹⁴ The property of the ruling dynasty, on the other hand, fell to state control. This was also the case with the lands belonging to fire sanctuaries and fortresses, the territories of water reservoirs as well as public and postal roads. Lands belonging to nobles who had left with the Sasanids as well as lands belonging to peasants who had fought against the Arabs in the Sasanid army were also seized. The latter action, however, was reversed by order of the caliph 'Umar and, at the same time, detained peasants were freed. Peasants were also recalled to *agri deserti* as long as they showed themselves willing to accept Arab rule. If a number of deserted lands were taken over and ploughed by peasants living around it, this was tolerated; indeed, cultivating the soil remained the main criterion of ownership.

Privately owned Sasanid lands and property of the treasury remained in the possession of the Arabs (*al-ṣawāfi* = seized land).¹⁹⁵ Such lands were then decreed by law to be used for the fighters' portion of the booty (*ḡay'*),¹⁹⁶ especially for those who fought in the battles of al-Qādisiyya and Jalūlā'. A fifth, | ^[391] however, was reserved for the treasury in Damascus. With this kind of general regulation, there would of course be all manner of disputes, not least because the Arab tribes – especially in Mesopotamia – appeared inclined to settle on the conquered lands, in particular west of the Tigris,¹⁹⁷ and once more live in closed tribal groups.¹⁹⁸ At this early stage actual settlement in Persia proper was rare and limited to a few places, such as Qom¹⁹⁹ and here and there in

193 Concerning the tax see pp. 449–54 below.

194 These were probably mostly Christians and members of Baptist sects (considered to be 'Šābians' by the Muslims). Even so, the Zoroastrians were treated in exactly the same manner; see p. 184f. above.

195 Abū Yūsuf 16–22, esp. 20ff. See Dozy, *Suppl.* I 838 (right).

196 Māwardī 217–45; Abū Yūsuf 10–13. Lökk. 38–72.

197 Purchasing lands to the east of the Tigris, between Hulwan and al-Qādisiyya, was initially prohibited: Ṭab. I 2471.

198 Ṭab. I 2371f., 2427, 2467–68, 2539f.: several accounts, agreeing in the main, which are in opposition to later Islamic legal usage and legal construction. Consequently they convey an appearance of genuineness, in particular as they correspond to the information Egyptian papyri, as original documents, provide about Egypt.

199 See p. 248 above.

Khurasan. We can safely presume that the conditions here were similar to those in Mesopotamia. In any case, the peasant population remained sedentary in both regions, living in some areas, such as Khwarazm during the seventh-eighth centuries, yet not in villages or winter settlements (later called Turk. *qyshlaq*) but in separate farmsteads, which would be enclosed by walls for safety reasons, including as protection against robbers from the steppes.²⁰⁰ The legal situation of the inhabitants of the countryside changed with their masters, while tax practice remained the same at first and only gradually assimilated to changing needs and new theories.²⁰¹

Crucially, the Arabs did not substantially interfere with the social structures of Iran. The fast adoption of Islam in particular among the landed nobility (*dēhkāns*) led to a development whose effects have already been sketched²⁰² and which was of great importance for Iran. We do not hear anything about the situation changing for centuries to come. We only know that later it became possible to buy and sell land,²⁰³ a development that is most likely causally linked to the desire of the Arabs to be able to acquire property in the conquered territories. Only once state property was given in fief do we see a major change in the legal situation.²⁰⁴ While the peasant would not to begin with [392] become the property of the | feudal lord, he would have a duty to serve the latter. Once financial hardship and other difficulties of the state grew, with the consequence that fiefs given as a reward to soldiers became hereditary fiefs during the early Seljuk era, the peasants became practically bondsmen of their feudal lords.²⁰⁵ The duties they had towards their feudal lords will be discussed below.

Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry was closely linked to agriculture. The most important small domesticated animal in Iran was (and is) the sheep, which was kept in all regions of the country.²⁰⁶ It was essential as a source of meat and milk as well

200 Terenožkin 178. The density of settlements in Khwarazm is discussed in a study by S.L. Volin, 'K istorii drevnego Chorezma' ('On the history of ancient Khwarazm'), in *VDI* 1941/1, 193ff.

201 Concerning taxes see pp. 454ff. below.

202 See p. 135 above.

203 TS 176, 177 (815–19, or 821 in Sistan).

204 The development of the feudal system will be discussed on pp. 446–48 below.

205 *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. V. Uzun. 62.

206 In the region of Qumis: Muq. 356. In *Jibāl* (especially fat-tailed sheep): Išt. 203; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 373. // The 'Kurds' in Kohistan: Išt. 274, and Fars: Ibn Ḥawq. 2 271. The Isma'ili Kurds, a clan

as wool. Breeding cows, on the other hand, played a very minor part and is only mentioned specifically in Gōzġān(ān).²⁰⁷ Horse breeding was less closely linked to agriculture. Its centres were Khurasan (with Ghazna),²⁰⁸ Gōzġān²⁰⁹ and Khuttal,²¹⁰ as well as in Tukharistan,²¹¹ among the nomads in the region of Isfahan and on the island of Kīsh.²¹² The stud farms in Central Asia were also important; indeed, the peoples living here were the main reason for the horse becoming used as a riding animal rather than a draught animal.²¹³

The camel was of decisive significance in the civilized countries of Western Asia, as a mount as well as a beast of burden. When it came to breeding this animal, Iran, and in particular Balkh (ancient Bactria), had a long and deep experience.²¹⁴ In order to improve the breed, camel bulls were often imported from Sind.²¹⁵ | Other regions of Persia were also famed for breeding this most important of the larger domesticated animals, namely the region of Qumis²¹⁶ [393] and Sarakhs in Khurasan,²¹⁷ as well as the 'Kurdish' nomadic tribes in Gōzġān, Kohistan and Fars,²¹⁸ and the Arab Bedouin in Gōzġān.²¹⁹ Due to the size of the herds their owners, and indeed entire tribes that bred livestock, became dependent on the distribution of grazing lands. This is explicitly emphasized in the sources as well,²²⁰ and we know which were the most prized pasture

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- of the Shabānkāra: ca. 1050: Ibn al-Balkhī 164. In Tukharistan and among the Arabs in Gōzġān: Ĥud. 107f.; Iṣṭ. 271; Ibn Ĥawq.² 443. Schwarz VII 886f. The centre of sheep breeding in Khurasan was around Badhghis (Iṣṭ. 269), while people elsewhere had to rely on imports from the country of the Oghuz, from Ghōr and the country of the Khalaj Turks: Iṣṭ. 281; Ibn Ĥawq.² 452. The Khazars were also famous for the sheep they bred: Muq. 355.
- 207 Ĥud. 107.
- 208 Ĥud. 102f. Hirth, *Länder*, 44f. = Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, 138f.
- 209 Ĥud. 106.
- 210 Iṣṭ. 279. See A.M. Belenickiy, 'Chuttal'skaja lošad' v legend i istoričeskom predanii' ('The Khuttal horse in legend and historical tradition'), in *Sovetskaja étnografiya* IV, 1948, 162–67 (with much information on pre-Islamic times as well).
- 211 Ĥud. 108.
- 212 Ibn Ĥawq.² 271; Hirth, *Länder*, 44f.; Schwarz VII 874, 885f.
- 213 Summarised in Josef Wiesner, *Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im Alten Orient*, Leipzig 1939.
- 214 Iṣṭ. 280f.; Hirth, *Länder*, 44f. = Hirth and Rockhill 138f.
- 215 Muq. 482.
- 216 Muq. 356. Schwarz VII 886.
- 217 Iṣṭ. 281; Ibn Ĥawq.² 452; Ĥud. 104.
- 218 Iṣṭ. 271, 274; Ibn Ĥawq.² 271, 443, 446.
- 219 Ĥud. 108.
- 220 Ĥus. 104 (in 1160 the Khwarazm-shāh ordered a Seljuk to go to Gurgan because of the pasture for his horses).

areas,²²¹ including those designated for fattened livestock.²²² Stealing animals was always common among nomads and is reported even about rulers as late as 1118 in Fars.²²³ The pastures there were obviously already part of the Seljuk princes' royal domain and it would be the same under the Mongol Ilkhans.

It goes without saying that the pig, although the main source of meat for the European peoples and the Chinese, did not play a part with the Muslim Iranians. It had, however, been known to the Sasanids.²²⁴ For a Samanid prince to keep lions to guard his gate²²⁵ was merely a whim. In those days the king of the animals was known in Iran (sighted in the Zagros Mountains in 1009–10²²⁶ and near Tirmidh in 1032),²²⁷ but only as a beast of prey to be hunted.²²⁸ The fact that there was an elephant house²²⁹ shows that attempts, which never were very successful in Iran, were made to use elephants as well as riding camels²³⁰ on military campaigns.²³¹ Despite such efforts, elephants never acquired the same military importance in Iran that they had in India and southeast Asia.

[394] Vermin native to Iran, which had been living there since time immemorial, including scorpions,²³² fleas, lice, bugs, and also venomous snakes,²³³ were too commonplace for historians to pay any attention to them; geographers, however, mention them occasionally.²³⁴

221 The region of Hulwan (for the caliphs' mounts): Ya'q., Buld. 270. At the foot of the Chālūs mountain on the border of Ṭabaristan and Jibāl (864): Ṭab. III 1524; Gilan: Iṣṭ. 205. Grazing rights and laws (with particular reference to Mesopotamia) are discussed in Abū Yūsuf 58–60.

222 An island in the Caspian Sea for cattle from Caucasia and other neighbouring regions: Iṣṭ. 218.

223 Bund. 122.

224 Athīr II 159; in 634 a Persian general refers to his soldiers as swineherds in order to describe their savageness.

225 Must. I 381. See p. 351 above.

226 Athīr IX 73. As *sab'*, 'wild animal' is soon used synonymously with *asad*, 'lion' in this text; it is probable that the first instance refers to a lion as well (which *sab'* also denotes in the specific sense).

227 Bayh. 239.

228 See p. 511 below.

229 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Shiraz (ca. 970): Zark. 34.

230 Ṭab. II 169 (ca. 675 during the campaign against Bukhara).

231 With regards to the Sasanids: Christensen² 208 after Ammianus Marcellinus.

232 Because of the numerous scorpions, Shahrazur and Kāshān in Iran were notorious (breeding ground in the adjacent desert): Yāq. V 312; VII 13.

233 According to Misk. I 299, in 934 they were even found in the governor's palace in Shiraz and found their way (according to Yāq. I 382) into the clothes of people in Ahvaz.

234 Schwarz VII (vermin and beasts of prey in Jibāl).

Crafts and Manufacturing²³⁵

As regards the manufacture of goods, the textile industry was of great importance in Persia, with the manufacture of silks²³⁶ of all kinds (*qazz* = *khazz*; *dēbā(h)* = damask; atlas; plush) being the most significant of all. Silk weaving mills are found in particular in the north of the country, along the old Silk Road²³⁷ (Marv,²³⁸ Gurgan,²³⁹ especially in Astarābād,²⁴⁰ Amul and Sārī[ya], in Ṭabaristan,²⁴¹ Daylam,²⁴² Nishapur,²⁴³ Bust,²⁴⁴ Isfahan,²⁴⁵ Shushtar,²⁴⁶ and to a great extent in Khuzistan²⁴⁷ – and also in Fars²⁴⁸ in Arraghān²⁴⁹ and Shiraz).²⁵⁰ The north of the country was also the home of silk doubling mills,²⁵¹ while the manufacture of silk embroidery (‘needle | painting’: *sōzangird*)²⁵² settled in [395]

235 Christensen¹ 121f. discusses the crafts during the Sasanid era and their introduction (frequently by prisoners of war). The products of manufacturing, insofar as they are tradable goods, are summarised in the section on trade (pp. 400–8 below).

236 For the transport of silk between Persia and Byzantium see Mez 436, and Chavannes, Doc. 233ff.

237 See Albert Herrmann’s studies, *Die alten Seidenstraßen zwischen China und Syrien*, I, 1911; id., ‘Die Seidenstraßen von China nach dem Römischen Reich’, in *Mitt. der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 1915, 472ff. (not always reliable). The influence of Bukhara on the production of woven goods must have been very great indeed: Minorsky, ‘Geographical Factors’, 627. See R. Hennig, ‘Die Einführung der Seidenraupenzucht ins Byzantinische Reich’, in *Byz. Zeitschrift* xxxiii (1933), 295–312.

238 Ḥud. 105, Nāšir-i Khosraw 275.

239 Ḥud. 133.

240 Muq. 358.

241 Ibn Ḥawq. 212; Ḥud. 134.

242 Muq. 353; Ḥud. 133.

243 Ya’q., Buld. 278; Ḥud. 102; Tha’alibī, Laṭ. 116; Nāšir-i Khosraw 280.

244 Ḥud. 110.

245 Ḥud. 131.

246 Muq. 409; Ḥud. 131; Tha’alibī, Laṭ. 107.

247 Muq. 402; Iṣṭ. 92f. [AD]; Tha’alibī, Laṭ. 107.

248 Muq. 420.

249 Muq. 425.

250 Muq. 431, 442.

251 Here Persian silk had shown itself to be superior to the Sogdian kind, and it seems that when the Arabs invaded, the Sogdian silk industry had already ceased to exist: Barthold, *Orošenīya* 11f.

252 See Karabacek, *Nadelmalerei*, on the subject; on the term see Kremer, *Cultur*. II 297 and Herzfeld, *Sam*. VI 223 (who doubts Karabacek’s interpretation).

Khuzistan,²⁵³ and the manufacture of embroidered silk edgings had its home in Luristān.²⁵⁴

Wool (produced in Amul,²⁵⁵ Daylam,²⁵⁶ Azerbaijan,²⁵⁷ in parts of Khuzistan²⁵⁸ and in Fars, especially in Iṣṭakhr)²⁵⁹ and cotton manufacturing²⁶⁰ (Herat,²⁶¹ Nishapur and environs,²⁶² Rayy,²⁶³ Ṭabaristan,²⁶⁴ Amul,²⁶⁵ Jibāl,²⁶⁶ Isfahan,²⁶⁷ Shushtar²⁶⁸ and Khuzistan²⁶⁹ in general, Ṭawwaj²⁷⁰ and Azerbaijan)²⁷¹ followed closely behind. Spun yarns were used to make robes,²⁷² coats,²⁷³ aprons and handkerchiefs,²⁷⁴ carpets²⁷⁵ (their flowery patterns inspired by the

253 Ibn Ḥawq.² 256; Ḥud. 131. Schwarz IV 424.

254 Muq. 409. See p. 405 below.

255 Muq. 359. Kremer, *Cultur.* II 288.

256 Muq. 353.

257 Ḥud. 142.

258 Muq. 402.

259 Muq. 438; 'Iqd III 257 (where more cities are listed). Schwarz III 162.

260 Its position was similar to that of linen in the West: Mez 435f. (including detailed information on processing, outside of Persia as well).

261 Ḥud. 104. Kremer, *Cultur.* II 287 (after Kāmil 656).

262 Ḥud. 103.

263 Ḥud. 132; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. III.

264 Ibn Isf. 31; Ibn Ḥawq. 381; 'Iqd III 258. Woven fabrics from Ṭabaristan are mentioned in the context of making a *divan* (sofa), by Tan. 560.

265 Ḥud. 134f.

266 Ḥud. 131. Schwarz VI 714 (esp. Qazvin).

267 Browne, *Isf.* 24.

268 Muq. 409; Yāq. II 387f.; 'Iqd. III 257.

269 Muq. 402.

270 Yāq. II 426; see also *ibid.* VII 206 (Kāzrūn).

271 Ḥud. 142; Yāq. II 362 (s.v. Tabriz).

272 Muq. 392 (near Kāshān: in particular *tailasān*); Ibn Isf. 31; Ya'q., Buld. 277 (Ṭabaristan); Ya'q., Buld. 276 (Dāmghān); *ibid.* 279 (Marv); Muq. 466; Ibn Ḥawq. 233 (Bamm); Ibn Ḥawq. 213 (Ṭawwaj and Fasa in Fars).

273 Muq. 396 (Isfahan).

274 Ibn Ḥawq. 381 (Ṭabaristan); Muq. 367 (Qumis); Ḥud. 135 (Dāmghān); Yaq. v 129 (Simmān).

275 They distinguished between carpets from Armenia (the most prized), Bukhara and Fars (with 'needle painting'): Iṣṭ. 153. Mez 436f.; Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 222 (technical terms). Other carpet-manufacturing centres were in: Ṭabas (Nāṣir-i Khosraw 95); Amul (Rust 150; Aghānī/Cairo v 428, l. 8; Ḥud. 134: mats); Isfahan (Ibn Rustah 153); Sistan (Ḥud. 110; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 124); Fars (Muq. 420; Ḥud. 129); Khuzistan (Muq. 416; Iṣṭ. 93; Ibn Ḥawq. 175; Ḥud. 131).

Persians' love of blossoms and gardens),²⁷⁶ wall coverings,²⁷⁷ curtains,²⁷⁸ and, finally, felt.²⁷⁹ Despite | this great importance of the weaving industry, here, [396] as was the case elsewhere in the Orient,²⁸⁰ weaving was considered one of the 'unclean' trades.²⁸¹ The manufacture of linen fabrics was of smaller significance.²⁸² Furriers are also mentioned only rarely.²⁸³ Some places specialized in the manufacture of braces (the district of Ṭus),²⁸⁴ shoelaces (Tikak; Armenia and al-Ṭīb in Khuzistan),²⁸⁵ caparisons and other leather goods.²⁸⁶ Manufacturing paper from textile scraps, which was the Chinese way, was introduced in Samarkand in 751 by captured Chinese experts after the battle of Ṭarāz (Talas). From here²⁸⁷ it would gradually spread all over Iran. [397]

276 See also Pedersen 87f.

277 Darabgird, Ṭawwaj, Ṭarom: Iṣṭ. 93, 153; Ibn Ḥawq.² 256; Muq. 442.

278 Ahvaz: Muq. 416; Ḥud. 131.

279 Particularly famous Ṭāliqān: Ya'q., Buld. 287 and Ḥud. 107; furthermore Dāmghān: Ḥud. 135. Kremer, *Cultur.* II 288 and n. 6; for a general overview see Schwarz VII 888–90.

280 See Franz Taeschner and Wilhelm Schumacher, *Der anatolische Dichter Nāṣirī and his Futuvvetnāma*, Leipzig 1944, 12, 61 = Arab. 12, v. 101f. of Nāṣirī's didactic poem (rejecting the weavers as members of the *futūwa*); includes further references.

281 See e.g. Aghānī/Būlāq XIV 143.

282 Especially in Fars (near Sābūr, in Kāzrūn and near Ṭawwaj): Muq. 420, 433, 435; Ḥud. 126; in parts of Khuzistan: Muq. 412; in Ṭabaristan: Ibn Isf. 31; and in Daylam: Ḥud. 133; also in Amul: Ḥud. 134, and Gurgan: 'Iqd III 258. See Mez 434f.

283 Ya'q., Buld. 278 (Ṭus: sable, fennec and squirrel furs among others).

284 Ḥud. 103.

285 Ibn Ḥawq. 176; Ḥud. 131; Iṣṭ. 188; Ibn Ḥawq.² 344; Muq. 380. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 98; BGA IV 186 (= dictionary).

286 Ḥud. 106 (Gōzgān); Nāṣir-i Khosraw 280 (Nishapur); Schwarz VII 890.

287 Muq. 326; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 126; Sam. 472 v describes Samarkand as the only centre of paper manufacture in the East. See Franke II 444 with III 392; Barthold, *Turk.* 236; Karabacek, 'Das arabische Papier' (the theory expressed here that rag paper was invented in Samarkand rather than by the Chinese is not tenable; see Stein, *Serindia* I 650–73). Bertold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Chicago 1919, 559, considers the Arabic – Persian word for paper (*kāghidh*) to be of Turkish rather than Chinese origin. A new picture of the expansion of paper manufacture in the Muslim Orient can be found in Kūrkis 'Awwād, 'Al-waraq aw al-kāghidh, ṣinā'atuh fi 'l-'uṣūr al-islāmiya' ('Paper and its manufacture in Islamic times'), in *Majallat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'arabī* XXIII (Damascus 1948), 409–38. The Chinese craftspeople who came to Mesopotamia on this occasion are studied, with reference to a Chinese source, by Paul Pelliot, 'Des artisans chinois à la capitale Abbaside 753–762', in *T'oung-Pao* XXVI (1929), 110–12.

A second great branch of Iranian manufacture was concerned with pottery of every kind²⁸⁸ (Ṭus,²⁸⁹ which also produced grindstones, Kāshān, near Nishapur,²⁹⁰ near Qumis,²⁹¹ Rayy, Isfahan).²⁹² A particular type of pottery, Khwarazmian ware, was distinguished by its lightness and thinness.²⁹³ On the evidence of excavations, a further centre of the ceramics industry was in Afrāsiyāb (Nishapur) and its importance increased with the economic upturn under the Samanids.²⁹⁴ Manufacture of faience as well as bottles and vials was also based here,²⁹⁵ as well in Kāshān.²⁹⁶ These were used in the preparation of scents, the manufacture of rose, violet and palm shoot waters (Fars)²⁹⁷ and pomades.²⁹⁸ The latter may have been inspired in turn by the school of medicine and natural sciences in Gondēshāpūr.²⁹⁹

It is remarkable how little mention is made of smiths. There are occasional references to locks³⁰⁰ and sword blades³⁰¹ being made and the art of the coppersmith flourished in Sistan, ultimately producing the ruling dynasty that originated from these parts: the ‘Šaffārids.’³⁰² Due to what was even then only

288 Mauric Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l’Islam et ses origines*, Paris 1920. M.S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Cuts*, New York 1930. K. Raymond, *Mission en Susiane: Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre* (Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique française en Perse XIX; Paris 1928).

289 Ḥud. 103.

290 Ibn Ḥawq.² 434.

291 Muq. 367.

292 Ḥud. 132, 384 (Rayy potteries). Schwarz VII 891.

293 Terenožkin 187. Concerning the familiarity with porcelain see Franke II 444 with III 392; Paul Kahle, ‘Islamische Quellen zum chinesischen Porzellan’, in *ZDMG* LXXXVIII (1934), 1–45.

294 Thus Kurt Erdmann, ‘Die Keramik von Afrasiab’, 28 (in *Berliner Museen* LXIII, 2/4 (1942), 18–28). See also concerning Nishapur: ‘The Iranian Expedition 1936’, in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XXXII/10 (New York 1937), 3–22 (detailed information on individual finds by Charles Wilkinson), 23–36 (on floor and wall decorations by Walter Hauser), 37f. (on coins). Furthermore: ‘The Iranian Expedition 1937’, in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XXXIII/11 (New York 1938).

295 *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XXXVII/4 (New York 1942), 82.

296 Muq. 390, 396; Yāq. VII 13.

297 Ḥud. 126; Muq. 433; Tha’ālibī, Laṭ. 109; ‘Iqd III 257; Mas. IV 78. Schwarz II 94f.; III 165f.

298 Sābūr (Fars): Muq. 445.

299 Thus Kremer, *Cultur.* II 316f. See also Pedersen 86.

300 Muq. 396 (Isfahan).

301 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 284.

302 Nöldeke, *Or. Sk.* 188 and n. 2.

sparse tree cover³⁰³ on the Iranian plateau, furniture manufacture was based in the wooded regions along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. *Khalang* (burl)³⁰⁴ and sandalwood³⁰⁵ were used for the manufacture of fine pieces.

Food production, including bakeries, is not usually mentioned in our [398] sources, because it was seen as too mundane. The exception to this was the producers of confectionery,³⁰⁶ who were famous all over the East from ancient times. As everywhere in the region until recent times, craftsmen would live in close local proximity within bazaars³⁰⁷ and it is probable that they were organized into guilds.³⁰⁸ A Ṭabaristani ruler went further and around 765 united all the artists of his country in one place,³⁰⁹ an idea that would later be copied by the Mongols on the greatest scale possible, especially by Timur in Samarkand.

Mineral Resources

Besides agricultural produce and manufactured goods, Iran's contribution to the caliph's empire was important because it also included mineral resources. Up to a point, mineral resources, and where they were found, determined the position of manufacturing workshops.³¹⁰ Silver was the most important of the precious metals found in Iran. It was located in many parts of the country, although a number of mines had already been abandoned at that time.³¹¹ The most important regions are the country on both

303 See p. 387 n. above.

304 Ya'q., *Buld.* 277 (Gurgan); *Sam.* 205 v; Yāq. I 183 (Ardabil). Concerning *khalang* see Ibn Faḍlān 214f. (in the excursus, para. 73c.).

305 Ḥud. 134 (Sārī[ya] in Ṭabaristan). See Schwarz VII 872f.

306 Ardashīr-Khurra in Fars: Muq. 434.

307 Ibn Ḥawq.² 432. Jakubowskiy, *Mach.* 66f.

308 Unfortunately it has not been possible to find more detailed information on this subject. See Bernard Lewis, 'The Islamic Guilds', in *Economic History Review* 1937 (he traces some of the guilds' characteristics to the Ismailiya which could be compared to the later influence the *fitūwa* had on the Ottoman guilds).

309 Ibn Isf. 115.

310 The following summary should mainly be understood as a basis for the map at the end of the book. This is furthermore based on Schwarz VII 866–68 (Jibāl); the map accompanying the 'Persia' article in the *Encyclopedia Iranica* XXVI (Rome 1935), 814. The latter, however, only shows the minerals mined in the present day, and must consequently only be consulted while historical information is being taken into account.

311 Near Isfahan ca. 905: Ibn Rustah 156; Kōh-i Sim in Kirman: Ḥud. 104; Badghis: Iṣṭ. 269.

banks of the middle Oxus,³¹² also Kirman,³¹³ Ghör³¹⁴ and Fars.³¹⁵ Some place-
 [399] names refer directly to the silver deposits.³¹⁶ | Gold extraction (in Khuzistan,³¹⁷
 Azerbaijan,³¹⁸ Ṭabaristan,³¹⁹ Khurasan³²⁰ and present-day Afghanistan),³²¹ on
 the other hand, was less important, as is indicated by the silver currency used
 in Iran. Copper (Khuzistan,³²² Isfahan,³²³ Ṭus,³²⁴ Bukhara³²⁵ and Kirman),³²⁶
 zinc (Kirman),³²⁷ lead (Bamiyan,³²⁸ Kirman,³²⁹ Ṭus),³³⁰ antimony (Jibāl,³³¹
 Isfahan,³³² Ṭabaristan³³³ and Ṭus)³³⁴ and mercury (Darabgird,³³⁵ Bamiyan)³³⁶
 were mined only rarely. Within the Islamic territory the regions of Fars,³³⁷ as
 well as Kirman,³³⁸ Kabul,³³⁹ Fergana³⁴⁰ and Ṭabaristan,³⁴¹ were not without
 importance in the field of iron production.

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- 312 Iṣṭ. 279f.; Ibn Ḥawq.² 434, 445, 448f.; Muq. 275, 278, 298, 101; Ḥud. 102, 107; Yāq. I 345, II 291. Mez 416.
- 313 Iṣṭ. 163; Ibn Ḥawq.² 310f.; Muq 471; Abū 'l-Fidā, Géog. 335. Schwarz III 268.
- 314 Iṣṭ. 281; Ibn Ḥawq.² 445.
- 315 Ḥud. 129. Schwarz III 158; v 624f. (Isfahan).
- 316 The city (!) 'Jabal al-fidḍa' in the district of Badhghis: Iṣṭ. 268; Ibn Ḥawq. 440f. (see also Gümüşkhāna in Asia Minor). 'Kōh-i sīm' in Kirman in the Bārigān (Bāriz) mountains: Ḥud. 65, 104.
- 317 Muq. 402.
- 318 Three kinds of gold were distinguished in Shīz: Yāq. v 325.
- 319 Ibn Isf. 33f.
- 320 Ḥud. 102, 106f.
- 321 Athīr IX 56 (ca. 1000).
- 322 Muq. 402. Schwarz IV 419.
- 323 Ibn Rustah 156 (as far as Isfahan). Mez 416.
- 324 Ḥud. 103.
- 325 Muq. 324.
- 326 Ḥud. 65.
- 327 Muq. 459; Yāq. VII 242. Schwarz III 268.
- 328 Ya'q., Buld. 289.
- 329 Ḥud. 65.
- 330 Ḥud. 103.
- 331 Iṣṭ. 203; Ibn Ḥawq.² 372.
- 332 Ibn Rustah 156. Schwarz v 625.
- 333 Ibn Isf. 33f.
- 334 Ḥud. 103.
- 335 Yāq. IV 6.
- 336 Ya'q., Buld. 289.
- 337 Ḥud. 126; Ibn al-Faqīh 254; Yāq. I 276. Schwarz III 158.
- 338 Iṣṭ. 165 (in the Bāriz mountains); Muq. 471 (ditto). Schwarz III 268.
- 339 Ibn Ḥawq.² 328. Kremer, *Cultur.* II 283; Mez 416.
- 340 Ibn Ḥawq. 384.
- 341 Ḥud. 135f.

Besides metals the main minerals mined were potash (Isfahan),³⁴² asbestos, in particular for the manufacture of wicks (Khurasan),³⁴³ borax (on Lake Urmia),³⁴⁴ salt (Fars,³⁴⁵ Isfahan,³⁴⁶ Hamadan [by evaporation],³⁴⁷ Sistan,³⁴⁸ Daylam,³⁴⁹ eastern Khurasan),³⁵⁰ lapis lazuli (al-Khuttal and Badakhshan),³⁵¹ sulphur (Khuzistan,³⁵² Ṭabaristan),³⁵³ gum ammoniac (near Isfahan)³⁵⁴ and precious stones (near Tus,³⁵⁵ near Balkh³⁵⁶ and in Badakhshan).³⁵⁷ The main mineral of modern Persia, namely the oil found in the southwest of the country,³⁵⁸ had no economic importance. In the early Middle Ages it was used as an ointment to cure diseases of the bones.³⁵⁹ If it was used as a fuel at all, this was only during the manufacture of weapons.³⁶⁰

Trade

[400]

Although the leading Arab circles of the Umayyad state looked upon the activities of traders and merchants with explicit repugnance and obvious disdain,³⁶¹ the Persians had excelled in this field since the Sasanid era,³⁶² even though they were by no means the most exemplary mercantile nation of the East. Among

342 Ibn Rustah 158.

343 Muq. 303.

344 Ibn Ḥawq. 248.

345 Ibn Ḥawq.² 300; Ḥud. 128.

346 Ibn Rustah 158. Schwarz v 626.

347 Yāq. VI 372 (s.v. *farhān*).

348 Ḥud. 111; Zark. 18.

349 Ḥud. 134.

350 Ḥud. 109.

351 Iṣṭ. 279; Ḥud. 112.

352 Ibn Ḥawq.² 255.

353 Ibn Isf. 33f.; Nāṣir-i Khosraw 4. See Melgunof 24.

354 (Ushshaq) Ibn Rustah 157.

355 Ḥud. 103; Bīr. 352. Mez 418.

356 'Iqd III 257 (*bajādī/bazādī*; see Dozy, *Suppl.* I 81 s.v. *bazd*) (agate, beryl or hyacinth); Wollaston only 'beryl'. Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 114–16.

357 Ibn Ḥawq.² 434 (Khurasan); Muq. 303; Ḥud. 112; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 116.

358 Muq. 402.

359 In northern Mesopotamia as well as in southwest Persia: Yāq. I 180.

360 See p. 492 below.

361 Mez 442.

362 Christensen¹ 123f.

the nations of Iranian descent, the Sogdians³⁶³ are the one deserving this title with their far-reaching connections along the Silk Road.³⁶⁴ Their trading posts extended from Sughdaq on the Crimea, which was named after them (later Sudaq; Russ. Surož), as far as China.³⁶⁵ In Iran proper, there were some places where Jewish merchants controlled the exchange of goods³⁶⁶ and stimulated it significantly. They were mainly able to do this thanks to their extensive networks, which were spread as far as the Occident.³⁶⁷ Several towns had quarters named after the Jews (such as Isfahan), which survived even after there were no Jews living there anymore.³⁶⁸ In Bukhara, Shushtar³⁶⁹ and elsewhere,³⁷⁰ too, Jews were often working in the field of trade and commerce.

Nevertheless, the Persians themselves were by no means incompetent merchants.³⁷¹ The inhabitants of Fars and the population of Basra with its significant Iranian element were seen as the most able merchants in the Muslim community besides the southern Arabs.³⁷² They soon established colonies in Jeddah (the port of Mecca), in Syrian ports and in Egypt.³⁷³ A significant part of the sea traffic to India, Indonesia and the Far East was in the hands of Iranian traders. The outside world, of course, soon saw them and the Arabs as being members of one and the same Muslim community.³⁷⁴ The Iranians' competence in the field of trade grew with the expansion of the Islamic empire, which served to remove ancient political barriers. However, at this time as well as later,³⁷⁵ it was possible for trading caravans to cross even the borders of politically hostile states.³⁷⁶ In a foreign | country a company of traders would often

363 The Sogdians are described as a nation particularly gifted when it came to trade, e.g. Aghānī/Cairo III 138.

364 See Spuler, 'Mittelasiien', 315–17.

365 Ibn Ḥawq.¹ 365. Paul Pelliot, 'Le "Cha Thcheou Tou Fou T'ou King" et la colonie sogdienne de la région du Lob Nor', in *JA* ser. II, VII (1916), 111–23; Barthold, *Christ.* 32.

366 Muq. 400.

367 Mez 442f.

368 See p. 216 above.

369 Muq. 409; Misk. v 408. Mez 449f.

370 See p. 216 above.

371 'The population of Persia loves commerce' (Huei-ch'ao 450).

372 Mez 448.

373 Mez 448f.

374 See p. 431 below.

375 See Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 389.

376 After their surprise capture in 701 near Kish, Arab scouts passed themselves off as merchants (surely in the expectation of their lives being spared). Indeed, the Turks were satisfied with the gift of a cotton robe and a bow: Athīr IV 182.

present itself as an official legation, and this appears to have happened repeatedly in China. The famous mission from Hārūn al-Rashīd to Charlemagne, which is only mentioned in sources from the Occident, is likely to have been another such instance of this ploy.³⁷⁷ Competition from other peoples possessing a talent for commerce,³⁷⁸ including Greek Christians, who would later be able to spread as far as Gīruft in Kirman, also stimulated the Iranians. It was furthermore very important that – linguistically – other nations were gradually adopted as part of the Persian people. Such adoptees did not so much include members of the Jewish community, although there would certainly have been Muslim converts from here as there have been elsewhere throughout history, but rather consisted mainly of the Sogdians. During the Samanid and Seljuk eras they became nearly entirely Persian speaking, and since this time they felt that they were part of this people, while at the same time, of course, retaining their inherited mercantile abilities. Consequently the important trade with China along the Silk Road came to be in Persian hands and particular privileges on the part of the Uighurs³⁷⁹ helped it flourish during the early Middle Ages until the early years of the Mongol era. Trade with Eastern Europe,³⁸⁰ developing from Khwarazm and Gurgan in particular, and thus avoiding the perpetually dangerous route through Caucasia, also travelled through Iranian hands. This meant that over the centuries the Khwarazmians, too, became Persian speaking. In these contacts with the ‘uncivilized’ Central Asian peoples, ‘silent trade’ played an important role as well.³⁸¹

Due to most authors’ lack of interest in these matters, we have only very limited information on the customs of trade at the centre of the Empire: in Mesopotamia and Egypt.³⁸² This is even more true in the case of Iran: we only know that merchants wore the uniform of their guild,³⁸³ that in the bazaars the same branches of trade were situated together (as was the case with the craftsmen), that smaller towns had weekly market days³⁸⁴ where women

377 F.W. Buckler, *Harunu 'l-Rashid and Charles the Great*, Cambridge/Mass. 1931. (Walter Björkmann rejects this in *OLZ* 1933, 693–95). Franke, *Exterritorialität*, 16.

378 *Mez.* 450. In those days the Armenians were not yet among them.

379 *Mez* 444 and n. 3.

380 See *Mez* 443f.

381 *Mas.* IV 93. [‘silent trade’ refers to trade between groups who do not speak one another’s language and simply set out their wares and engage in silent exchange; see R. Hennig, ‘Der stumme Handel als Urform des Außenhandels’, *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, 11, 1917, 265–278: RGH].

382 *Mez* 453. See, however, the summary in the *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 663–84.

383 *Iṣṭ.* 138 (see also the section on ‘clothing’ p. 516f. below).

384 *Hud.* 136 (982; Pīrīm in Ṭabaristan); *Muq.* 405f.

frequently stood out as sellers,³⁸⁵ and that the great market and craftsmen's halls (in Qaysarīya)³⁸⁶ are mentioned in texts of that time (tenth century).

[402] The very advanced monetized economy³⁸⁷ and the ancient road network, which was very well built for its time,³⁸⁸ meant that during the ninth and tenth centuries, which is the only period about which we are informed, great trade centres and staple towns flourished. Some of these places had already been important in pre-Islamic times, and grew in importance with the wealth of the ruling classes. These centres were divided into those that were significant mainly for internal Persian trade or trade between Muslims and included places such as Ahvaz and Shushtar (for fabrics)³⁸⁹ as well as Rāmhōrmizd,³⁹⁰ all of which were in a particularly convenient location³⁹¹ in Khuzistan on the border between Mesopotamia and Iran. To the east they faced (in Fars) Arraghān with Māh(i)rūbān and Kāzrūn and, further east, Darabgird, where products that were made in Fars, but also those that came from overseas (about which more below), were stockpiled.³⁹² Further north Isfahan-Yahūdiya was the great staple town for Jibāl, Fars and Khurasan, especially for silk and cotton products, herbal dyes (saffron) and fruit. Dates and nuts were stored mainly in Şaymarā in the Zagros Mountains.³⁹³ Isfahan provided not only a connection with Mesopotamia, but also fulfilled essential functions within Iran.³⁹⁴ Nishapur was the great staple town for the East (Gurgan, Qumis and Rayy, but also south Persian and Indian wares).³⁹⁵

Snow, which was used for cooling and which was also in regular demand in Baghdad and Samarra, was stored in Gīruft in Kirman, along with dates, nuts and citrus fruit from Khurasan and Sistan.³⁹⁶ In the north the responsibility for providing snow fell to Māh(i)rūbān near Sāvā (in Jibāl), which was famous as a place where caravans were able to provision themselves with good water in abundance.³⁹⁷ On a more local level services were provided by Sirgān

385 Muq. 356 (Biyār east of Dāmghān).

386 Muq. 412 (Rāmhōrmizd), 433 (Kāzrūn; 985). See Mez 452 and EI II 706f.

387 See pp. 408ff. below.

388 See p. 426 f. below.

389 Muq. 409, 411, 416; Hud. 131.

390 Hud. 130.

391 Muq. 416.

392 Ibn Ḥawq.² 49; Muq. 433; Hud. 127 (all late tenth century); Nāṣir-i Khosraw 91.

393 Išt. 200.

394 Ibn Rustah 152; Išt. 199; Ibn Ḥawq.² 362f.

395 Muq. 315. Gafurov 177–82 has an overview of trade in Khwarazm.

396 Išt. 166.

397 Ibn Ḥawq.² 364f. Transport of snow-chilled fruit from Khwarazm: Tha'ālibi, Laṭ. 129.

(for Kirman),³⁹⁸ Tus-Thabārān,³⁹⁹ Gā(hi)garm (for the surrounding area),⁴⁰⁰ Herat (important for traffic between Fars and Khurasan),⁴⁰¹ Qāyin (for Kohistan),⁴⁰² Sarakhs (for the surrounding cities of Khurasan)⁴⁰³ and finally Fasa (for fruit from Balkh).⁴⁰⁴

Besides these inland staple towns, there were on the one hand the seaports, and on the other hand the great cities of international commerce, both of which were of much greater significance for international trade. While extensive, Persia's connections via the sea are also known to have been not altogether profitable, due to the extremely small number of navigable rivers, the climate and the danger arising from its geographical situation. Consequently marine trade, | despite its far-reaching and indeed most remarkable extent, did not achieve the importance it had in the great cities on the Mediterranean,⁴⁰⁵ or even in Basra, which had the advantage of a river linking it to Baghdad, Samarra and Mesopotamia in general. The great ports of Ganāva⁴⁰⁶ and Siraf (with Nagiram)⁴⁰⁷ took second place behind Basra⁴⁰⁸ regarding imports and exports throughout this time, and as early as the eleventh century they began to fall into disuse. Hormuz and the island of Kish (Qays) to the west, however, prevailed until later centuries, and even increased their importance and flourished. Thanks to the sea, these great commercial centres at the mouth of the Persian Gulf were comparatively safe from attacks from inland, and consequently they became the natural choice as staple markets for all traffic on this

398 Ḥud. 124.

399 Muq. 319.

400 Ḥud. 102 (982).

401 Iṣṭ. 265.

402 Muq. 321.

403 Iṣṭ. 273.

404 Ibn Ḥawq.² 281.

405 Henri Pirenne's suggestions concerning the changes in trade in the Mediterranean in the wake of the Muslim advance (which we are not going into here) and the necessity for the East Roman Empire to orient its trade policy towards the north and northeast, are pursued further by Alexandre Eek, 'La Méditerranée et l'Europe Occidentale', in *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* XVIII, Bucharest 1941, 31–48. After their conquest of Persia, the Arabs joined this North-South route by exploring the Caspian Sea, developing connections with the Khazars and sending their merchants all the way to Bulghār on the Volga, where they met the Normans, who were sailing downstream (ibid. 36).

406 Ibn Ḥawq.² 49; Ḥud. 127.

407 Iṣṭ. 153; Ibn Ḥawq.² 49; Ḥud. 127. Kremer, *Cultur.* II 276 (with the references there); Franke, *Exterritorialität*, 13f.; Franke II 550–552, III 428–31.

408 Ubulła was situated downstream of Basra as its outer harbour for the trade with China: Ṭab. I 2384 (ca. 637).

body of water (not only for Kirman),⁴⁰⁹ which also made them natural outer harbours for Basra. Although their position was far from central in the Iranian territory, they were Persia's true gates to the open seas and to India, as well as southern Arabia.⁴¹⁰ Due to the unbearable climate the merchants lived in scattered villas and settlements in the surrounding area.⁴¹¹

Iran, however, was more important as the great overland transit route to Central Asia as well as to India and China. The great market towns for trade with India were Bust⁴¹² (with Sistan and Fars as its hinterland), Ghazna and Kabul,⁴¹³ and these facilitated commerce with Khurasan and northern Persia. Imports from India comprised cotton garments and cloths, handkerchiefs and towels, hemp, silk, peas, wheat and barley; exports included slaves (Turkish, etc.), armour, mail shirts and good-quality weapons.⁴¹⁴ | In the north of the country, Paykand, Bukhara and Samarkand⁴¹⁵ provided the link to Central and Eastern Asia along the Silk Road, while Gurgan,⁴¹⁶ and in particular Khwarazm, were the starting points for commerce with the Volga lands (namely the Khazars, Volga-Bulgars and East Slavs). The Khazars themselves supplied only fish glue (*gisā*), but acted as agents for the trade in mercury, honey, wax, furs (mostly sable and fox) and skins with two other tribes⁴¹⁷ and the Mordvins.⁴¹⁸ In exchange they took cottons and silks from Samarkand, and also clothes and

409 Iṣṭ. 166; Ibn Ḥawq.² 311; Ḥud. 124.

410 Benj. I 89.

411 Iṣṭ. 166; Ibn Ḥawq.² 49f.

412 Iṣṭ. 245; Muq. 318; Ḥud. 110.

413 Iṣṭ. 280; Ibn Ḥawq.² 450; Muq. 304; Ḥud. 111.

414 Ibn Ḥawq.² 450; Ḥud. 110; Benj. I 89.

415 See Tab. II 1186 (706). A merchant from Paykand offered Chinese silks worth one million dirhams against his release (ibid. 1188). Barthold, *Turk.* 235f. (based on Muq.) has an overview of the Transoxanian trade.

416 Ibn Khurd. 154; Mas. 15. Mez 443.

417 Iṣṭ. 221, 223, 336; Muq. 325 [AD: this concerns only the Khwarazmians; for the Khazar fish glue trade see Ibn Ḥawq.² 394 and Iṣṭ. 223]; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 128f. Tolstov, *Civ.* 241f.; Barthold, *Vorl.* 62, 139. Bayhaqī, 112 (account of a Volga Bulghar mission in Bayhaq 1024; see Minorsky, 'Études historiques', 108ff.), 112. On the significance this trade had for the East Slavs see Mychajlo Hruševskiy, *Istoriya Ukraïny-Rusi (History of the Rus'-Ukraine)*, vol. I, 3rd edn., Kiev 1913, 296–99; Krym'skiy I 80–83 (after Muq. 323–26); Abraham Harkavy, *Skazaniya Musul'manskich pisateley o slavyanach i russkikh (Traditions of Muslim writers concerning Slavs and Russians)*, Saint Petersburg 1870, 193. Georg Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber im Mittelalter aus den nordisch-baltischen Ländern?* 2nd edn., Berlin 1891.

418 If, indeed, we may interpret at least '-r-th', 'one of the three Russian countries' mentioned in Ibn Ḥawq.² 397, as 'Erza' = the Mordvins. See Berthold Spuler, 'Die Mordwinen: Vom Lebenslauf eines wolgaфинischen Volkes', in *ZDMG C*, 1950, 91.

fruit, in particular walnuts and hazelnuts.⁴¹⁹ As early as 680 the Arabs stipulated that the customary prices should be halved;⁴²⁰ it is, however, unlikely that this would have lasted for a long time. These cities were furthermore the principal hubs for Western Asian culture and Islam as they made their way into these vast territories.⁴²¹

The great market centres were not only brokers of international commerce but also places where native Iranian goods were traded. This activity was of course most important for the progress of the economy and the welfare of craftspeople, traders in foodstuffs and ultimately the owners of plantations and the peasants themselves. The export of local textiles played a very large part in trade,⁴²² with nearly all Iranian cities of the north and east taking part in it, most importantly those in Khurasan, Khwarazm and | Ṭabaristan, also Rayy, Qazvin and Qom.⁴²³ The south and west of the country were much less important for this branch of commerce. Shipments of woven goods, which frequently included local specialities with their own names,⁴²⁴ occasionally made it as far as Europe.⁴²⁵ Silk and silk goods usually originated in places along the Silk Road (Samarkand,⁴²⁶ Marv,⁴²⁷ Nishapur,⁴²⁸ Gurgan and Amul in Ṭabaristan),⁴²⁹ but also Herat and the southern cities of Sus, Rāmhōrmizd, Shiraz and Fasa.⁴³⁰ Cotton and cotton textiles were also shipped mainly from

419 Ibn Rustah 141; Muq. 325; Mez. 444.

420 Ṭab. II 394 [AD: this halving of prices is not generalised, but occurred only in the context of a peace agreement with a particular city in Khurasan].

421 Barthold, *Vorl.* 139.

422 Cloth and spice merchants were seen as the wealthiest merchants of all: Muq. 413 [AD: Muq. relates that the cloth and spice merchants lived in specific streets in Rāmhōrmizd, not that they were the wealthiest merchants].

423 Ṭab. II 1321 (716–17); Ibn al-Faqīh 50, 212, 253f.; Ya'q. Buld. 277, 279; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 97, 110f., 114, 116, 119f., 129, 132; Iṣṭ. 93, 153f., 166, 199f., 210–13, 221–23, 255, 263, 275; Ibn Rustah 150; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 49, 256–58, 281, 293, 311f., 362f., 379–81, 433, 436, 450; Muq. 304–8, 315–25, 353, 367, 395f., 405–12, 425, 428, 442f., 470; Ḥud. 127–32, 139–42; Ḥamza Iṣf. 52f.; Mas. II 185f.; 'Iqd III 361. Survey, III 1995–98. The map of textile workshops, *ibid.* 2162, also shows places of production of later times.

424 See p. 395 above.

425 See Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce dans le Levant*, Stuttgart 1923, II 700; G.S. Colin, 'Latin "siglatum"', in *Romania* XVI, 1930, 178–90, 418.

426 See Ṭab. II 1188.

427 Iṣṭ. 263, 282; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 119; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 436 (this is where silk worms first came into the country). Concerning local sericulture see *EI* s 159–62, esp. 160.

428 Iṣṭ. 282.

429 Iṣṭ. 212f.; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 381; Muq. 367; Ḥud. 134; Athīr XI 26. Krymśkiy I 114.

430 Ibn Ḥawq. 2 256; Muq. 416, 442, 463; Tha'ālibī, Laṭ. 119. Schwarz II 50f.

the regions producing the material,⁴³¹ such as the districts of Samarkand and Shāsh,⁴³² Marv,⁴³³ Nishapur⁴³⁴ and Rayy,⁴³⁵ also Kohistan,⁴³⁶ Yazd and Bam(m) in Kirman.⁴³⁷

The trade of furs and skins was naturally tied to particular places: in the east, Bukhara, Balkh, Gōzgān, and Khwarazm (for sable, squirrel, weasel, fennec and goats, usually from the Volga region), Abīvard and Nisā, and also Qazvin (fur sacks) and Hamadan (for fox and sable).⁴³⁸ The same was true of carpets in the east as well: Khwarazm, Bukhara, individual places in Khurasan and Kohistan, whose wares included prayer mats; along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea: Gurgan, Rōdhyān in Ṭabaristan (for *gilīm* = kilim), Gilan and the Mughan plain; and finally Ahvaz, Darabgird and Fasa in Fars.⁴³⁹

Smaller textiles produced were ropes from Ṭus and Sistan⁴⁴⁰ (although in general flax from Egypt would be imported into Persia)⁴⁴¹ and towels from Fasa. [406] Shipments of leather products included: saddles and other | leather goods from Shāsh (which were imported from the Turks) and Anbēr in Gōzgān; shagreen leather (*kaymukht*) from Ābaskūn (on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea);⁴⁴² reins and stirrups from Samarkand and Qom; caparisons and other tack from Ardabil, the surrounding area⁴⁴³ and also from Māh(i)rūbān; and hoses from Ṭārom (southeast of Darabgird) and the Mughan plain.⁴⁴⁴ Ṭus was the place of origin for shoelaces,⁴⁴⁵ Khuzistan for braces,⁴⁴⁶ and Rayy for needles and

431 See p. 395 above.

432 Muq. 325.

433 Iṣṭ. 263; Muq. 324.

434 Iṣṭ. 255; Ibn Ḥawq.² 433.

435 Iṣṭ. 210; Ibn Ḥawq.

436 379f.; Muq. 395f.

437 Iṣṭ. 275.

438 Iṣṭ. 153, 166; Ibn Ḥawq.² 312; Ḥud. 125.

439 Iṣṭ. 271; Muq. 324f., 396.

440 Muq. 324f., 367, 416, 442; Ḥud. 134, 137. Pope, 'The art of carpet making', in id. and Ackerman, *Survey*, III 2257–2430 (further sources listed). The map on p. 2430 refers in the main to later centuries.

441 Muq. 442 [AD] (in this instance made from tree fibres).

442 Muq. 442.

443 Muq. 325; Ḥud. 107, 134. On the subject of *kaymukht* see Ibn Faḍlān 122–24, Excursus para. 15b.

444 Iṣṭ. 351; Muq. 325.

445 Muq. 442; Ḥud. 142.

446 Muq. 325.

combs.⁴⁴⁷ In Iran soap came from Balkh, Tirmidh and Arraghān;⁴⁴⁸ pomade from Sābūr;⁴⁴⁹ the famous and widely used rose and palm shoot water from Gōr in Fars⁴⁵⁰ and other scents from Azerbaijan.⁴⁵¹ Khuttal and Badakhshan⁴⁵² acted as the agents for the trade in musk from Tibet, which was much prized, and from India and China as well as the Turks of Central Asia.⁴⁵³ Wax came from Khwarazm,⁴⁵⁴ as did honey which also came from Arraghān and Forg in Fars as well as Ushnūh in Azerbaijan and Isfahan.⁴⁵⁵ Finally, saffron and other yellow dyes were exported via Nahavand, Fasa, Hamadhan, Qom and Ṭabaristan;⁴⁵⁶ indigo through Fars (via Kirman), Gīruft and Kabul, although presumably it was mostly of Indian origin.⁴⁵⁷

Among the foodstuffs which were traded (that is, those that exceeded local demand) a major part was played by: oils (especially sesame oil) and fats (from Khwarazm, Marv, Balkh, Abivard and Nisā, Ṭabaristan, Arraghān and Darabgird);⁴⁵⁸ dried fruit such as raisins, pistachios, nuts, almonds, figs and pomegranates (from Herat and the surrounding area, Marv, Balkh, Khwarazm, Bayhaq near Nishapur, Qazvin, some places in Jibāl, Ushnūh in Azerbaijan and finally Māh(i)rubān and Darabgird in Fars);⁴⁵⁹ fruit (melons from Marv, Dāmghān, Qazvin, Daylam, Isfahan, Shushtar, Burūgird and Ahvaz),⁴⁶⁰ in particular dates (mainly from Kirman, but also from Sistan, Kāzrūn and Fars in general, and Khuzistan);⁴⁶¹ sugar and sweetmeats (Herat functioned as the trans-shipment centre for Khurasan; | they also came from Khuzistan, in particular Sus and ‘Askar Mukram, Ṭārom in Fars and Darabgird, which both produced syrup, as well as Arraghān).⁴⁶² Of spices, asafoetida (*khiltith*) and

447 Ḥud. 130.

448 Muq. 396.

449 Muq. 324, 442; Tha‘ālibī, Laṭ. 121.

450 Iṣṭ. 153; Muq. 442.

451 Iṣṭ. 153; Ibn Ḥawq.² 298f.; Ḥud. 127. Schwarz II 58.

452 Ibn Ḥawq.² 351.

453 Ya‘q., Buld. 364–66; Iṣṭ. 279f.; Ibn Ḥawq.¹ 337; Ḥud. 112. Barthold, Christ. 39f.

454 Muq. 325.

455 Ibn Rustah 157; Ibn Ḥawq.² 336, 365; Muq. 325, 425, 442.

456 Iṣṭ. 200; Ibn Ḥawq.² 367f.; Muq. 296, 442; Ṭab. II 1321 (716–17).

457 Muq. 470.

458 Ibn Rustah 157; Muq. 324f., 442.

459 Iṣṭ. 153, 211, 266; Ibn Ḥawq.² 336; Muq. 318, 324f., 442, 448; Ḥud. 102, 130; Nāṣir-i Khosraw 275.

460 Ibn Rustah 156; Iṣṭ. 165, 211, 262; Ibn Ḥawq.² 367f., 436; Muq. 353, 405, 410, 442, 465.

461 Iṣṭ. 154; Ibn Ḥawq.² 298f.; Muq. 324, 463.

462 Iṣṭ. 95, 153f.; Ibn Ḥawq.² 258; Muq. 324, 442; Ḥud. 130.

myrobalan (*phyllanthus emblica*, *ihlīlaj*) as well as marjoram came from Sistan and Tirmidh⁴⁶³ along with the area around Kabul,⁴⁶⁴ caraway from Gīruft⁴⁶⁵ and astragalus (a delicacy derived from the plant's sweet root) from Marv.⁴⁶⁶

Cereal production (Ṭus, Bayhaq, Sarakhs)⁴⁶⁷ included rice (from Balkh and Herat but also from Iṣṭakhr, Siraf and Valvālij)⁴⁶⁸ and peas (Valvālij).⁴⁶⁹ This category of goods was rarely exported, except from the places mentioned. Production usually matched local consumption and was not able to compete with such breadbaskets as Egypt and Mesopotamia. Export of sheep and cattle (from Khwarazm – from the Volga Bulgars – Marv, Ushnūh) as well as its import (from the Oghuz)⁴⁷⁰ and of salt meat (from Kohistan)⁴⁷¹ was of minor importance as well; while the export of dried fish (caught in the Caspian Sea from Ābaskūn and Gilan; in the Aral Sea from Khwarazm and in the Persian Gulf from Māh(i)rubān and Darabgird) was rather more important.⁴⁷² Pearls, on the other hand, were found only in the Persian Gulf (Siraf)⁴⁷³ and not in the Caspian Sea.⁴⁷⁴ Of great economic, if not nutritional, significance was not so much the export of horses (from Turkestan via Khurasan, and from Ardabil and the surrounding area near the Mughan plain),⁴⁷⁵ as was the sale of the Bactrian camels, renowned of old and widely prized (from Balkh, Samarkand and Sarakhs).⁴⁷⁶ Khwarazm procured hunting falcons from Volga-Bulgaria and others came from Nisā and Abīvard.⁴⁷⁷

The eastern import of slaves (who were mainly Turkish, and for a while also East Slav) was concentrated⁴⁷⁸ in Khwarazm, Fergana, Ispējāb and some Khurasanian border districts. Once the border disputes and fighting in these regions and in Afghanistan had ended, it essentially became a trade run

463 Ibn Ḥawq. 418; Muq. 324.

464 Ya'q., Buld. 281; Bayh. 129 (ca. 1020: *tukhm-i sipirgham*).

465 Muq. 470.

466 Iṣṭ. 263; Ibn Ḥawq.² 436 (also BGA IV 179).

467 Muq. 318, 324.

468 Iṣṭ. 267, 272; Muq. 324, 443.

469 Muq. 324.

470 Iṣṭ. 282, 303–5; Ibn Ḥawq.² 336; Muq. 324f.

471 Muq. 384.

472 Iṣṭ. 154; Ibn Ḥawq.² 298f.; Muq. 325, 428; Ḥud. 134, 137.

473 Muq. 442.

474 Ḥud. 218.

475 Iṣṭ. 282; Ibn Ḥawq.² 351; Muq. 324f.

476 Iṣṭ. 280; Ibn Ḥawq.² 450; Muq. 324.

477 Muq. 324f.

478 Muq. 325.

through agents. With the collapse of the Samanid state, contacts between this area and the north ended, and as a result hardly any Qarakhanid coins of the new Qarluq state in Transoxania are found in Eastern Europe.⁴⁷⁹

Only a small proportion of the products of the mining industry were [408] immediately exported: gold came from Transoxania, silver from Fergana and Tukharistan, iron from the area around Herat and lead (as well as sulphur and arsenic) from Balkh.⁴⁸⁰ Mineral oil was transported by boat from Baku to Ṭabaristan and Gurgan,⁴⁸¹ while southern Persia as yet played no part in this respect. Most of the time, however, mineral resources would be used by craftsmen locally⁴⁸² and their manufactured products were an essential source of Iran's economic wealth. Some would be exported: weapons from Fergana and Ispējāb, Azerbaijan and Khwarazm, often in exchange for Turkish goods, such as wooden arrows⁴⁸³ and bows;⁴⁸⁴ copper pots and buckets from Samarkand, Rayy and Ṭārom in Fars;⁴⁸⁵ weighing scales from Siraf; and furniture from Qom and Rayy,⁴⁸⁶ but also from the main wood producing areas of Bushang, which had mountain forests, Samarkand, Mazandaran⁴⁸⁷ (*khalanj* [burl] wood)⁴⁸⁸ and Afghanistan, which supplied wood for all of Khurasan.⁴⁸⁹ Khwarazm was the transportation centre for European wood.⁴⁹⁰ It is entirely natural that in such an overview the areas producing goods should largely be the same as the regions of export: crafts and agriculture on the one hand and trade on the other were closely linked, in Iran as well as elsewhere.

Money and Salaries

Under the Sasanids and during the earliest years of Islam trade and commerce in Iran followed the principles of a barter economy. Tax payments were also often made in kind. Soon, however, with Baghdad and the Iranian cities

479 Krymskiy I 88. See also Jakimowicz, 'Über Herkunft der Hacksilberfunde'.

480 Ibn Ḥawq.² 448; Muq. 324.

481 Mas. II 25.

482 See pp. 394ff. above.

483 Ibn Ḥawq.² 351; Muq. 325.

484 Muq. 396.

485 Muq. 325, 395f., 442.

486 Muq. 396, 470; Ibn al-Faqih 254.

487 Muq. 307f., 325.

488 Išt. 212; Ibn Ḥawq.¹ 272. See p. 398 above.

489 Išt. 268.

490 Muq. 325.

becoming centres of commerce and the rapid development of travel and communication, a monetized economy increasingly prevailed. It was encouraged further by the emergence of cashless transfers by means of cheques (*suftaja*)⁴⁹¹ and credit notes, which at the beginning of the tenth century were sent, for instance, from Ahvaz to the caliph's mother,⁴⁹² and facilitated the transfer of tax revenues from Fars, Isfahan and Ahvaz to the centres of the Empire.⁴⁹³ | [409] The expansion of the monetized economy was concomitant with the adoption of the gold standard in the central and eastern (previously Sasanid) parts of the empire, where the Persian silver standard, which had once had a contractually fixed relation to the East Roman gold coin,⁴⁹⁴ survived for long after the fall of the Sasanid state. The currency in use here was the silver dirham (drachma). Its silver content varied; for example, in 642 in Azerbaijan it was worth 3.411 grams of silver, whereas later in the ninth century, the silver content was reduced to 2.97 grams.⁴⁹⁵

Further east, in Bukhara in the 'Land of the Hephthalites', as well as in other places, the *dirham-i ghīṭrifī* was used in parallel to the silver dirham,⁴⁹⁶ although it had such a small silver content⁴⁹⁷ that over time the coins became so tarnished that people refused to accept them, as happened in Bukhara. They could only be persuaded by the government in Baghdad to employ them

491 For more information on this institution see Fischel, *Jews*, 17–19. Georg Jacob, 'Die ältesten Spuren des Wechsels (schon aus der Zeit 'Umars I)', in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* XXVIII/2 (1925), 280f.

492 Tanūkhī I 105.

493 Misk. I 187. Significantly, the means of cashless transaction nearly all had Persian names: Mez 447.

494 Heinrich Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte*, Tübingen 1909, 79.

495 *EI* Turk. II 108; Richard Vasmer in Schrötter, *Münzkunde*, 145–48. In the tenth century Qommī, 124, calculates 13 dirhams 4 *dānagh* for one gold *mithqāl*. On the subject of the decreasing coin weights in Khwarazm see Tolstov, *Civ.* 231. Concerning *dānagh*/*dāniq* (= 1/4 dirham) see Sauvaire B 247–51, G 423–25.

496 Concerning the name see Sam. 410 r; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 488 and Narsh. 34f. (= Frye, *Coinage*, 41f., 43–49; see Frye, *Add. Not.* 113) (after the emir Ghīṭrif ibn 'Aṭā ca. 792–93, the brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd's mother); Tolstov, *Chor.* 183; Sauvaire D 505f.; Lerch, 'Sur les monnaies des Boukhar-Khoudahs'. I have not been able to access a dissertation from the Central Asian State University (SAGU) *O proischoždenii dīrchemov Museyabi*, 1944 (mentioned in Frye, *Add. Not.* 112). Concerning coins in general see Togan in Ibn Faḍlān, *Excursus* para. 6a, 11–13 and para. 10a, 113f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 204f. Concerning the unit of coin *tāzcha* in Khwarazm and the *dīnār-i Ruknī* see Ibn Faḍlān, 113f., *Excursus* para. 10a, and 116–18, *Excursus* para. 13a.

497 It was a mixture of gold, silver (*nuqra*), *mushk* (= musk, a euphemism for base metals), lead and copper: Narsh. 34f.

again by the fixing of the exchange rate⁴⁹⁸ at six *dirham-i ghūtrīfi* for one silver dirham.⁴⁹⁹ There is also a later reference to an exchange rate of 200 silver dirhams for 85 *dirham-i ghūtrīfi*,⁵⁰⁰ however, which would presuppose a complete reversal of the situation. | The decisive step for the transition from silver dirhams to gold dinars as a currency was taken around the year 900, between 874 and 915, in Baghdad.⁵⁰¹ In general, Iran retained the silver currency during the tenth century, but in the east gold coins were minted from as early as 864 onwards.⁵⁰² Until this time the dirham had been the only currency valid in Transoxania, while the dinar was either not in circulation at all,⁵⁰³ or was in use only in big cities.⁵⁰⁴ The dirham was also valid currency in Fars and Kirman,⁵⁰⁵ while commerce with South Russia, and with all of Eastern and Northern Europe, was based on silver.⁵⁰⁶ In the early tenth century the ratio between dinar and dirham was fixed at ca. 14–15 dirhams = one dinar.⁵⁰⁷ [410]

In order to facilitate monetary transactions, banking businesses soon evolved (*jahbadh* = banker, paymaster, as well as ‘warden of the mint’) in addition to the many small moneychangers (*ṣarrāf*), many of whom were Jews and Christians. They oversaw especially the exchange of gold and silver currency (dinars and dirhams) and were, like other professions, found along the same street in the bazaars; there were, for example, two hundred of them in Isfahan

498 Narsh. 35. For more basic information see Frye, *Coinage*, 24–31 (‘The coins of Bukhara’) and the respective section Narsh. 5 in Frye’s exposition (*ibid.* 41–49).

499 Also ‘white dirhams’, see Ibn Isf. 118.

500 Narsh. 85 (1128: 100 silver dirhams = 70 *ghūtrīfi* dirhams); 1 mithqāl = 7 1/2 *ghūtrīfi* dirhams: Narsh. 35.

501 Mez 445; Barthold, *Med.* 42; Robert P. Blake, ‘The circulation of silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol epoch’, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11 (1937), 295. Schrötter, *Münzkunde*, 139–42; Schacht, *Origins*, 203f.

502 See p. 417 below.

503 Iṣṭ. 314.

504 Iṣṭ. 323.

505 Iṣṭ. 156, 161; Ibn Ḥawq.² 301, 313. See the numerous finds of silver and hacksilver in this region, Mez 444 and n. 1; Jakimowicz, ‘Über Herkunft der Hacksilberfunde’, *id.*, ‘O pochodzeniu ozdób srebrnych znajdujących’.

506 Barthold, *Med.* 109.

507 919–20: 14 1/2 dirhams = 1 dinar (Misk. 1 70f.) // 932: 14,286 dirhams = 1 dinar (*ibid.* 239) // 933: 15 dirhams = 1 dinar (*ibid.* 278) // tenth century (allegedly also as early as 847) in Qom: 17 dirhams = 1 dinar (Qommī 124f., 127, 157). See also Hil. 36!; Tiesenhausen VII, n. 8, and Mez 446 and n. 5; *EI* III 606. The ratio 20:1 in Barthold, *Med.* 42, only applies to the later time; see also Kremer, *Ein.* 287; George C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain*, vol. 1, New York 1950, 92f. A list of the relevant references in literature can be found in Sauvaire I 79–88.

in the early tenth century.⁵⁰⁸ They frequently used letters of credit (*suftaja*)⁵⁰⁹ and title deeds (*ṣakk*, from Pers. *chak* = certificate) as payment.⁵¹⁰

[411] We have only very little information concerning the purchasing power of money in normal times; information on price increases does not tell us much about everyday life, and it is unlikely that officially fixed prices⁵¹¹ would have lasted for any length of time either. It is, however, to be hoped that a systematic study of the situation over longer periods may soon shed more light on the financial and economic conditions of medieval Islam.⁵¹² As for the fundamental problem of the relation between salaries and prices, i.e. the economic situation of society, here we must rely on one single note,⁵¹³ which states that Ya'qūb ibn Layth earned fifteen dirhams a month in his youth when he was a coppersmith. Clearly this does not resolve the decisive point of the question.

Coinage⁵¹⁴

Besides all the literary traditions found in works by historiographers and geographers, law scholars and administration manuals, the only authentic sources,

508 Nāṣir-i Khosraw, 253. Concerning the banking sector see Lökk. 159–61; Mez 447. On the duties of the *jahbadh* see (in the main relating to Egypt, of course) Abū 'l-Makārim As'ad b. al-Muhadhhdhab (Ibn Mammātī (*GAL* I 335, s I 572f.), *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. by 'A.S. 'Atīya, Cairo 1943, 304.

509 On the linguistic aspect see Herzfeld, *Sam*. VI 252, n. 2.

510 See R. Grasshoff, *Die Suftaja und ḥawāla der Araber: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Wechsels*, Göttingen 1899 (PhD, Königsberg); Herzfeld, *Sam*. 91, 247, n. 3. On the *jahbadh* see in detail Fischel, *Jews*, 2–8 (with further literature); on *suftaja* *ibid.* 17–21 (with reference to the transfer of Persian tax revenues 19).

511 The first attempt at a table of prices with regards to the countries of early Islam (also beyond Iran) was made by Sauvaire O 207–16; individual instances for reference may be found 216–59.

512 Walter Hinz's new study of the coin system and price structure during the Islamic Middle ages is nearing completion [presumably his *Islamische Währungen des n. bis 19. Jahrhunderts umgerechnet in Gold: ein Beitrag zur islamischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1991: RGH].

513 Gard. 10.

514 John Allan, 'Coinage in the Islamic Period' (in Persia), in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, III 2673–2677 (early period 2673f.: very general overview). Unfortunately I have not been able to access the first volume of the new edition of John Walker's *Catalogue of the Muhammedan Coins in the British Museum*, the *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*. However, I do believe that the number of coins of this type which are already known is sufficient to present the essential information within this historical context. Essential

the only immediate evidence of the earliest time of Islam in general, and consequently including Iran, are coins. As opposed to the innumerable fictions of later times they show us, at least for a certain section of historical life, how it really was. | There is no sign of the Islamic state stepping into the light of day [412] 'as a fully formed entity' at all. We can touch the continuation of Sasanid and Byzantine influence with our own hands; we can see how the Islamic state evolved gradually. And the understanding of the obstacles it faced, against which ancient and firm traditions it prevailed, will encourage us to admire the astonishing innate force of this religious and political system rather than view the time of the 'rightly guided' caliphs and the early Umayyads as inferior or backward. Of course early Islamic historians might well have seen things in this way already, as they – and their time in general – lacked a genuine historical consciousness, which would evolve later, thanks to Ibn Khaldun's essential contribution, which is still felt to this day.

In keeping with their historical legacy, previously Byzantine territories continued the tradition in the field of coinage (as well as taxation) for the time being: namely, minting gold dinars (denarii), which we still see in the Umayyad era (in the years 696–97 = 77 to 747–48 = 130).⁵¹⁵ Of course, while they do bear a date, these coins do not indicate a place of minting, but historical continuity on the one hand and the distribution of gold coinage in the early Abbasid era on the other (see below) allow us to draw conclusions with certainty. These gold coins are thus of no importance in eastern Iran, for it was the home of the silver dirham (drachma), which was the local unit of account and stood in a fixed (but not always the same) ratio to gold.⁵¹⁶ During the early Umayyad years these silver coins were exactly like the old Sasanid ones: they showed the image of the king – either in the style of Khusrau II or Yazdagird III.⁵¹⁷ The reverse continued to show a fire altar. The name of the person minting the coin – in one instance the caliph Mu'āwiya, otherwise the governor, i.e. Ziyād ibn Abīhi and others, the Qaysite leader 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāzim in Khurasan,⁵¹⁸

information may be found in L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Muslim Numismatics, India Excepted*, London 1939. Levy, *Soc.* I 323–25, has only a few general remarks.

515 Lane-Poole I 1–6, nos. 1–42; IX 27–29; Tiesenhhausen 273–644. In Spain only gold coins of the years 720–724 (AH 102–6) survive from this early period: Miles (as p. 410 n.) I 27.

516 See p. 409f. above.

517 Concerning the depiction of a crown and its fundamental relevance for distinguishing the ruler in question see Erdmann, 'Die Entwicklung der sasanidischen Krone' and 'Wie sind die Kronen der sasanidischen Münzen zu lesen?'; Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, III 2234f. On the subject of Sasanid coins see Morgan, *Manuel*, 270–331; on the earlier Arsacid coins see *ibid.* 125–71.

518 Barthold, *Turk.* 184.

and also the anti-caliph ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr⁵¹⁹ – was inscribed in Middle Persian | (Pahlavi) script. Al-Ḥajjāj was the only one who had his name put in Arabic (Kufi) lettering on a coin of this kind.

The name of the city where the coin was minted was always in Middle Persian, while the religious formula (the only one on these coins) *bi-’smi ’llāh* (and rarely together with it *li-’llāhi ’l-ḥamd*)⁵²⁰ was always in Arabic script. Coins of this era survive possibly from the years 641 (20) and 646–47 (26), and definitely from the years 655–56 (35) to 689–90 (79)⁵²¹ from the following mints:⁵²² Abarshahr (= Nishapur; 683/4–687/8 = 64–68) // Azerbaijan (abbr. ‘da’; i.e. Ardabil; 646/7–695/6 = 26?–76) // Bishapur (abbr. ‘bish’; = Bayzā; 655–56 = 35; then 689–99 = 70–79)⁵²³ // Darabgird (650–96 = 30–76) // Herat (646–47 = 26; then 686–89 = 67–69) // Iṣṭakhr (anti-caliph ‘Abd Allāh: 682–83 = 63);⁵²⁴ Yazd (641?–83 = 20?–56) // Kirman (676–95 = 56–75) // Marv (682–95 = 63–75) // Marv al-Rōdh (683–84 = 64) // Pērōzābād (Gör/Fars; 683 = 53) // Rayy (642?–94 = 21?–74) // Zarang (646?–58 = 26?–37).⁵²⁵ (In addition, there are a number of coin legends of very uncertain reading and interpretation). This style is also followed by the coinage of Tabaristani Zoroastrian princes (extant from the years 694–756 = 75–137)⁵²⁶ as well as the Arab governors of this region (during the years 735–758 = 117–140),⁵²⁷ understandable due to the survival of the old religion here (784–808 = 168–192, after which coinage is of the Muslim type).

Similar coinage of the Byzantine type – from Syria/Palestine, occasionally also Egypt, with Greek or, in North Africa and Spain, Latin inscriptions⁵²⁸ – is

519 See p. 26 above.

520 Nützel I 45, no. 169 (dating from the year 688–89 = AH 69). See Tiesenhansen x.

521 One of al-Ḥajjāj’s coins of 705 (AH 86) is doubtful as it is difficult to decipher.

522 The numbers in brackets indicate the years from which mintings are known from the respective city.

523 Concerning the coin allegedly dating from 705 see n. 2 above.

524 Nützel I 39f.

525 Tiesenhansen 9–23, nos. 66–250; 276–78, nos. 2632–2710 (index 319–22); Nützel I 23–53 with tables I and II (p. 398: a list of undecipherable places of minting); Lavoix I 49–58, nos. 137–58; Edhem 2–21, nos. 1–45; 374–76, nos. 910–14; Miles, *Rayy* 5–7, nos. 1–13 [with 1–4]; Edward Thomas, ‘The Pahlvi [sic] Coins of the early Muhammedan Arabs’, in *JRAS* 1850, 253–347 (especially with regards to the history of writing, with coin legends), esp. 322–28.

526 Nützel I 54–56.

527 Ibid. I 56–63.

528 Greek: Tiesenhansen 1–9, nos. 1–65; 274f. nos. 2670–2681; Lavoix I 1–29, nos. 1–95 (table I); Lane-Poole IX 3–17; Nützel 5–13 (illustr. table 1). Latin: Tiesenhansen 28–32, nos. 96–136 (table 1); 486, nos. 1678; Nützel I 18–22; Lane-Poole IX 21–24; Miles (as p. 411 n.) I 113f. See Tiesenhansen IX.

only found in copper (in the type favoured by Heraclius and Constans II). | They [414] are particularly instructive because at first they still look entirely Byzantine (there are some pieces the origin of which is actually in doubt) and show the image of the Emperor, the monogram of Christ and the cross. Gradually it began to dawn on the minters that this was not suitable for Muslims. The cross on the orb was removed (probably under Mu'āwiya); the bigger cross on the reverse was changed into a ring around a vertical beam (like the Greek Φ);⁵²⁹ and the monogram of Christ turned into an ornament.⁵³⁰ The caliph 'Abd al-Malik had his name inscribed around the figure on the obverse; there are frequent indications of the mint and the note *jā'iz*, 'valid'.

In the course of the advance of Islam into old civilized nations this was a natural development and one that is to be expected as Islam gradually assimilated an existing culture. A similar development was to be seen in Iran in the form of the gradual expansion of the use of Arabic script. While we cannot examine the coins of the formerly East Roman territories in more detail, this development should provide adequate evidence of the fact that the caliph 'Abd al-Malik's (685–705)⁵³¹ reform of coinage and chancelleries did not happen overnight (it is, however, not possible to determine the exact date), and that on the contrary it was the final point in a lengthy development which had taken shape throughout the preceding years. This reform turned out to be decisive for the Iranian territory as well. From 696–97 (AH 77) onwards it led to coins being minted in a new style, henceforth regarded as typically Muslim, which dispensed with all human images and religious symbols and replaced them with Arabic inscriptions quoting religious texts, occasionally also providing information on the minter, the year and the place of minting. Ever since, this information has become a most important source of evidence for the entire course of Islamic history, concerning titles, expansion of dominions, duration of rule, economic situation, circumstances of constitutional law, etc.⁵³² [415]

529 Considering it as a transformed cross appears to me a more probable explanation than an abbreviation of the Greek Φ(όλλις); see Tiesenhausen IX.

530 See Lavoix XIVf.; 17, nos. 56–58; 485, no. 1677.

531 See p. 244 above. E. von Bergmann, 'Die Nominale der Münzreform des Chalifen 'Abdul-Melik', in *SB der kais. Ak. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., Vienna 1870, 239ff.; Sauvaire A 472f., esp. 474–89. See Lavoix I XXI–XXXIII; Tiesenhausen VI–VII discusses the unreliability of historians in this respect.

532 On the development of the new kind see Tiesenhausen XIV; Frye, *Coinage*, 34f. I have gained essential insights concerning this development thanks to a lecture given by the curator Dr Walter Hellige (at present in Göttingen) in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin in 1936. The coins used on this occasion have since been confiscated by the

There are numerous such coins from Persia dating from the first half of the eighth century, in silver from the following mints:⁵³³ Abarshahr (Nishapur; 710–16 = 91–97) // Ardashir-khurra (710–17 = 90–98) // Armenia (i.e. Dabīl = Dvin; 710–18 = 92–109) // Azerbaijan (i.e. Ardabil; 723–25 = 105–6) // Balkh (732–46 = 114–128) // Bezmqobād (or similar; 698–99 = 79–80) // Darabgird (709–18 = 90–99) // Dastabā (710–16 = 91–97) // Darband ('al-Bāb'; 733–49 = 115–31) // al-Fārāb (713–16 = 95–97) // Fasa (698–700 = 79–81) // Fil (in Khwarazm; 698–99 = 79) // Gondēshāpūr (699? = 80?; 709–16 = 90–97; 745–46 = 128) // Hamadan (709–17 = 90–98) // Herat (709–17 = 90–97) // Iṣṭakhr (707–746/7 = 88–129) // Jayy (= Old Isfahan; 698–17 = 79–98; 744–47 = 127–29) // Kirman (702–22 = 83–103) // Māhī (near Marv or Hamadhān?); 709–17 = 90–98; 746–47 = 129) // Manādhir (on the Dizpūl, between 'Askar Mukram and Ahvaz; 700–15 = 81–96) // Marv (692–29 = 73–110) // Mubāraka (in Khwarazm; 726–38 = 108–120) // Nahr Tīra (near Ahvaz; 699–715 = 80–96) // Qumis (Qumish; 713–14 = 95) // Rayy (700–716/7 = 81–98; 720–748/9 = 101–131)⁵³⁴ // Rāmhōrmīzd (699–713/4 = 80–95) // Sābūr (in Fars; 700–17 = 81–96) // Sarakhs (712–13 = 94) // Sijistan (Sistan = Zarang; 709–17 = 90–98) // Sūq Ahvaz (699–17 = 80–98) // Shush (699–713 = 80–94) // al-Taymara (near Isfahan; 709–16 = 90–97; 745–46 = 128) // Tbilisi (Georgia; 704 = 85) // Zarang (720–21 = 102).⁵³⁵

These silver coins did not bear any personal names during the Umayyad era; consequently it is impossible to distinguish between a ruler's and a governor's coinages and they have to be dated according to the year only (which means that in a year of transition the minter is not clear). Besides this indication of (the date of) minting they only bear the creed 'there is no god but God, He has no partner, Muḥammad is the messenger of God whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religion' (*lā ilāha illā 'llāhu waḥduh, lā sharīka lah*⁵³⁶ – *Muḥammadun rasūlu 'llāh – arsalahu bi'l-hudā wa-dīni 'l-ḥaqqi li-yuḏhirahu 'alā 'l-dīni kullih*), occasionally with the addition of the conclusion 'even if those who ascribe partners to God are averse'



occupying Russian forces and could consequently not be consulted in the context of the present work.


533 Numbers in brackets once more indicate the years of minting of known pieces. In addition there are some from Basra, Wāsiṭ, Kufa and Damascus.

534 For all essential information concerning Rayy see Miles, *Rayy*, here 8–21, nos. 14–39.

535 Tiesenhausen, 33–63, nos. 273–655; Lane-Poole I 7–32, nos. 43–215; IX, 30–36; Lavoix I 59–131, nos. 159–552; Nützel I 65–108; Edhem 28–77, nos. 56–232 (combining cities from all over the caliph's empire); Stickel, 'Ergänzungen', 23–39; Frāhn, *Cent.* 283–314. The weight of dirhams varies from 699 (AH 80) to 840 (AH 226) between 2.79 and 2.852 g: Tiesenhausen XIII. On the subject of cities with double names see Tha'ālībī, *Laṭ.* 59f.

536 These three final words are never missing from a silver coin.

(*wa-law kariha* | *'l-mushrikūn*).⁵³⁷ On the reverse the silver coins bear the beginning of Sura 112: 'God is one, the Eternal, He does not beget and is not begotten' (*Allāhu aḥad, Allāhu 'l-ṣamad, lam yalid wa-lam yūlad*); copper coins usually also bear the rest of the sura.⁵³⁸ From 710 onwards (AH 91) 'in the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate' (*bī'smi 'llāhi 'l-rahmāni 'l-rahīm*) was inscribed in the margin.⁵³⁹ Since the reform of coinage in Iran, copper coins have only ever borne the creed, frequently in an abbreviated form,⁵⁴⁰ but occasionally including Sura 9:33.⁵⁴¹ They also show  as an ornament in the centre, sometimes also,  to the left or the right as well. Date and place are often missing, more often just one of them. Besides Armenia, we find the mints Jayy, Rayy and Balkh⁵⁴² in Iran.

The great political shift from the Umayyads to the Abbasids was not accompanied by any significant change in the coinage system. The ornament  is still occasionally found on copper coins⁵⁴³ (from 755–56 = AH 138 onwards), and after a short interlude during which a Qur'anic verse promoting the Prophet's family was struck onto coins at times of fighting,⁵⁴⁴ the usual religious texts would reappear, at first Sura 9:33 (missing the last words),⁵⁴⁵ and also Sura 112.⁵⁴⁶ Under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī we also find (on coins minted in Persia) simply *Muḥammadun rasūlu 'llāh*; under al-Mahdī (and occasionally also Hārūn al-Rashīd) the prayer *Ṣallā 'llāhu 'alayhi wa-salāma* is added to it.⁵⁴⁷ Al-Ma'mūn left it out again, but instead inscribed *Bī'smi 'llāhi 'l-rahmāni 'l-rahīm* once more. From al-Mutawakkil (847–61) onwards the extended creed appears: *lā ilāha illā 'llāhu waḥduh, lā sharika lah* on the obverse, and *Muḥammadun*

537 After Sura 9:33.

538 Lane-Poole I, 1 no. 1 etc.

539 Ibid., 3, no. 13 etc.; Nützel I 65–71. See Lavoix I, XVIII.

540 Lane-Poole I 180, no. 39; 187–89, nos. 66–74. Richard Vasmer in Schrötter, *Münzkunde*, 192f., s.v. *Fels*.

541 Lane-Poole I 192, no. 81.

542 See also Lane-Poole I 341–417, nos. 1333–1551. The ornament might be a rudimentary palm tree (see 379, no. 1453; 381, no. 1459 etc.). Images of animals are only found on these copper coins in western Iran.

543 E.g. Lane-Poole I 200, no. 99. Edmond Drouin, 'Les symboles astrologiques sur les monnaies de la Perse', in *Gazette belge de numismatique*, Brussels 1901; Nützel, 'Embleme und Wappen'.

544 See pp. 40–45 above.

545 Lane-Poole I 34, nos. 1ff.; Lavoix I 135, nos. 564ff.

546 Marv 750–51 = AH 133; Lavoix I 139, no. 583. Tiesenhausen xv.

547 See Lavoix I 159, nos. 691ff.

[417] *rasūlu 'llāh* on the reverse,⁵⁴⁸ a development not confined to Persia but applying to all the caliph's coins. | The caliph's name does not appear on coins until al-Mahdī (Muḥammad), who had his name inscribed on coins from Arrān (from 762–63 = 145 onwards) and Armenia (from 767 = 150) while he was crown prince (as well as governor residing in Rayy). Once he became caliph he continued this practice,⁵⁴⁹ as did his successors (and occasionally the heirs to their throne).⁵⁵⁰ From 833 (AH 218) onwards only the regnal name was used. The title used was *amīr al-mu'minīn*, and under al-Ma'mūn also *dhū 'l-riyāsatayn*,⁵⁵¹ and under al-Mu'tamid (870–92) *dhū 'l-wizāratayn*.⁵⁵²

The unity of the caliph's empire brought an adjustment of the monetary economy in its wake, in that the minting of gold coins now extended eastwards. While the city of origin was not indicated at first, there are some general indications from the time of al-Ma'mūn (813–33) onwards (al-'Irāq, al-Maghrib, al-Mashriq).⁵⁵³ Besides North Africa, Egypt and Syria, gold was now minted in Mesopotamia (Ahvaz, 883–84 = AH 270) and the East as well. Al-Mu'taṣim had the names of the city of origin inscribed on gold coins from 834 onwards,⁵⁵⁴ and from 864 Iranian cities begin to appear on gold coins: Marv, Samarkand and Shāsh (Tashkent) from 864, Qazvin⁵⁵⁵ from 881–82 (268), Azerbaijan from 885–86 (272) onwards, and Qom⁵⁵⁶ from 900–29 (287–317). Tradition credits al-Khujistānī⁵⁵⁷ with introducing gold coinage to Western Persia in 880–81.⁵⁵⁸

548 Lavoix I 232, no. 941 (and *passim*); 247, nos. 995ff.

549 See Tiesenhausen xv.

550 E.g. al-Amīn under Hārūn al-Rashīd: Lavoix I 182, no. 781 (dated 798 = AH 182 from Balkh), 185, no. 793 (from Rayy) etc.

551 Lane-Poole I 92, nos. 249ff.; see Codrington, 60. See 222 n. 7 above.

552 Lane-Poole I 123, no. 352 (from Ahvaz 883–84 = AH 270). On the subject of titles see also pp. 358–60 above and Tiesenhausen 357.

553 Lane-Poole I 102, no. 287; see also 91 n. † and IX 41–83. See Lavoix I 532; Lane-Poole I 245f.

554 Baghdad, Alexandria etc.: Lane-Poole I 108, no. 302. Iṣṭ. 203 and Ibn Ḥawq.² 372 also report dinars being current in Jibāl.

555 Dinars in Rayy are reported by Iṣṭ. 208; Ibn Ḥawq.²; Athīr/Tornberg IX 41.

556 Lane-Poole I 119f, nos. 338, 342 etc. A list of the weights (*mithqāl*) of the gold dinars may be found in Tiesenhausen XII f. From 710 (AH 91) to 736 (AH 118) it was between 4.13 and 4.22 g; in 740 (122) it fell to 3.91 g. In the early Abbasid era it lay between 3.82 and 3.96 g (once 3.34), and between 801 (185) and 816–17 (263) it varied between 4.00 and 4.22 g (816–20 = AH 201–4: 3.65–3.87 g), finally falling to 3.69 g in 919–20 (307). See the list in Tiesenhausen 310–16. Dinars minted under al-Muhtadī (869–70) were five *dānāgh*, rather than one *mithqāl*: Qommī 147f.

557 See p. 75 above.

558 Ṭab. III 2009; Athīr VII 120.

In Ṭabaristan and Gurgan dinars are mentioned as early as 765 and 864,⁵⁵⁹ but we do not know of any surviving pieces. | Silver coinage, on the other hand, is not found in Persia and Mesopotamia only, but in 782–83 (166) also in Yamāma [418] (Arabia), 783–84 (167) in (North) Africa and 798 (182) in Egypt.⁵⁶⁰ Furthermore, from Iran in the Abbasid era, we know of the following cities as silver mints; the list shows clearly the decline of some of the cities during the early Abbasid era:⁵⁶¹

Ardashīr-khurrā (751–64 = 131–46) // Armenia (i.e. Dabil = Dvin; 760–811 = 143–95; 817–23 = 202–7; 857–906 = 243–93) // Arrān (762–814 = 145–98; 822–41 = 207–26) // Armenia (i.e. Ardabil; 782–86 = 166–69) // Balkh (797–813 = 181–97) // Bukhara (755–16 = 138–200) // Shāsh (Tashkent); 782–815 = 166–99; 813–90 = 260–76)⁵⁶² // Fars (847–48 = 233; 911–12 = 299) // Fasa (782–83 = 166) // Gondēshāpūr (751–56 = 134–38) // Gurgan (803 = 187) // Herat (808–22 = 192–206) // Isfahan (811–26 = 196–210; 841–906 = 227–93) // Iṣṭakhr (755–84 = 138–67) // Jayy (751–801 = 134–85) // Kirman (781–808 = 165–92) // Manādhir (751–52 = 134) // Marv (749–50 = 132; 756–57 = 139; 798–884 = 182–270) // Nishapur (and Abarshahr; 788–818 = 172–202) // Rayy (from 762 = 145 onwards called ‘al-Muḥammadiya’ on coins)⁵⁶³ (748–865 = 131–251; less frequently 872–911 = 258–98) // Rāmhōrmīzd (751–52 = 134) // Samarkand (767–822 = 150–206; 857–58 = 243; 873–85 = 260–71) // Sistan (790–92 = 174–75) // Sūq Ahvaz (751–52 = 134) // al-Taymara (782–83 = 166) // Tbilisi (862–64 = 248–50) // Zarang (776–820 = 160–204).⁵⁶⁴

The political development is clear: in the course of the ninth century the caliphs’ coinages were gradually discontinued; under the Ṭāhirids and Samanids they saw a revival in Eastern Iran (Marv 852–62 = 238–47) // Samarkand (833 = 218; 864–90 = 250–76) // Shāsh (924–30 = 312–18), | and, once [419] the Ṣaffārid onslaught had been overpowered under the regent al-Muwaffaq, in Western Iran as well: Ahvaz (873–937 = 260–325) // Ardabil (only 923–24 =

559 Ibn Isf. 118, 171. According to Iṣṭ. 213 and Ibn Ḥawq.² 382 Gurgan had the same mint ration as Ṭabaristan.

560 Lane-Poole I 39, nos. 25ff.; IX 41–43.

561 Once again with the date of the extant pieces! See Frye, *Coinage*, 35f.

562 Ibid., 36–38.

563 Miles, *Rayy* 22–134, no. 40–148.

564 Tiesenhhausen 64–255, nos. 661–2464; 281–92, nos. 2767–2935; Lane-Poole I 34–160, nos. 1–478; IX 41–83, nos. 1–478; Lavoix I 132–340, nos. 553–1332; 489f., nos. 1685–88; Nützel I 111–290, nos. 603–1886; Edhem 107–214, nos. 302–600; 381–91, nos. 921–33. A list of all mints during the Umayyad and Abbasid eras: Lane-Poole I 227–236 (according to date), 237–47 (according to place); see also x, appendix, III–XLIII concerning years 696–1055 (AH 77–447) (and further: by date); ibid. XCIV–CCXX a list of all places of minting and the coins minted there. Tiesenhhausen XXII–XXXI; Codrington 127–97.

311) // Arraghān (920–35 = 308–23) // Hamadan (904–6 = 291–93) // Isfahan (924–30 = 312–18) // Kangavar (925–35 = 313–23) // Kirman (923 = 311) // Māh al-Baṣra (905–33 = 292–321) // Māh al-Kūfa⁵⁶⁵ (865–76 = 251–62) // Māhī (911–12 = 299) // Sistan (913–15 = 301–2) // Shiraz (883–934 = 270–322) // Shushtar (900–34 = 287–322) // Zarang (913 = 301), and also Tbilisi (906–45 = 294–331).⁵⁶⁶

Once the Buyids had appeared on the scene, the caliphs' coinages stopped altogether (after al-Mustakfi, 944–46). Under this dynasty, as well as under the Seljuks, the caliphs' minting prerogative, like their secular power, had ceased entirely,⁵⁶⁷ reappearing only after the political revival under al-Nāṣir (1180–1225).⁵⁶⁸

Copper coins had also been in existence in the east since the early Abbasid era; they came from Bukhara, Fergana, Hamadan, Iṣṭakhr, Jayy, Nishapur and Rayy. Some of the pieces bear the symbol \uparrow (very unlikely to be a corrupted form of the sign of the cross)⁵⁶⁹ or a small rising crescent moon. Some silver and copper coins also bear the comment *bakh* (sometimes twice), 'good, valid'.⁵⁷⁰

The stability of the coin types in circulation from the late seventh century onwards together with various historical developments meant that the coins [420] of the individual | rulers of Iran followed this pattern from 821 onwards: nearly all of them considered themselves to be subjects of the caliphate of Baghdad. Religious inscriptions on coins remained part of the pattern: the Ṭāhirids, Ṣaffārids, Samanids, Sājids,⁵⁷¹ Ṭabaristanis⁵⁷² and Ghaznavids all followed the custom of inscribing on the obverse *lā ilāha illā 'llāhu waḥduh* (ending at this

565 Elsewhere these two names are not used anymore by this time.

566 Lane-Poole I 145–58, nos. 425f., 436f.; Edhem 222–32, nos. 608–30; 392–94, nos. 934–36. According to Iṣṭ. 158 Shiraz was the only mint in Fars around 930. Frye, *Coinage*, 36–38.

567 In the name of al-Mu'tī (946–74) there is one piece from 'Athtar (in Yemen) dated 953–54 (AH 324) and one from Palestine dated 966 (AH 355), obviously courtesy mintings by princes who recognized the caliph in name (Lavoix I 320f., no. 1268f.). After this, there is a complete vacuum.

568 Lane-Poole I 160–62; Nützel I 290f.

569 Lane-Poole I 192–202, nos. 81, 88, 91, 105; Lavoix I 418–84, nos. 1552–1676; Nützel I 323–64, nos. 2066–2228.

570 See Lane-Poole I 210, no. 129; Lavoix I 155, no. 672 (from Baghdad! 775 = AH 158); see also Codrington 9. The comment *ṭayyib* is found elsewhere, see Lane-Poole I 161, no. 697 (776 = AH 160) and is explained by Tiesenhäusen, xviii f., as not being an indication of the intrinsic value of the coin but a blessing on the caliph (equivalent to the Byzantine *καλόν*). A list of the additional words and ornaments may be found in Tiesenhäusen 369. (Of course *ṭayyib* also corresponds to Persian *bakh*).

571 Lane-Poole IX 187f., no. 429f.

572 Lane-Poole IX 258, no. 617. Similarly other minor dynasties: *ibid.* IX 189–92, no. 439f.

point), and *Muḥammadun rasūlu 'llāh* on the reverse. The Shi'ite Buyids followed this custom as well, not inscribing their coins with a profession of their Shi'ite beliefs⁵⁷³ but only adding in the margin 'to God belongs the command, before and after' (*li-'llāhi 'l-amru min qabl wa-min ba'd*); furthermore the late Umayyad and early Abbasid Sura 9:33⁵⁷⁴ makes a reappearance. The marginal legend, e.g. on coins from Shiraz, 'with ease and good fortune, with victory and triumph' (*bi-'l-yumni wa-'l-sa'ādati wa-'l-naṣri wa-'l-zaḡfar*)⁵⁷⁵ should probably not be seen as specifically Shi'ite. Only the Ṭabaristani Zaydis (at least al-Hasan = al-Dā'ī ilā 'l-ḡaqq, 916–28) struck, in true Shi'ite spirit, the verses 33:33 (end) and 22:39 onto their coins.⁵⁷⁶

The subordinate position of all these dynasties (except for the Ṭabaristanis) is regularly expressed⁵⁷⁷ (even in the case of the Buyids as the rulers of the caliphate) by naming the caliph, sometimes even the heir to the throne,⁵⁷⁸ on the coins as well. The position differs: the Ṭāhirid Ṭāhir II uses the reverse,⁵⁷⁹ while Ṭalḡa is the only one who calls al-Ma'mūn *khalīfat Allāh*⁵⁸⁰ – the usual title (if one is used at all) is *amīr al-mu'minīn*.⁵⁸¹ The Ṣaffārid Ya'qūb⁵⁸² and his brother 'Amr⁵⁸³ followed this practice. They both had their own name struck on the obverse – Ya'qūb only his name, 'Amr adding the title *al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh*, | *al-Muwaffaq bi-'llāh* before 'Amr ibn Layth (the later Ṣaffārids in Sistan [421] reverted to only using their name).⁵⁸⁴ The Samanids, on the other hand, being a particularly loyal dynasty, had on the reverse first the caliph's name and then their own.⁵⁸⁵ The Buyids, though, already isolated by virtue of being Shi'ites,

573 Lane-Poole II 194–220, nos. 618–87; IX 259–64, nos. 632–82; Frāhn 148f., nos. 1–2 (Frāhn does not have any further Buyid coins).

574 See p. 416 above.

575 Lane-Poole II 195, no. 621, 623 (not in Codrington).

576 Lane-Poole IX 257, no. 617 p (gold, 918 = AH 306, from Amul).

577 With the exception of one of coins of the Ṭāhirid Ṭalḡa, which was furthermore manufactured after a degenerate Sasanid model. Maybe Ṭalḡa (at least to begin with) was trying to distance himself formally from the caliphate: Lane-Poole II 72, no. 240f.

578 Thus Maḡmūd of Ghazna, see p. 421 n. below; Mas'ūd of Ghazna: Lane-Poole II 155, no. 520.

579 Lane-Poole II 73, no. 242 (853 = AH 239, from Marv).

580 Lane-Poole IX 176, no. 239.

581 See Frāhn 15^{xxx}–18^{xxx}34, nos. 1–11.

582 Lane-Poole II 75, no. 244, on a coin from Panjhēr in Afghanistan (873 = AH 260). Vasmer, 'Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner'.

583 Lane-Poole II 76, no. 246; IX 77, no. 245; Frāhn 35f., nos. 1–4.

584 Walker, *The coinage of the Second Saffarid dynasty in Sistan*.

585 Lane-Poole II 79–83, nos. 251–77 (Ismā'il); II 84–86, nos. 278–92 (Aḡmad ibn Ismā'il; calls himself Abū Naṣr once) (gold coinage as well: 86f., nos. 293–95; copper 95–97, nos. 349–56);

struck their own names on the obverse, the caliph's on the reverse; soon they (e.g. 'Aḍud al-Dawla) would add their honorific titles (*alqāb*) at the same time.⁵⁸⁶ The Kakuyids adopted this custom from them.⁵⁸⁷

As regards the Ghaznavids, Sübüktigin struck the caliph's name on the obverse, and on the reverse first the Samanid's name and then his own.⁵⁸⁸ At first Maḥmūd of Ghazna did this too;⁵⁸⁹ later, however – after his ties with the Samanids had been dissolved and this dynasty had ceased to exist – he dropped the reference to them, but always retained the caliph's name on the obverse. The reverse would now show the rather longer *alqāb* (Yamīn al-Dawla wa-Amīn al-Milla, Abū 'l-Qāsim, walī amīr al-mu'minīn; later he added the name Maḥmūd).⁵⁹⁰ At the top of the obverse his and the succeeding Ghaznavids' coins bear the word 'adl ('justice');⁵⁹¹ Mawdūd used *fath* = victory, or *li-'llāh [al-]fath* = 'victory is God's'; the inscription on the reverse is *li-'llāh* [422] ('for God') – which is also frequently used elsewhere⁵⁹² – and from | ca. 1000 onwards the designation of the coin, *yamīni*, after Maḥmūd's *laqab*.⁵⁹³ Some of the pieces struck for India would have an additional inscription in Sanskrit, or the bull of Shiva.⁵⁹⁴ Maḥmūd's brother Muḥammad and his son Mas'ūd struck their names on the obverse, and their *laqab* and the caliph's name on the reverse of their coins,⁵⁹⁵ while Mawdūd mentioned the caliph on the obverse

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- II 97–101, nos. 357–78 (Nūḥ I; once preceding the name *al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad*: 101, no. 377f.; only silver); II 103f., nos. 385–88; one gold, otherwise silver); II 106f., nos. 392–94 (gold), 107–12, nos. 395–415 (silver) (on the obverse the title *al-malik al-muzaffar*, once the *ism* Muḥammad); II 113f., nos. 416–19 (Nūḥ II, gold and silver), 115–17, nos. 420–29 (copper). In general see also IX 178–86, nos. 250–429; Frähn 38–121, nos. 1–361; Oliver 128–130.
- 586 Lane-Poole II 194–220, nos. 618–87; Edhem, 335–67f., nos. 838–97; Miles, *Rayy* 155/86, no. 173/216.
- 587 Miles, *Kākw*. 90–96.
- 588 Lane-Poole II 128–30, no. 450/6 (silver); Miles, *Rayy* 187/95, no. 217/22B.
- 589 E.g. 995 (AH 385) Nishapur: Lane-Poole II 131, no. 458 (gold): 136, no. 471f. (silver).
- 590 Lane-Poole II 131f., no. 451 (Nishapur 1000 = AH 390). At this time the name of the heir to the caliph's throne is also often included).
- 591 Concerning this word see Hartmann, *Islam und Nationalismus*, 13.
- 592 On one of 'Amr ibn Layth's coins (Frähn 35, no. 1), also on Samanid (ibid. 38, nos. 1ff.) and Buyid pieces: ibid. 148, no. 1.
- 593 Lane-Poole II 137–39, nos. 473–504; Frähn 142, no. 1 (the only Ghaznavid coin in Frähn); Edhem, and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV, 40–53, nos. 67–83 (also the coin of a Ghaznavid client from Nishapur 994). The Kakuyids had 'adl, *li-'llāh*, *naṣr*, *fath*, *zafar* or similar inscriptions, see Miles, *Kākw*.
- 594 Lane-Poole IX 200–18, nos. 458–518. Köprülü, *Senb*. 36, n. 2.
- 595 Lane-Poole II 154, no. 519; 155, no. 520; IX 219–23, nos. 520–35.

and struck his name and *laqab* on the reverse.⁵⁹⁶ The Qarakhanids continued the silver and copper coinage (including the motto *'adl*).⁵⁹⁷

While some Ṭāhirids (e.g. Ṭāhir II)⁵⁹⁸ and Samanids (Naṣr II,⁵⁹⁹ Nūḥ I,⁶⁰⁰ Maṣṣūr II)⁶⁰¹ called themselves *mawḷā amīr al-mu'minīn*, and Maḥmūd of Ghazna called himself *walī amīr al-mu'minīn*,⁶⁰² references to the ruler's own title are not usually found on gold and silver coins (gold coinage was known to all the major local dynasties except the Ṭāhirids). It is, however, usually present in the order to strike which the copper coins bear, which, on the other hand, frequently do not show the caliph's name.⁶⁰³ The phrase usually inscribed by the Samanids (from Naṣr II onwards in the indication on copper coins) was *a'azzahu 'llāh* ('may God strengthen him'), or else *ayyadahu 'llāh* ('may God support him'). The Samanids' mints were nearly exclusively Samarkand, Shāsh and Andarāba (in Turkestan),⁶⁰⁴ less frequently Balkh and Nishapur.⁶⁰⁵ The Ghaznavids (who frequently used abbreviations for the mint) used Balkh, Gōzgān, Ghazna, Nishapur, Parvān (in Afghanistan) and Herat, also Lāhāvur and Maḥmūd-pūr in India (now Pakistan). The mints of the individual Buyids, finally, vary depending on the political constellation under the different members of this multi-branched dynasty.

[423]

Weights and Measures

As in many other countries during the Middle Ages, weights and measures in early Islamic Persia (and this is the only territory under discussion here)⁶⁰⁶

596 Lane-Poole II 163f., nos. 536–42; IX 224–31, nos. 535–42.

597 Edhem and Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt* IV, 1–36, nos. 1–66. Barthold, *Med.* 109, sees this copper minting 'as a sign of the silver crisis which became apparent at the end of the eleventh century'.

598 Lane-Poole II 74, no. 243 (Bukhara; 867 = AH 253); Frāhn 18^{xxx}34, no. 11.

599 Lane-Poole II 96, no. 352.

600 Lane-Poole II 379, no. 102.

601 Lane-Poole II 111, no. 411.

602 Lane-Poole II 131f., no. 459.

603 Lane-Poole II 109, 111, nos. 403, 411f. (963–71 = AH 352–60); Edhem 310–22, nos. 801–15. For more detail see the section on titles, pp. 356–60 above.

604 In Andarāb (presumably in eastern Khurasan) silver from the mines at Panjhēr and Jāriyāna was minted, see Ḥud. 109.

605 Very rarely one of their coins shows the addition *bakh* (see p. 419 n. above); Lane-Poole IX 179, no. 278.

606 For information on everything outside of Persia, refer to *EI*, Sauvaire etc. See J.A. Decourdemanche, *Traité pratique des poids et mesures des peuples anciens et des Arabes*, Paris 1909.

were not regulated to a uniform standard. There can be no doubt that this was a constant source of difficulties and disagreements for merchants, all the more so as, in some places at least, the governments intervened by means of special regulations introducing new measures. For example, Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809) intervened in the units of length in Qom by defining ‘the *dhirāʿ-i rashīdīya* (also called *dhirāʿ-i hāshimīya*) as the cubit (*gāz*)’⁶⁰⁷ (‘the longest and greatest cubit in the world’); it was made up of 12 *qabẓa*.⁶⁰⁸ In the tenth century in the same city the unit of length 1 *ashl* is given as 10 *bāb* equal to 6 *gāz* equal to 6 (sic) *qabẓa* equal to 4 *angusht* (fingers);⁶⁰⁹ obviously the numerical ratios between the individual measures could vary as well. Under these circumstances it is of only relative value if we list here the information provided by tenth-century geographers concerning the measures in use in individual cities in Iran. It is not possible to make definitive statements on the length of time during which they were valid, or on the ratio in which they might stand to our measures, not even when we have certain information about these ratios for earlier, and more particularly later, times. A change in the number of *qabẓas* to the *gāz* (as we have seen in the case of Qom) must of necessity have had some influence on the absolute length of at least one of the two measures (unless, of course, the mistake is in the source, in which case the situation would become even more confused). Having thus exhausted the information available on measures of length, we may proceed to discover that as regards area measures, a ‘great *jarīb*’ was known in Fars, which comprised 3.66 ‘small *jarībs*’.⁶¹⁰ Otherwise the measures used appear to have been largely the same as were used in Iraq.

[424] Information on weights is never definitive either, for since the reform of coinage under the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in 696–97 there were two | parallel systems of weights (and coin weights). They were both based on the *riṭl* (*raṭl*; from *litron*),⁶¹¹ dirham and *mīthqāl*;⁶¹² they differed only slightly, but used the same names for different sub-divisions of weights. The older system put the *riṭl* at 327.45 g, the dirham at 0.95 *riṭl*, i.e. 3.411 g (Sauvaire: 3.3105); the younger system

607 According to Steingass, *Dict.* 1087 this cubit measured 24 fingers or 6 hands. For details see Sauvaire N 479–536 (with further reading).

608 Qommī 28. Concerning the *dhirāʿ* see Sauvaire N 489–514; *ibid.* also concerning *qabẓa*.

609 Qommī 108.

610 Ibn Ḥawq. 216; Iṣṭ. 128, 157; Muq. 451; Abū Yūsuf 22, 27: the ‘small *jarīb*’ comprised 60 ‘royal cubits’ squared (equal to 9 *qabẓa* each) (according to Sauvaire H 485–88: ca. 315 square metres).

611 See Sauvaire N 210–40, esp. 214.

612 Concerning the *mīthqāl* see Sauvaire A 489–502; Richard Vasmer in Schrötter, *Münzkunde*, 390f.; concerning dinar and dirham, *ibid.* 503–33; B 228–47, also J.A. Decourdemanche, *Sur les Misqals et Dirhems arabes*, Paris 1908.

put the *riṭl* at 306 g and the dirham at 3.186 g (Sauvaire: 3.0898).⁶¹³ This puts into perspective statements like the one that in Hamadan a *mann* (i.e. *mina* = two *riṭl*)⁶¹⁴ was equal to 400 dirhams,⁶¹⁵ and means that a factor of uncertainty always remains with calculations such as Henri Sauvaire's (H 296–318). The weights used in Ardabil (in Azerbaijan) are comparable to those from Fars: 1200 dirhams equalled a *mann* from Shiraz; in Ardabil the term used was *mann* and in Shiraz, *riṭl*.⁶¹⁶ In 985 one Ardabil *mann* is given as 1200 dirham, while one *riṭl* from Khoī and Urmia (according to Sauvaire H 312, 926.94 g) is worth 300 and a *mann* 600 dirhams. In Isfahan, finally, a *mann* was worth 300 dirhams. Moreover, the *riṭl* of other places in Jibāl corresponded to that in Baghdad.⁶¹⁷

Of Shiraz in turn it was said that ten dirhams were the same as seven *mithqāls*. Goods were weighed in *mann*, of which there was a 'large' (containing eight Baghdad *riṭl*) and a 'small' one. The large one was equivalent to 1040 dirhams ('like the *riṭl* in Ardabil'; cf. above) (according to Sauvaire H 315, 3213.392 g) and was used to weigh 'vinegar, milk, and similar goods' (i.e. liquids); the 'other' (i.e. 'small') | *mann* was equal to the Baghdad weight of that [425] name at 130 dirhams (according to Sauvaire, 401.674 g). It was used throughout Fars to weigh meat, bread etc., cotton, cereals, sugar, honey, dyes and drugs (for meat and iron there was also a weight weighing 25 [dirhams]). In Bayzā a *mann* was equal to 800 dirhams; in Iṣṭakhr, 400 dirhams; in Khvarra, 280.; in Sābūr, 300; in Ardashīr-khurra, 240 dirhams.⁶¹⁸ In Khuzistan (with the exception of Ahvaz where Baghdad weights were used) one *mann* is said to have

613 The specification of silver dirhams was fixed to 7/10 of the weight of a dinar, i.e. 2.97 g, with the consequence that the dirham according to the standard weight and the actual weight of the silver dirham coin were different once more (see Sauvaire G 369f.; J 125f.) Concerning this entire subject see Sauvaire A 464f., 472f.; EI II 1100 s.v. *Ḳirāt* (Sauvaire 251–56, H 269–73), EI II 196f. s.v. *Ḥabba* (Sauvaire B 256; G 410–17), EI I 951 s.v. *Dūnaḳ*, and EI S209 s.v. *Sanadjāt* (Sauvaire H 244–51). George C. Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps*, New York 1948, refers to Egypt only. Concerning weights of medicines, which are certain to have been used in Iran as well, see Maf. ul. 118–20 and the table in Sauvaire M 287–95. Sauvaire H 296–318 also has an attempt at metrical conversion of individual weights.

614 Maf. ul. 14. Concerning the *mann* see Sauvaire H 280–91, esp. 283–86.

615 Iṣṭ. 203; Ibn Ḥawq.² 372. According to Maf. ul. 14 'among the Arabs' 1 *mann* = 2571/7 dirham = 180 *mithqāl* = 24 *ūḳīya* (ounces) (concerning the ounce see Sauvaire G 380–97); Maf. ul. 14 also has information on other 'Arab' measures of capacity.

616 Elsewhere these had the ratio 2:1, see above Iṣṭ. 191. Schwarz III 168–70.

617 Muq. 381, 397f.

618 Iṣṭ. 156; Ibn Ḥawq.² 301; Muq. 452 (listing more cities).

corresponded to four *riṭl*.⁶¹⁹ In Kirman the Meccan *mann* was in use at the end of the tenth century, but the stone weights (*sanj*, also *šanj*, from Pers. *sang* ‘stone, rock’) used were from Khurasan.⁶²⁰ In Rayy the *mann* was equivalent to 600 dirhams (a *riṭl* to half that); in Ṭabaristan and Qumis, 300.⁶²¹

We only have reports of measures of capacity (*akyāl*, *makāyil*) from a few regions. In Fars a *jarīb*⁶²² was equivalent to ten *qafiz*⁶²³ at 16 *riṭl* each (‘in the case of rye a little more or less’), at 130 dirhams. On the other hand the Baghdad division of a *riṭl* was into twelve *ūqīya* (ounces) at 16.66 dirhams each (i.e. 200 dirhams = one *riṭl*). The *qafiz* as a measure was divided into halves, quarters and sixteenths. In Iṣṭakhr a *qafiz* was half a Shiraz *jarīb*; in Rayy a *qafiz* (also *mudd*) was ten *mann* and a *kaylaja* a third of this.⁶²⁴ The measure varied similarly in the other cities, sometimes even exceeding the Shiraz regulation.⁶²⁵ In Khuzistan there were other designations (besides *makkūk*: *kurr* = [426] *kóros*, *makhtüm*, *kaff*), whose capacity varied from place to place.⁶²⁶ | Of course, this variation – just like in other countries under similar circumstances – meant that the system of measurement used in calculations had to be fixed exactly every single time. It would have been unlikely for the starting point of an objectively and absolutely fixed system to be found among such variety.⁶²⁷

619 Muq. 417. Schwarz IV 427.

620 Muq. 470. Concerning this word see Dozy, *Suppl.* I 69of.; Richard Vasmer in Schrötter, *Münzkunde*, 585 and *EI* s209 s.v. Sanadjāt; Adolf Grohmann, ‘Arabische Eichungsstempel, Glasgewichte und Amulette aus der Wiener Sammlung’, in *Islamica* I (Leipzig 1925), 145–226 (incl. several plates; mostly Egyptian).

621 Iṣṭ. 313; Ibn Ḥawq.² 382; Muq. 397.

622 Later also the plot of land sown with a *jarīb* of grain, see *EI* I 1062 and 423 n. 5; also Sauvaire J 158–61.

623 According to Maf. ul. 15: 1 *qafiz* (according to Sauvaire 6, 426.874 kg) = 8 *makkūk* at 3 *kaylaja* to 600 dirhams; *makkūk* also 15 *riṭl* to 128 dirhams. See Yaḥyā 96–100 and Desmaisons, *Dict.* III 756 and *EI* II 666 s.v. *Ḳafiz*; Sauvaire K 445–56, esp. 446f., 449 (with attempts at conversion) (Pers. *Ḳafiz*, *Kavīzh*).

624 Muq. 381. Concerning *kaylaja* see Sauvaire L 129–31; concerning *mudd*: ibid. 135–49.

625 Information on individual measures in Iṣṭ. 156, Ibn Ḥawq.² 301 and Muq. 398, 452 (Fars: different for wheat, almonds, rice, peas, lentils etc.); Sauvaire J 159 (with attempts a conversion); Schwarz III 170f.

626 Muq. 417f. Sauvaire L 113–23, 134f, 156–63; Schwarz IV 427. Concerning the occurrence of these measures elsewhere see also Vullers, *Lex.* II/1, 808, and Desmaisons, *Dict.* III 487.

627 For essential information see the discussion in *EI* II 666 s.v. *Ḳafiz*.

Traffic and Transport⁶²⁸

The postal system with all its importance for the administration and the security of the caliph's far-flung empire, as well as economic life more generally, was dependent on the facilitation of transport, and hence great attention has always been devoted to it. Iran's road network was ancient, diverse and was constantly being extended and improved.⁶²⁹ The great road crossing northern Persia, part of the Silk Road,⁶³⁰ was of particular importance: it led from Samarkand, on the eastern side of which stood the 'Chinese gate', via Bukhara,⁶³¹ Marv, Nishapur and Rayy, to Hamadan. Here the Silk Road was joined by the ancient Persian Royal Road, which had already been used by the Achaemenids to travel from their summer residence in the Iranian uplands to the warmer basin of Mesopotamia in winter. It stretched from Hamadan via Asadābād in Jibāl to Hulwan,⁶³² then dipped towards the great plain and crossed the Nahrawan bridge into Baghdad.⁶³³

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However, during the seventh century and until the time of Qutayba ibn Muslim (ca. 710), this road was blocked by the independent tribes in Gurgan. It was necessary to take the long way round and travel along a great detour route,⁶³⁴ which stretched from Shiraz via Yazd to Nishapur.⁶³⁵ Soon this route became impassable due to the increase in the activities of robbers⁶³⁶ in the Great Desert between Yazd and Ṭabasayn,⁶³⁷ until 'Aḍud al-Dawla made it

628 For more detailed information on the roads see the map below, Sprenger (*Post- und Reiserouten*), LeStrange and Stein (*Old Routes*).

629 Thus at the end of the tenth century Sübüktigin built the roads along which his son Maḥmūd would later invade India: Bir., *India* I 22. See Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten, passim*.

630 On its continued use by the Muslims see Ibn Khurd. 11–14, 178f.; Qud. 28f., 205f. Barthold, *Vorl.* 46; Barthold, *Christ.* 33–38; also with information on Central Asia. Herrmann, *Atlas*, map 34/35, 37, 38/39; id.: *Die alten Seidenstrassen*; id., *Die Verkehrswege zwischen China, Indien und Rom um 100 n. Chr.*, Leipzig 1922; Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Geographie*.

631 Here a road leading to the Volga-Bulgars via Khwarazm branched off: Mas. II 15f. See also Paul Labbé, *Sur les grandes routes de Russie entre l'Oural et la Volga*, Paris 1905; Adam Szelagowski, *Najstarsze drogi z Polski na wschód w okresie bizantyńsko-arabskim (The oldest roads from Poland to the East in the Byzantine – Arab territory)*, Krakow 1909; Barthold, *Vorl.* 67.

632 Concerning the travel situation in Khuzistan ca. 1250 see Abū 'l-Fidā, *Géog.* II/2, 84.

633 Muq. 278; Ibn Rustah 167.

634 Ṭab. II 1232; Athīr III 42.

635 Ibn Khurd. 30.

636 Ibn Ḥawq.² 406; Şūli 136 (938–39: 'Kurds').

637 Not mentioned by Ibn Rustah or Ibn Khurd.

secure again by taking hostages from the robber tribes – most importantly the Qufş (Kufichis), who had until then not only marauded but also killed men in the most atrocious manner.⁶³⁸ Of course, in some instances they had succeeded in taking the spoils of robbers from Gilan,⁶³⁹ whereupon they would give themselves airs of being the ‘guardians’ of the area. Nevertheless, travelling in the East remained cumbersome and dangerous, as well as time-consuming.⁶⁴⁰

Of course, not only robbers and armed conflicts were a danger to traffic; the rigours of nature also played a part, in particular the climatic variations,⁶⁴¹ due to which snow (and sand) fences had to be erected during the winter,⁶⁴² and which might occasionally force people to tunnel under mountain ledges.⁶⁴³ It was also necessary to set up road markers in the shape of small domes along the roads,⁶⁴⁴ and above all to establish inns with reservoirs to supply man and beast with water (every 12–18 km = 2–3 parasangs)⁶⁴⁵ – ‘Aḍud al-Dawla even had a water conduit built in the Great Desert.⁶⁴⁶ Buckets of water placed by the side of the road⁶⁴⁷ were only an option in the case of previously announced official travellers. In addition to some caliphs (e.g. ‘Umar II, 717–20),⁶⁴⁸ rulers (e.g. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir),⁶⁴⁹ and government officials,⁶⁵⁰ private people also excelled when it came to establishing these travel posts (*ayvān*, later *ribāṭ*).

[428] Villages | near the great roads were also (in the hope of remuneration) prepared for the accommodation and provisioning of travellers;⁶⁵¹ in the case of government officials the population had an obligation to ensure their provi-

638 Muq. 488.

639 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 93f. (1052).

640 Muq. 489 takes 70 days for a distance of 69 parasangs. See Mez 467f.

641 Such basic geographical information is also discussed in Gisela Fürstenau, *Das Verkehrswesen Irans*, Sagan 1935 (PhD Munich), which is otherwise concerned with the present.

642 Ibn Ḥawq.² 416.

643 Ibn Isf. 74.

644 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 93f.; Iṣṭ. 197.

645 Ibn Isf. 74; Siyāsat-nāma 91 (ch. XXII). See Mez 462. According to ‘Iqd III 257 the distance from Samarkand to Ṣan‘a was 1,000 parasangs (according to an inscription there).

646 Muq. 493.

647 Muq. 416.

648 Kremer, *Cultur*. II 178 doubts this information as ‘pious fiction’. The word *caravansera* does not appear until early modern times.

649 Krymśkiy I 41 and n. 3.

650 Ṭab. II 1637 (738 in Khurasan); Muḥ. Ib. II (Kirman ca. 1042). Nāṣir-i Khosraw 92 (Isfahan 1052).

651 Fih. 343; Sam. 247 v.

sioning and safe passage.⁶⁵² We have hardly any information regarding the rate of the tolls (Arab. *maks*, Pers. usually *bāji*) levied on roads and bridges but also at customs barriers on rivers (*maʿṣir*, pl. *maʿāṣir*)⁶⁵³ and in ports,⁶⁵⁴ or indeed the system of tolls and customs in general.⁶⁵⁵

Great care was also devoted to the construction of bridges made of wood (e.g. crossing the Ṭāb, the river that formed the frontier between Khuzistan and Isfahan),⁶⁵⁶ brick (Ahvaz)⁶⁵⁷ or stone (the so-called 'Roman bridge' across the Dizpūl in Khuzistan, 320 paces long and fifteen paces wide, built on 72 arches⁶⁵⁸ // the single-arch stone bridge across the upper Kārūn near Ēdhaj, 150 cubits above the river⁶⁵⁹ // the bridge near Qom).⁶⁶⁰ The pontoon-bridges linked by chains which Maḥmūd of Ghazna had built across the Oxus were a much-admired technical innovation.⁶⁶¹ Of course, the majority of bridges in Iran were in all likelihood just as dilapidated then as in the more recent past; crossing at a ford or through the dried-up riverbed was decidedly safer.

For the ruler and other influential personalities, the means of transport available included litters,⁶⁶² as they had been in use under the Sasanids.⁶⁶³ | [429] The preferred riding animal, in the East in particular, was the camel, as horses

652 Qommī 165.

653 See Mikhāʿīl ʿAwwād, *Al-maʿāṣir fī bilād al-Rūm wa-l-Islām: dirāsāt fī ʿl-taʿrīkh al-iqtisādī li -l-duwal al-islāmīya*, Baghdad 1948 (see also *Oriens* 111/1, 1959, 156f).

654 See p. 431 below.

655 Maf. ul. 59 (ca. 975; Samanids); Nāṣir-i Khosraw 5 (1046 Daylami customs post in Handān on the Shārōdh, near the district of Ṭārom); in Isfahan-Yahūdiya there was a toll on every camel load (not specified which goods) of 30 dirhams (Muq. 400). In Kirman the export premium on 100,000 camel loads of dates was one dinar (Muq. 469). See Barthold, *Turk*. 238f.; Mez 111f.

656 Ibn Ḥawq.² 249. Schwarz 111 117. It is not certain whether Mez is correct in calling it the 'most important wooden bridge', as there is no information on other structures of this kind.

657 Muq. 411.

658 LeStrange 239.

659 Repaired at vast expense around the end of the tenth century, see Yāq. I 385.

660 Yaʿq., Buld. 274. For a general overview see Mez. 463.

661 Gard. 81; Athīr/Tornberg IX 210. Leontios 37 does mention a bridge constructed out of arches linked by ropes on the occasion of the Arabs' crossing of the Oxus under Qutayba ibn Muslim at the beginning of the eighth century which was, however, destroyed by the Chinese (sic). The image of such a bridge can be found in R.C.F. Schomberg, *Between the Oxus and the Indus*, London 1935, facing 180.

662 Narsh. 90 (the captured 'Amr ibn Layth in an elephant litter with a canopy in 901); Rav. 260 (Seljuks 1158–60).

663 Ṭab. I 2681 (Yazdagird 111 643).

were able to walk only on level paths and only from one well to the next.⁶⁶⁴ If the snow was high, however, wild asses had to be driven before the camels to trample a path.⁶⁶⁵ In the mountains, mules were used frequently, with a slave sitting on them as a guide.⁶⁶⁶ A specifically Persian extravagance was to ride on a leopard.⁶⁶⁷ In spite of all this, travelling was not a pleasant affair. Thus it was seen as a plausible reason when in 810 the caliph al-Amīn opposed his brother's (and rival's) wife and children travelling to Khurasan to be with him by claiming that such a journey would be far too hazardous⁶⁶⁸ (while in actual fact he simply wished to keep a hold on his rival's family). On the other hand, there were no official regulations limiting travel during the first centuries, and people were able to travel freely.⁶⁶⁹ It was not until 'Aḍud al-Dawla that passport inspectors were posted at city gates, more likely in emulation of Egyptian than Chinese examples,⁶⁷⁰ e.g. in Shiraz, who would check foreigners' papers.⁶⁷¹ Of course, pilgrimage encouraged travel considerably, notwithstanding all difficulties; frequently it served trade at the same time.⁶⁷²

The speed of travel was obviously largely dependent on the terrain, weather conditions and security. It is impossible to make general statements,⁶⁷³ especially since the sources contain hardly any information on the subject. The following are some notes for a general overview: Mas'ūd of Ghazna's journey from Balkh to his capital (apparently a ceremonial procession) took from 1 May to 4 October 1036,⁶⁷⁴ while his brother in 1030 – when he wanted to succeed to the throne and thus was in a hurry – covered the same distance in 40 days.⁶⁷⁵ In 1034 Mas'ūd covered the distance from Ghazna to Tiginābād between 14 and 23 September. After a sojourn of seven days, he travelled on to Bust where [430] he arrived on 3 October. | He continued to Herat on 16 October, arriving on 31 October and departing again on 6 November, finally arriving in Sarakhs on

664 Iṣṭ. 228; Ibn Ḥawq.² 359f., 402.

665 Rav. 227 (1134–35).

666 Goldziher, *Shuub*. 154.

667 *Jahsh*. 367.

668 Ibn Isf. 118.

669 *Aghānī/Būlāq* XIX 147.

670 See *Mez* 394 and n. 7, 471.

671 *Muq.* 429; *Misk*. I 403. *Lökk.* 177.

672 *Tanūkhī* II 11.

673 On the custom of calculating long distances in 'years' see 'Umarī 22 and the literature listed there. The time assumed for the journey from Samarkand to Baghdad was half a year: *Iqd* III 258.

674 *Ḥus.* 4.

675 *Athīr* IX 138.

16 November.⁶⁷⁶ Other journeys: Hamadan – Isfahan: one week;⁶⁷⁷ Sāvā – Rayy (with a retinue): nine days;⁶⁷⁸ Kufa – Khurasan, along the well-kept state high-road with its relay stations: 20 days.⁶⁷⁹ Forced marches: Herat – Nishapur: two days and nights;⁶⁸⁰ Rayy – Marv: three days;⁶⁸¹ Aleppo – Nishapur: ten days.⁶⁸²

Shipping⁶⁸³

Unlike traffic on land, river traffic played an entirely minor part in Iran. Several districts, such as Jibāl,⁶⁸⁴ Daylam,⁶⁸⁵ Ṭabaristan⁶⁸⁶ and southern Kirman,⁶⁸⁷ did not have any navigable rivers. In other provinces, such as Gurgan,⁶⁸⁸ the rivers were very short. Only Fars and neighbouring Khuzistan had navigable rivers (Ṭāb, Shīrīn, Shādhaghān and the ‘river of Shushtar’).⁶⁸⁹ This was due to the natural conditions prevailing in Iran, and has consequently remained unchanged to the present day. There were furthermore no navigable canals. Coastal shipping, on the other hand, was an entirely different matter; its importance reached far beyond Iran. Firstly, on the Caspian Sea: here Ābaskūn (near Astarābād) was the main port for trade and traffic, not only for Gilan, Daylam, Ṭabaristan and Arrān with their smaller ports such as Fumm (Humm) near Amul, Rasht, Baku, etc., but also for trade and traffic with the Khazars, whose lands could be reached via the mouth of the Volga. The only stop where one might break a journey in case of tempests, etc. was Dehistān.⁶⁹⁰ | There [431]

676 Bayh. 440–42. The weekdays given here correspond to the days of the respective months; the information is thus probably reliable.

677 Rav. 163 (ca. 1108).

678 Rav. 291f. (1166).

679 Ṭab. II 1035 (697–98). See also TS 233.

680 Athīr VII 99 (875–76 with an army).

681 Ṭab. III 803 (811 express messengers); see also Bund. 26 (1063). Express transport of goods: Tha‘alibī, Laṭ. 131.

682 Ḥus. 44 (1074).

683 Concerning the Sasanid era see Christensen 122f. I have not been able to access works by Hadi Hasan, *A history of Persian navigation*, London 1928, and Ḥabīb Zayyāt, ‘Mu‘jam al-marākib wa-’l-sufun fi ‘l-Islām’, in *Al-Mashriq* XLIII (1949), 321–64.

684 Iṣṭ. 202; Ibn Ḥawq.² 370.

685 Iṣṭ. 310; Ibn Ḥawq.² 380.

686 Iṣṭ. 212; Ibn Ḥawq.² 370.

687 Ḥud. 125.

688 Iṣṭ. 213.

689 I.e. the Kārūn/Dujayl; Ibn Ḥawq.² 252f., 265.

690 Iṣṭ. 213f., 218f; Ibn Ḥawq.² 382f., 388; Mas. II 25.

was an inspector 'over the boats' in Amul as early as 724, who was apparently also responsible for shipping on the coastal rivers.⁶⁹¹

Shipping on the Persian Gulf was of much greater international importance; it was, however, considered perilous during the winter months.⁶⁹² The main ports of Persia were not so much the islands Kish (Kishm; Qays)⁶⁹³ and Hormuz, which were to be of such great significance later, but rather Siraf (on the coast south of Shiraz).⁶⁹⁴ This was the home of wealthy merchants, who arranged trade and traffic with India and China, who also had trading posts in Basra and whose revenue from port customs amounted to 253,000 dinars a year.⁶⁹⁵ Imports here were aloe, amber, camphor, pearls, fish, bamboo, ivory, ebony, and sandalwood; also medicines, pepper, and other spices.⁶⁹⁶ Muscat (Oman), Basra and Dēbul on the mouth of the Indus, as well as Aden (the Arabs considered the waters around the southeast coast of the Arabian peninsula as being part of the Persian Gulf) were also ports of some importance, even though their safety was impaired due to the pirates based especially along the Arabian coast.⁶⁹⁷ However, the Persians were so clearly predominant that in those days Persian was the lingua franca of the Muslims along the coast as far as India (and probably also China); shipping terms were generally also of Persian origin.⁶⁹⁸ As early as 738 Muslim merchant colonies in China | [432] were so influential that they could stage a revolt in Canton in order to defend

691 Athīr v 49.

692 Ibn Rustah 86f.

693 See Benj. I 88, last line f.

694 Iṣṭ. 34, 139; Ibn Ḥawq.² 290f.; Yāqūt v 193f. Concerning Siraf and Hormuz see Stein, 'Archaeological reconnaissances in Southern Persia', 125, 129, 132; Schwarz II 59–64.

695 Pseudo-Balkhī 181f. See Herzfeld, *Sam.* vI 114. Information on tolls (2.5% for Muslims, 5% for *dhimmīs*, 10% for foreigners) may be found in, e.g., Abū Yūsuf 76–80, while there are no references from Iranian everyday life.

696 Iṣṭ. 154; Ḥud. 127.

697 Ibn Rustah 86f.

698 Huei-ch'ao 450. See Mez 477–79; Syed S. Nadvi, 'Arab navigation', in *IC* xv (Hyderabad 1941), 435–48 (esp. 437; terminology also in Persian and Hindi); xvi (1942), 72–86 (Umayyad and Abbasid eras; list of the ports, sea routes, including those used in the Middle Ages); 182–98 (study of the sea, sailors, islands, astronomical navigation); 404–22 (compass, ship building, Arabic specialist literature). On the subject of sailors who travelled to India and China from Makran see Tanūkhī II 79. We will not discuss the importance maritime traffic had for the dissemination of the stories of Sindbad and other stories; see Spies, *Or.* 10f. and the literature listed there. On the Chinese information on this subjects see also Friedrich Hirth, 'The mystery of Fu-lin II', in *JAOS* XXXIII, 1913, 205; Henry Yule, 'Notes on the oldest records of the sea route to China from Western Asia', in *Procs. of the Royal Geog. Soc.* 1882, 649–54.

themselves against government regulations which were unfavourable to them. Similar disagreements took place again in 879.⁶⁹⁹

The Social Stratification of the Population

[433]

The Individual Categories

Despite their wealth, the rich merchants just mentioned were by no means the only predominant social class in Fars or in Iran in general.⁷⁰⁰ On the contrary, the social structure of the later Sasanid era⁷⁰¹ (which rested on very ancient foundations),⁷⁰² survived long into the Islamic period, and the leading Iranian noble houses⁷⁰³ retained their influence for a long time,⁷⁰⁴ keeping their internal stratification intact within Iran proper.⁷⁰⁵ They converted to Islam very early on, thus ensuring they would have support against hostility for reasons of religious politics.⁷⁰⁶ The people in question were the *dēhkāns* (spelled '*dihqān*' already by Firdawsī,⁷⁰⁷ but also by Arab historians),⁷⁰⁸ who had prevailed at the end of the Sasanid era and had been treated with favour

699 Details on these events and the activities of Muslim merchants in East Asia in general may be found in Hirth and Rockhill 13, 17f.; Franke, *Exterritorialität*, 13 and n. 1, 18–20, 22; Franke II 369, 510f., 530–53; III 420f., 423–31; Hud. 83–86 (Account of China) with Minorsky's commentary 223–35; Kuwabara, 'On P'u Shou Kêng' (list of all the accessible Chinese material on the subject of Muslim trade and trading posts in China).

700 Tab. I 2534 tells us about the seven noble houses of the Sasanids. I have attempted to give some information on the significance the *dēhkāns* had for the survival of Iranian national spirit and culture in my essay: 'Die Selbstbehauptung des iranischen Volkstums'. I do not know whether Karl August Wittfogel's 'Die Theorie der orientalischen Gesellschaft', in *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (Paris), VII, also deals with the Middle East.

701 See Christensen¹ 93f., 311ff.; Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 113, 206–17 and, especially detailed, Wikander 193f., 221 ('Schema der orientalischen Überlieferung'; priests, warriors, peasants and craftsmen, with variants).

702 See e.g. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, I 170. While Soviet research discusses the social situation at the time at length (e.g. Aleksandr Jakubovskiy s.v. Merw al-Shāhidjān in *EI* s 159–62), it does have to admit in the end that genuinely transmitted information is mostly lacking.

703 See Christensen¹ 13–15.

704 Barthold, *Turk*. 180.

705 Mas. II 152–58, 241; compare with *Kitāb al-tāj*, 23–28 (according to him there were five ranks with differing attire); Bīr. 21.

706 Grünebaum 202. See p. 136f above.

707 According to Wolff, *Glossar*, s.v., there are 73 instances of '*dihqān*' in the Shāh-nāma.

708 Rarely called Deh-khudāh: Yāq., Irsh. I 96; Qazwīnī 3/4.

[434] by the caliph ‘Umar I in Mesopotamia, | who had granted them lands and monetary rewards⁷⁰⁹ and entrusted them with administrative positions and relied on their advice in agricultural matters.⁷¹⁰

In two of the districts in the Persian territory the *dēhkāns* retained their influence for a long period. Firstly, in Fars, which was wealthy thanks to trade, and where a number of families (some of whom were admittedly of Arab origin, but gradually Iranicized, at least in part) owning large tracts of land, including many castles, villages, and villeins, commanded the actual power until as late as the tenth century, namely: the Āl⁷¹¹ Marzbān ibn Zādiya (who were thought to be the wealthiest), the Āl ‘Umāra (also Āl Julandā), the Āl Ḥanzala ibn Tamīm, the Āl Ḥabīb (Mudrik) and the Āl Abī Ṣafiya. The most important posts in the administration were distributed among them,⁷¹² the governors would appoint them as the heads of the lower administrative units, frequently they were emirs⁷¹³ of the neighbouring ‘Kurdish’ (Z/Rumm) districts,⁷¹⁴ and they would also be responsible for collecting land taxes on the government’s (and of course their own) behalf.⁷¹⁵ However, those of them who were Persians were also the guardians of ancient tradition and would certainly protect Zoroastrians, especially in Fars where the old religion survived for a long time,⁷¹⁶ even though the *dēhkāns* themselves were already Muslims. They also kept alive the national traditions, the legends of heroes and the ancient art in the Sasanid style.⁷¹⁷ In Qom, the south Arabian āl Ash‘arī,⁷¹⁸ who had migrated there very early on, were still dominant in the tenth century; in Khurasan it was the Sīmjūrī⁷¹⁹ who played a major part in the tenth century, and the Mikālī in Nishapur.⁷²⁰

709 Ibn Ḥawq. 207. See Christensen¹ 107, n. 1; Barthold, *Krest.* 55f.; Wiet 139–44; Levy, *Soc.* 1 100–2.

710 Bal. 457; Mas. v 337; Athīr/Tornberg IV 116, v. 167. Lökk. 169–71; Berchem 25f.; Caet. v 357f., 388–92, 433–38.

711 Āl = family, clan. See also Omelian Pritsak, ‘Āl Burhān’, in *Der Islam* xxx (1952), 81–96.

712 Iṣṭ. 140–42; Ibn Ḥawq.² 292f. See Schwarz v11 876f.

713 Iṣṭ. 141; Athīr IX 148 (1033).

714 See p. 241 above.

715 The income of one of these family amounted to (apparently per year) thirty million at the beginning of the ninth century, falling to only ten million dirham by the beginning of the tenth century: Iṣṭ. 141f.

716 See Kremer, *Cultur.*, I 299, 318, and p. 191f. above.

717 See Ernst Kühnel, *Die Arabeske*, Wiesbaden 1949, 10.

718 The chronicle of this family may be found in Qommī 240–305.

719 See pp. 103 and 109 above.

720 Sam. 548 v–549 v (scholars in particular). This family was probably descended from a minor Sogdian prince Divāstīch; see Minorsky, ‘Etudes historiques’, 112 (after *Ta’rikh-i Bayhaq*).

Preserving the national ways and Iranian culture was a concern which the *dēhkāns* in Fars shared with those in Khurasan, Ṭabaristan and all over the east of the country. Here the *dēhkāns* were joined by the ‘margraves’, | the *marzbāns*⁷²¹ – a position that to begin with was still (e.g. 723–24) bestowed by the Arab governor of Khurasan.⁷²² Here in the east, the nobility was a very firm and closed social community whose members only married among themselves and looked down upon the peasants with contempt.⁷²³ They were the real mainstay of Iranian national identity, all the more so as here they had early on been entrusted with collecting the *kharāj*.⁷²⁴ This duty they fulfilled more thoroughly and conscientiously than the Arabs,⁷²⁵ who had no sense of administrative matters during the first century of their presence in Iran: military matters were their strong point. Consequently the economically superior position of Persian feudal lords was assured, and despite some attempts on the part of, for example, ‘Umar II, it was impossible to bring about an amalgamation of the leading Arab and Persian classes: throughout the Umayyad era the Arabs looked down upon the Persians in contempt, even reviling them in public in times of political tension.⁷²⁶

This, of course, only confirmed the Persian noblemen’s sense of their ethnic identity, and brought them into contact (beyond the Abbasid revolution) with those circles who were *mawālī* (clients)⁷²⁷ – often of the conquering generals⁷²⁸ – and tried to bring about equality for the Persians because of their achievements in the fields of administration, economy, and art. In short, it put them in contact with the Shu‘ūbiya movement,⁷²⁹ whose leaders they would become in many cases,⁷³⁰ for the *dēhkāns* were still numerous⁷³¹ in the northeast (and among the Sogdians)⁷³² throughout the ninth century, and they were able to increase their influence by increasing their participation in military ventures.⁷³³ Dividing cities along ethnic and social lines remained the

721 Ṭab. II 1218 (710 in Marv al-Rōdh); 1237 (712 in Khwarazm); Maf. ul. 114. For a basic overview see *EI* III 370f.

722 Ṭab. II 1462.

723 See Barthold, *Med.* 79; Goldziher, *Arab.* 109; Vloten, *Rech.* 19f.; Nikitin, *Nat.* 207f.

724 See pp. 454ff. below.

725 See Ṭab. II 1508 (728–29).

726 Athīr/Tornberg IV 116. See Kremer, *Cultur.* II 159–61, 178f.

727 Ṭab. II 1509.

728 On the semantic development of the word see Goldziher, *Arab.* 105ff.; Vloten, *Rech.* 13–18.

729 *Fih.* 40; *Bal.* 373. See Ibn Khaldūn/Quatre III 300f.

730 See Kremer, *Strefz.* 14–16, 20–22 and p. 233f. above.

731 There were also some that came from the common people, e. g. in Daylam: Athīr v. 6 (715).

732 Ṭab. II 1147 (704 in Termez), 1501 (728–29 in Khurasan), 1569 (734), 1632 (738).

733 Ṭab. II 1441, 1449 (721–22); D’jakonov in *VDI* 1951–53, 133.

[436] custom.⁷³⁴ | The necessity of their national and social struggle for equality became clearer to the ruling classes of Iran the more frequently (as we have seen)⁷³⁵ parts of Arab tribal federations (among them the imperial troops, or *abnā' 'l-dawla*)⁷³⁶ moved into Khurasan, feeling themselves to be the ruling class and having no intention of either adapting to the Persians or recognizing them as equals.⁷³⁷ On the other hand they were extremely prone to tribal feuds, so often that they were seen as a matter of course,⁷³⁸ which tended to undermine their position and weaken their reputation to such a degree that they would be unable to halt the Abbasid movement which ultimately robbed them of their social and national standing.

While these events, together with Māzyār's attempt at a social revolution in 838–39,⁷³⁹ meant that the position of the *dēhkāns* here and in Ṭabaristan remained largely unchanged, they never played such a decisive part in central and western parts of Iran. Especially in the cities in these areas, a standard circle of 'notables' (*ṣāḥib[-i] martāba*)⁷⁴⁰ soon emerged, which included (e.g. in Rayy in 1031;⁷⁴¹ it was certainly similar in other cities) the *qāḍī*, the *ra'īs*, the preacher (*khāṭib*),⁷⁴² the Alid marshal of the nobles (*naqīb al-sādāt*), and the *sālār* of the warriors for the faith (*ghāzīs*). This class also owned castles and magnificent palaces.⁷⁴³ Next to them was the broad class of craftsmen and day labourers and the slaves who lived in social and economic dependence on the former.

734 E.g. in Isfahan and its suburbs, Ya'q., *Buld.* 275.

735 See p. 248 above.

736 Aghānī/Cairo x 116; Jāḥiẓ, *Tria*, 15. This term was already used in Sasanid southern Arabia: Ebermann 122ff.

737 Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* I 51 and 74 ('Das arab. Stammeswesen und der Islam'). During the Abbasid era *quwwād* at first referred to the officers in Khurasan, but in e.g. Ya'q., *Hist.* II 457, the word certainly denotes the wider influential circles who in 763–64 (= AH 146) appeared to have decisive influence on the Abbasid succession (even though we should not doubt that they expressed their preference at the caliph's suggestion, as it would be in his favour).

738 *Ibid.* 80.

739 See in more detail p. 65f. above.

740 *Qommī* 17, 208 (marshal of the nobles); *Bayh.* 21; *Siyāsat-nāma* 126. See the informative study on class in Grünebaum 211–220.

741 Thus *Qommī* 17.

742 The biographies of these dynasties of scholars are reported in e.g. the articles Sam'ānī (Marv) and Mikālī (Nishapur) in *Sam.* 307 v–309 r and 548 v–549 v.

743 *Ibn Ḥawq.*² 363f. (Isfahan); *Must.* 842–49 (Qazvin in the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries).

The great majority of Iran's population, however, consisted of peasants (who were free in principle, and could move freely). In some places, such as Daylam and Gilan, they were subdivided into individual classes according to the quality and the yield of the cultivated soil.⁷⁴⁴ | They were the class on whom rested the main burden of taxes, but whose part in public life was virtually nonexistent. All the same, the confusion of the times, but also the frequent military conflicts, resulted in large numbers of the country population, of unemployed border soldiers and warriors for the faith (*ghāzīs*),⁷⁴⁵ as well as social outcasts, joining together in large robber gangs, some of them as *hūzīya*,⁷⁴⁶ *ʿayyārūn* ('yobs')⁷⁴⁷ or *duzdān*,⁷⁴⁸ *šaʿālīk*⁷⁴⁹ or *luṣūṣ* ('thieves, robbers'),⁷⁵⁰ a well-established notion. Again and again there are complaints about them,⁷⁵¹ but it seems that the problem was never really solved. In the end, great religious – social movements emerged in the eighth and ninth centuries, culminating in Bābak's rebellion; however, due to their failure they only resulted in more oppression.⁷⁵² Nothing was done to deal with the true causes of the population's gradual removal from its inherited environment; consequently occasional counter-measures had only minimal effect, unless they were led by a soldier as determined as Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār against the Khārijites. However, he did promise the vagabonds who joined his army promotion and rich booty – and kept his promises.⁷⁵³

744 Ḥud. 136f. See Rabino, *Maz.* 399; Barthold, 'K voprosu o feodalizme v Irane'; Lökk. 168. On the beginnings of 'extended families' in Daylam see *EI* Turk. III 569.

745 E.g. in Azerbaijan: Ḥud. 142.

746 Ibn Ḥawq.² 406 (Khurasan 978); Athīr IX 1033).

747 Gard. 43, 64, 105; Athīr VIII 71; Šūlī 89. See Krymskiy I 48f. These *ʿayyārūn* were certainly connected to the 'travelling people' (Banū Sāsān), concerning whom (including their jargon) see Paul Kahle, 'Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl und sein arabisches Schattenspiel' (in *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, Berlin 1950, 151–67), esp. 156f. (where he also lists literature relevant to countries outside Iran).

748 Narsh. 79; also Jakubovskiy, *Mach.* 69 (874 near Bukhara in the battle against the Samanids). For a castle of the 'Duzdān' in Kurdistan see Yāq. v 313.

749 In Ṭabaristan, see Ṭab. III 137 (758–59), 1528, 1530, and also Kasravī II 24, n. 1; Vasiliev: *Byzance et les Arabes*, 343, n. 6; 413, n. 2. Al-Ṣuʿlūkī also occurs as a personal name: Utbī 276, 327. Vladimir Minorsky's translation 'soldier of fortune' for *ṣuʿlūk* (*EI* III 290 s.v. Marand) is a little euphemistic.

750 Aghānī/Cairo VI 44, l. 6; Aghānī/Būlāq X 115.

751 Tanūkhī I 160 on Kurdish camel thieves; II 38f., 92f. (Fars, Ahvaz). See also Jakubovskiy, *Mach.* 63f. as well as p. 67 above.

752 In more detail on pp. 201–4 above.

753 TS 205 (862) and *passim*.

A gradual change in the social structure of Iran, and in particular Khurasan, seemed possible once the Samanids took power – one single dynasty, after the country had been divided among numerous minor principalities ruled by minor princes (who often called themselves ‘king’).⁷⁵⁴ The Samanids had little interest in supporting the *dēhkāns*’ powerful position, as this would have weakened their own government. However, throughout the long duration of their rule they were able only temporarily to subdue the influence of this class.⁷⁵⁵ By the second half of the tenth century the *dēhkān* families had prevailed entirely⁷⁵⁶ and became the primary class, whose ideas and language proved to be predominant.⁷⁵⁷ In neighbouring Ṭabaristan and Gilan with their numerous clans,⁷⁵⁸ there were also attempts by the rulers (*ispāhbadhs*) to rid themselves of the *dēhkāns*,⁷⁵⁹ some of whom were very wealthy;⁷⁶⁰ the motives were probably the same as in Khurasan. The rise of standard New Persian at the expense of Iranian dialects and languages was concomitant with these tendencies of social levelling.⁷⁶¹

The class of the *dēhkāns*⁷⁶² would be subdued only later (not immediately)⁷⁶³ in the Qarakhanid state, and all over Iran during the Seljuk era, when the Turks, a new ethnic element, arrived on the scene and seized power. Both these dynasties contributed to the process of supplanting Iranian languages and dialects with ‘Persian’, and subsequently to ‘Persian’ being replaced by Turkish. The social levelling tied to this process resulted in the previously leading classes of the country being absorbed into the populace, which was also absorbing those Arabs who had not left the country again. The leading part was now played [439] by the merchants and the chieftains of the individual Turkish | tribes and clans, some of whom were in the service of the most powerful ones – i.e. the Seljuks – but some of whom were comparatively independent.⁷⁶⁴ However,

754 See p. 311f. above.

755 Mez 151 (after Yatīma IV 7ff, 11, 81); Barthold, *Vorl.* 83f.

756 See p. 99 above.

757 Rūdagī’s beautiful poem ‘*Būyi jūyi mūliyān āyad hamī*’ (which would be the subject of much criticism later) is proof of the zest for life of this class, and its connection to the court in the capital, see Browne II 15–17.

758 Ṭab. III 1278f. Rabino, *Maz.* 400.

759 Ḥud. 137.

760 Ibn Isf. 73.

761 See p. 246 above.

762 There was a *dēhkān* in Tārāz in 922: Athīr VIII 41; in Samarkand at the beginning of the ninth century: Kremer, *Cultur.* II 161 (after Jāḥīz, Addād).

763 Barthold, *Vorl.* 83f. Pritsak, *Karach.* 86; on the Ghaznavids see Jakubovskiy, Mach. 90–92.

764 Siyāsat-nāma 139. See Köprülü, ‘Feodalizmī’, 332f., 348f.; Kremer, *Cultur.* II 162.

describing the details of this development falls beyond the scope of the present book.

Slaves

The entire social and economic structure in Iran during the time described was only possible on the basis of extensive slavery, which had always been the custom here as well as in Khwarazm and Sogdia.⁷⁶⁵ Slaves were working in agriculture,⁷⁶⁶ and large numbers were living at the courts of princes as pages or servants (divided into palace slaves and outdoor slaves depending on their duties – *ghulām-i sarāi* and *bērūnī*).⁷⁶⁷ In order to be suitable for service, or as craftsmen, singers or performers etc., slaves required training,⁷⁶⁸ for which the centre was Samarkand, which as early as 678⁷⁶⁹ was the hub for the import of slaves, among them many Slavs from Bulghar on the Volga. The white slaves bought here are said to have been the most expensive besides the Turkish slaves,⁷⁷⁰ costing up to 3000 dinars: this is the highest sum paid (ca. 978) for a slave in the Islamic territory, higher than the prices of Roman or mixed-race (*muwallad*) slaves.⁷⁷¹ By the Oxus, on the other hand, slaves are said to have been sold for around 20 to 30 dirhams in 985, at a time when the Samanids had monopolized the slave trade⁷⁷² (and there was an abundance of prisoners of war).

Captives taken during the constant military campaigns,⁷⁷³ or the population | of entire cities or regions, might be carried off into slavery.⁷⁷⁴ In addition [440] there was a regular slave trade which was as organized here as, for instance, in the Occident during the early Middle Ages, and which exploited religious differences. Thus the majority of slaves imported into Arrān, Azerbaijan and

765 See Jakubovskiy, 'Archeologičeskoe iručenie', 20.

766 Misk. I 298 (934 near Shiraz).

767 TS 207 (ca. 900 under the Šaffārids).

768 On the training of slaves see also Jakubovskiy, 'Gazneli Maḥmūd' (*Ülkü* XI, 1939) 505, and Albert Wesselski, 'Die gelehrten Sklaven des Islams und ihre byz. Vorbilder', in *Archiv Orientalni* IX (1937), 353–78 (with particular reference to Baghdad ca. 800).

769 Narsh. 39.

770 Ibn Ḥawq. 968.

771 Ibn Ḥawq. 452; Muq. 282.

772 Muq. 340. Qābūs-nāma/Diez has advice on buying slaves for all manner of profession, 534–54. The legal and moral position of slaves under Islam among the Arabs is discussed in Goldziher, 'Arab. 121ff.

773 See p. 502 below.

774 E.g. the inhabitants of the city of Paykand in Tukharistan ca. 710: Narsh. 43.

Rayy would be Greek, Armenian, Pecheneg, Khazar and Slav;⁷⁷⁵ similarly, slaves would be exported from Daylam ‘as long as the population was not yet Muslim’,⁷⁷⁶ and from Ghōr they were imported to Herat and Sistan⁷⁷⁷ as well as Khurasan.⁷⁷⁸ Part of the tribute imposed on Ṭabaristan and a number of other regions was the obligation to supply Turkish slaves to Baghdad.⁷⁷⁹ The establishment of foreign guards, which became the custom in Baghdad during the first third of the ninth century, relied on these Turkish slaves at first. Soon this type of military unit would also be established in Persia. In the Ṣaffārid (where ‘Amr ibn Layth treated them strictly but fairly, and employed them at the same time to spy on the officers)⁷⁸⁰ and Samanid armies, unfree Turkish soldiers had an important part to play.⁷⁸¹ In the Ghaznavid dynasty officers originally from this Turkish slave army rose to be the independent rulers, the forerunners of a long succession of such dynasties on Iranian soil. In the present context a brief reference to parallels with Egypt (Ṭulunids) and India, and the significance this development had for the expansion of the Turkish people, must be sufficient.

Public Welfare and Social Institutions

The situation of the slaves was tempered, and social tensions in general much smoothed, by the comparatively humane attitudes shown to the unfree and socially oppressed classes in the entire Islamic world (as opposed to, for example, the appalling atrocities of warfare). These attitudes were based on the Qur’an and the Prophet’s relevant commandments (in *hadīths*), which tradition had developed further. This included particular concern for orphans: in Isfahan, for instance, they were looked after and fed in dedicated houses⁷⁸² – [441] ‘to remember the fact that Muḥammad himself was an orphan.’ | It was an established custom to assign donations of money and in kind (sometimes, of course, out of the tax revenue)⁷⁸³ to the needy; this would be done either regu-

775 Ḥud. 142. There is no proof that the Arab conquest of Azerbaijan reduced its entire population to the status of slaves (as stated in *ET Turk* II 96); it would not have been in keeping with Arab practice.

776 Iṣṭ. 205; Ibn Ḥawq.² 377.

777 Iṣṭ. 281.

778 Ḥud. 109.

779 Ibn Isf. 118 (ca. 765).

780 Athīr VII 165.

781 *Siyāsat-nāma* 95f. See Jakubovskiy, *Mach.* 71f. and p. 487 below.

782 *Mez* 356 after Abū Nu‘aym 161a.

783 See the list in *TS* 31f.

larly (every year during Ramadan,⁷⁸⁴ every week on a Friday,⁷⁸⁵ on the occasion of the birth of a child⁷⁸⁶ or of a promotion in office),⁷⁸⁷ or it might be done at irregular intervals.⁷⁸⁸ People were proud if they could say that they had donated a thousand dinars 'daily'⁷⁸⁹ for a good cause.⁷⁹⁰ Wealthy persons (especially princes) would pay regular pensions to people such as scholars or poets⁷⁹¹ – who would often show their gratitude in eulogistic works⁷⁹² – but also to *sayyids*,⁷⁹³ one of whom an *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan in addition invited to visit him once every year,⁷⁹⁴ and who, together with legal scholars, sufis and dervishes in general, were among the groups of people most frequently presented with donations.⁷⁹⁵ People were generally very fond of feeding the needy,⁷⁹⁶ allowing the poor – as well as travellers – to pick up dates that had fallen to the ground,⁷⁹⁷ and establishing particular inns (*ribāṭs*),⁷⁹⁸ which would occasionally maintain their own cows for a guaranteed supply of milk.⁷⁹⁹ Such foundations were seen to be particularly meritorious if they were set up to provide for pilgrims to Mecca. One Ṭabaristani prince would furthermore send (ca. 820) a thousand pilgrims to Mecca each year at his expense, whom he had provisioned along the journey, while another prince invited pilgrims passing through to be his guests.⁸⁰⁰

Indeed, many activities, which in other countries would be the responsibility of the government authorities (or the ruler),⁸⁰¹ were left to private initiative

784 Thus Mas'ūd of Ghazna: one million each year: Athīr IX 168.

785 Ibn Isf. 69 (1184 in Ṭabaristan).

786 Mez 24 after Ibn al-Jawzī ('Aḍud al-Dawla).

787 Bayh. 153 (1031 some ministers in Ghazna).

788 Bay. 6f. (Maḥmūd of Ghazna).

789 It is hard to believe that this should really have been the case. It was said of Alp Arslan that he had a thousand dinars in *ṣadaqa* distributed every year during Ramadan in Balkh, Marv, Herat, and Nishapur: Ḥus. 21.

790 Ts 263 (Ya'qūb ibn Layth).

791 Ibn Isf. 69 (ca. 1184 in Ṭabaristan).

792 Ibn Isf. 47f. (ca. 864 the Zaydis in Ṭabaristan). See p. 350 above.

793 Ibn Isf. 69.

794 2,000–3,000.

795 Ḥus. 46 (Nizām al-Mulk).

796 Ibn Isf. 46 (ca. 875 in Ṭabaristan 200 persons morning, noon, and night).

797 Ibn Ḥawq.² 224; Ḥud. 124.

798 Maḥmūd ibn 'Uthmān 47, 50; Zark. 44 (eleventh century in Shiraz); Muḥ. Ib. (Kirman ca. 1110).

799 Ḥud. 6f. (Barthold) (ca. 950 in Gözḡān).

800 Ibn Isf. 73f.

801 When the *Siyāsat-nāma*, 6, presents these activities as the rulers' duties, this was true mostly in theory or due to the ruler's private initiative (and his private fortune).

[442] in the Islamic world (princes often contributing out of their private fortune). | While the roads in Ṭabaristan and Rōdh/yān were built by a wealthy private individual,⁸⁰² in Kirman the Seljuk prince Qāvurs (ca. 1042) at least paid for the wells beside the roads.⁸⁰³ Founding madrasas⁸⁰⁴ and mosques⁸⁰⁵ was particularly meritorious (occasionally their upkeep would be ensured by donations from the faithful).⁸⁰⁶ Hospitals – in Mecca as well⁸⁰⁷ – were not forgotten; bathhouses, caravanserais⁸⁰⁸ and water conduits were built, but also shoes made available to pilgrims, and even shrouds.⁸⁰⁹ As these institutions had such great significance for public life, it is understandable that nearly all governments would leave the great wealth that was (as *waqf*) bound up in them – and often provided the founder's descendants with a carefree income – untouched. Consequently these 'pious foundations' might exist for centuries⁸¹⁰ (and some, of course, still do). As a result wealthy citizens, but also princes, often invested their fortune in such foundations and thus secured it: otherwise public welfare and social care would not have been possible during the Islamic Middle Ages.⁸¹¹ Similar economic and social conditions were found in other parts of the world at this time as well.

[443] **Landed Property**

Manors, Crown Estates, Estates and Fiefs

The Arabs, possibly already during the actual conquest, but certainly under Mu'awiya, had seized Sasanid crown property and *agri deserti* (*mawāt*). Part of this was assigned to the caliph's private fortune as crown land (*khāṣṣ*, *diyā'*

802 Ibn Isf. 73f.

803 Muḥ. Ib. 11.

804 Founders included women, thus e.g. in Kirman ca. 1110 the ruler's favourite wife: Muḥ. Ib. 27.

805 Muḥ. Ib. 20 (ca. 1086 in Kirman); 32 (ca. 1150 in Kirman).

806 Mez 324 (841 in Isfahan) after Abū Nu'aym.

807 Muḥ. Ib. 39 (ca. 1160 from Kirman).

808 Muḥ. Ib. 20 (ca. 1086 in Kirman).

809 See the list Mez 24 (for the 'Kurd' Badr ibn Ḥasanwayh, d. 1014). For a similar list regarding the *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan ca. 1184 see Ibn Isf. 70.

810 Ibn Isf. 49 (foundations dating back to ca. 915 are still in existence in Amul in the thirteenth century).

811 See M.T. Houtsma in Muḥ. Ib. xvii f.

al-khāṣṣa,⁸¹² *ḍiyā' al-sultān*)⁸¹³ or confiscated as state land (*ṣawāfi al-sultān*,⁸¹⁴ *qisṭ al-sultān*).⁸¹⁵ As there are no documents at all, it is impossible to discover the size and position of these estates; we have to rely on a few references in books. These merely tell us that the Umayyad caliphs had personal property (*ḍiyā'*) in Khurasan around 738 and the Abbasid caliphs around 800,⁸¹⁶ and that in addition there were extensive lands in Fars which were part of the ruler's private assets. These were occasionally occupied by the Ṭāhirids, but the Abbasids claimed them back (902–3)⁸¹⁷ and were finally able to assert their claim. In 932 the Commander of the Faithful's income for his private treasure (*khāṣṣ*)⁸¹⁸ came to 18 million dirham from Fars, five million from Kirman, | [444] which, however, consisted of the income from the *kharāj*, the revenue from the *ḍiyā' al-ʿāmm* (the ruler's public property)⁸¹⁹ and the *ma'rūf bi-l-umarā'* (the princes' properties).⁸²⁰ In 999 the caliphs still had crown property (as *khāṣṣ*)

812 On the meaning of the word see the definition in TS 275 (for 903), and *ibid.* 246 (888); also the definition 'ruler's fief' in *Siyāsat-nāma* 91. Uzun. 63.; Adolf Grohmann in *Erasmus* IV (1951), 176f. (also with respect to the following). *Khāṣṣa* also denotes the private pension for a deposed ruler etc.: TS 294. See Kremer, *Ein.* 293; Lammens, *Om.* 82f. (Dēhkānland im Zweistromlande); Hamīdullāh I 169–71; F.F. Schmidt, 'Die Occupation im islamischen Recht (nach jurist. Kompendien, bes. Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-Ḥarāḡ)', in *Der Islam* I (1910), 300–53; A.N. Poliak, 'La féodalité islamique', in *Révue des études islamiques* X (1936), 247–65. On the way in which Yahyā 3ff., 45 deals with the subject of land distribution, see Pfaff 16–32.

813 Jahsh. 173 [AD: or rather Tanūkhī I 50]; Lökk. 52; Lambton 590.

814 Ya'q., *Hist.* II 258f., 277; Abū Yūsuf 32, 36–38; Yahyā 8, 45; Māwardī 308–22; Ṭab. III 1524 (bestowal on Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir by the caliph 864). See Caet. v 373f., 376–79, 402, 413–19. On the term *ṣafi*, which originated from the fifth part of the booty which was the commander's share [AD: rather the *ṣafi* is the portion taken by the leader before any distribution] see Lökk. 43ff.; Berchem 41–44, 52; Wellh., *Arab.* 171; Pfaff 28f. A.N. Poliak, 'Classification of lands in the Islamic Law and its technical terms', in *American Journal of Semitic Languages* XLVII (1940), 50–62.

815 Hil. 378 (999).

816 Athīr v 80; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 502, 507 (in the succession decrees of Hārūn al-Rashīd). Schwarz VII 876.

817 TS 274f.

818 Maḥmūd of Ghazna would later have one as well: Bayh. 124.

819 This term is not quite clear: Lökk. 52 (Misk. 59). On the subject of *ḍiyā'* in contemporary Iraq see also Jakubovskiy, 'Arendy', 180f.

820 Misk. I 238 [AD: rather Misk. says: when al-Muqtadir became caliph (so in 908), his private treasury consisted of 14 million dinars; then in 911–12 Fars and Kirman were conquered, which yielded 18 and 5 million dirhams respectively from the *kharāj*, the *ḍiyā' al-ʿāmma* and the (landed) properties of the princes]. Qommī 123 names not only the *Ẓ(D)ay'athā-yi ʿāmm* but also the *Ẓ(D)ay'athā-yi maqbūza* of certain persons and their payments.

in Fars.⁸²¹ The Abbasids (like the Umayyads before them) held further properties in Azerbaijan (Varsān and Maragha).⁸²² Besides the estates in Fars⁸²³ there were some in Rayy,⁸²⁴ Qazvin,⁸²⁵ Dinavar⁸²⁶ and Ṭabaristan.⁸²⁷ Some of them the caliph gave to the Ṭāhirid Muḥammad in fief (*qaṭāʿi*),⁸²⁸ as the estates (unlike *waqf* properties) could be increased at will. This practice was then extended as far as possible by the Seljuks, who converted their estates into military fiefs; the peasants living on them would, however, remain in bondage to the state.⁸²⁹ Of course all the individual dynasties (such as the Rawwādids in Azerbaijan)⁸³⁰ made sure they had their own estates. This included certain grazing rights⁸³¹ and hunting grounds.⁸³² The expansion of estates, or the acquisition of new estates once existing property had been given in fief, was frequently carried out – to a greater extent under the Buyids – by confiscating properties⁸³³ (in particular those belonging to officials who had been removed from office),⁸³⁴ presumably on a large scale, even though there is no detailed evidence in the sources. Of course, occasionally there might be a peaceful division of property rights, as, for example, in 1118–19 between Sanjar and | the Ismaʿilis in the district of Qumis and on the slopes of their mountain Girdkōh.⁸³⁵ Yet this is unlikely to have been a regular occurrence; on the contrary, in the

821 In those days the division was between the Turks, who in the end succeeded in acquiring (by sheer stubbornness) two thirds, and the caliph (his part: *qisṭ al-sultān*): Hil. 378. The yields from the piece remaining in the caliph's hands were calculated, including the dues from the 'patrimonial lands' (*ḥaqq al-waratha*) and excluding the 'claim of the treasury' (*ḥuqūq bayt al-māl*), to amount to more than 2000 *kurr* (= six donkey loads) of rye, wheat and other cereals, as well as 19,000 dinars and *kasad* (what was unsaleable): *ibid*.

822 See *ET Turk*. II 96.

823 TS 288: *Vilāyat-i sultān* (910).

824 *Qurā ʿl-sultān*.: Athīr VII 151 (892).

825 *Ḍiyāʿ* (Amedroz translates 'estates'): Misk. I 83 (922–23).

826 Yaʿq., *Buld*. 271 (891).

827 *Ṣawāfi ʿl-sultān*. Concerning the word see Dozy, *Suppl.* I 838.

828 Ṭab. III 1524 (864); Yahyā 56–59. Dozy, *Suppl.* II 373. On the subject see Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 96f.

829 *Siyāsāt-nāma*, ch. 5.

830 *ET Turk*. II 96.

831 *Bund*. 122 (1118 in Fars).

832 TS 274 (902, *ibid.*).

833 Bal. 129, 294, 311 (ca. 920 in the district of Sisar), 329f.; Jahsh. 92; Zark. 26; Athīr/Tornberg VIII 342f. (Buyids). Lökk. 52; Lambton 592.

834 E.g. 1190 in Kirman: Muḥ. Ib. 153.

835 *Juv.* III 214.

present instance we know that it was simply the fear of the Assassins (who had not been crushed in the siege of 1118) that led to this agreement.

Besides the ruler's estates (which could only be separated in theory, but not in practice, from the regime's estates in those days) the number of more extensive, private *dēhkāns'* properties⁸³⁶ on Iranian territory increased during the early Umayyad era at the expense of ancient manors. These properties benefited from tax relief and were called – especially during the early years – *diyā'*⁸³⁷ (which evidently included the *māl-i manqūl* and the particularly privileged *īghārs* [= exempt areas]).⁸³⁸ During the early time, at least, it could happen that Persians, in order to protect themselves from attacks, assigned their lands to a state official (such as the governor)⁸³⁹ or other notables as protectors (*talji'a*), occasionally paying a double tithe (*'ushr*)⁸⁴⁰ on the land (not the livestock) to allow them to farm the land in peace as 'tenants'. However, they might easily lose the right of paying merely the 'tithe'.⁸⁴¹

Occasionally, but by pure chance, our sources tell of such properties and the purchase and sale of these estates.⁸⁴² Such 'latifundia' could be found near e.g. Ahvaz, Nahavand, Qom⁸⁴³ and Ray,⁸⁴⁴ in Jibāl,⁸⁴⁵ near Marv, Khwarazm,⁸⁴⁶ and in Transoxania.⁸⁴⁷ However, | this information does not provide us with [446] a complete picture of the distribution, size, administration and ownership structure of these properties, as there are no documents on the subject (unlike in Egypt). In addition, the conditions in countries with ancient river

836 The Zaydis in Ṭabaristan seized them, the Samanid Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad returned them to twelve people/families in 901: Ibn Isf. 195. Lökk. 111. In Qom the revenue from the *diyā'* were called *ḥayz*, pl. *aḥyāz*: Qommī 158–61 (with table), 167.

837 Bal., Ans. IV 154 (Shush, ca. 675); Ya'q., Hist. II 277 (ditto); Qommī 18; Aghānī/Būlāq XI 96 (early eighth century). See Kremer, Ein. 292f.; Lambton 491, and on the situation during the Sasanid era see Bartholomae, *Frau*, 9.

838 Ibn Khurd. 199, 243; Qommī 124; Maf. ul. 60. Lökk. 62, 89; Lambton 491 w. n. 1.

839 Thus ca. 800 the inhabitants of Zangān and al-Qāziqān to the governor: Bal. 323; also in Fars: Ibn Ḥawq. 217.

840 See Kremer, Ein. 325; Lökk. 72–91, esp. 78; 456.

841 Lökk. 91 (they were also obliged to pay the *ḥaqq al-dahqana*).

842 Ibn Rustah 150 (ca. 905); Narsh. 59 (the ruler of Bukhara gives the Arab governor a village as a present, ca. 730); Aghānī/Būlāq XVII 32 (ca. 800). Lökk. 68f.

843 Aghānī/Būlāq XVII 69; Ya'q., Buld. 272 (891); Qommī 18.

844 Ya'q., Buld. 276 (891).

845 Bal. 308 (ca. 681). Brockelmann, *Gesch.* 121 (861).

846 The estates of the family Ibn al-Furāt, see Qommī 18, 124 and Ibn Faḍlān 108; see *EI* Turk. V 243 and Louis Massignon, 'Les origines chiïtes de la famille des Banū 'l-Furāt', in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935.

847 Ya'q., Buld. 279 [AD: concerns properties in Khurasan, not in Transoxania].

valley civilizations (including Mesopotamia) are entirely different from those on the Iranian high plateau. Since the theoretical treatises on property law tend to be based precisely on the situation in Mesopotamia,⁸⁴⁸ they, too, are sources to be treated with great caution in our assessment of the situation in Persia and only to be referred to in specific cases. It is not possible to gain a clear picture of the development of fiefs in Iran either. Due to the scarcity of information and the lack of clarity in the terminology – as Fuad Köprülü remarks correctly⁸⁴⁹ – the Iranian, and the Eastern situation in general, has been researched only insufficiently, but really remains elusive.

As we know, Islam calls the appointment of a governor as well as the transfer of land with the aim of collecting revenue⁸⁵⁰ (this may be of varying amount or form, to be used as wages or soldiers' pay), *iqṭā'*.⁸⁵¹ While there are theoretical texts that suggest explanations⁸⁵² for this term, they are not found in the works of history that report but do not analyse from an economic point of view. Thus [447] we should see the 'granting' of land to the Arabs in Mesopotamia,⁸⁵³ Kirman,⁸⁵⁴ around Isfahan and in Khurasan as *tu'ma*,⁸⁵⁵ a simple transfer for someone's lifetime, while the various cities which are granted as *iqṭā'* during the early

848 Māwardī. Köprülü, 'Feodalizmi', provides an overview of the (few) treatises on this subject in recent times, including reviews of works by Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, A.N. Poliak, and Carl Heinrich Becker, 'Steuerpacht und Lehnswesen', in *Der Islam* v (1914), 82–92. The latter's description is rejected as being insufficiently supported by evidence; Köprülü, however, is not able to give a solution, either. Concerning historical treatises discussing the irrigation system in Mesopotamia see Kremer, *Cultur*. I 443ff.

849 Köprülü, 'Ortazaman', 326 (as previous note). See Poliak, 'La féodalité islamique' (as p. 443 n. above).

850 Thus Hārūn al-Rashīd to al-Ma'mūn: Ibn Isf. 43.

851 See *EI* II 491–93; *EI* Turk. v 949–52; Caet. v 397–99, 429–33; Lökk. 14–72; Siddiqi, *Finance*, 73–80; Kremer, Ein. 297ff., and Uzun. 17. Abū Yūsuf 29f., 32–35; Qommī 18. (Ṭab. III 1506 even refers to the confirmation of the new Ṭāhirid emir Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir in 864 as *khāṣṣa*, even with lands being granted, which cannot be correct under constitutional law). I am not able to say whether A.A. 'Alī-zāde's study, 'K voprosu ob institute ikta' ('On the question of the institution of *iqṭā'*'), in *Izv. AzerIbn Filiala Ak. N.* 1942, no. 5 (which is not accessible to me) discusses the question in general or, as do the author's other works, only with reference to Azerbaijan during the Mongol era.

852 See *EI* II 491–93.

853 Ṭab. I 2276 (657) [AD: rather the year 635]; 2705 (644).

854 Bal. 392; Bal., Ans. IV 79.

855 See Ṭab. II 1967–69 (two Arabs owning a village in Khurasan in 744), also Ṭab. II 762 (687–88); 832 (691–92). Qud., ch. VI, defines *tu'ma* as a (non-hereditary) fief for life. See also Kremer, Ein. 325; Lökk. 60f.

Abbasid period⁸⁵⁶ should be seen merely as the conferring of a governorship of a district or the command of a town.⁸⁵⁷ Of course, the governor or commander in receipt of such a conferral (*muqāṭaʿa*) would then, for his part, have to pay the soldiers.⁸⁵⁸ It is not until the Ṣaffārid⁸⁵⁹ and Buyid⁸⁶⁰ eras, to some extent also under the later Samanids,⁸⁶¹ that we see attempts in Iran to supplement army pay (*maʿāsh*, Persian: *bīstaghānī*),⁸⁶² and in particular officers' pay, with the allocation of agricultural produce;⁸⁶³ not, however, to use it instead of pay. This will usually have been the land tax (*kharāj*),⁸⁶⁴ | although legal handbooks [448] consider other possibilities as well. Historians mention similar occurrences only in the year 1000 in Fars, where the land had been divided up for Turkish mercenaries into the ruler's estates (*khāṣṣ*)⁸⁶⁵ and inheritable properties on the one hand and the state's share (*al-qisṭ al-sultānī*)⁸⁶⁶ on the other, the latter

856 However, the word may well be used in similar contexts during the Seljuk era, see e.g. Ḥus. 74, 108, 133 (twelfth century). Kremer, *Cultur.* I 282.

857 Presumably in 810–11: Athīr VI 79; clearly also 917–18 in Rayy: *ibid.* VII 32, and 934 in Shiraz: *Misk.* I 299 ('Ali, the son of Būya, claims the entire city of Shiraz, which he has conquered, as *iqṭāʿ*, in return for a payment).

858 See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 252 (regulation in place since the caliph al-Muqtadir).

859 TS 274 (902): 'Tāhīr the Ṣaffārid distributes many *iqṭāʿāt* among his troops (probably in Fars)'.
 860 This is probably how the 'small properties' (Athīr VIII 84f.), such as those that were assigned to Mardāvīj on beginning his duties, should be interpreted. Mutual pledging of property in individual Buyid provinces in 989–90 (Fars and Arraghān), apparently already real estate: Ibn Rustah 184; Athīr IX 26. Similarly presumably also *ibid.* 33 (Sharaf al-Dawla granting his son *iqṭāʿ* in the region of Shiraz). Further reports of the kind are found in *Misk.* II 138 and *Rud.* II (980) (we must, of course, always bear in mind that to the Muslims appointing someone administrator was also *iqṭāʿ*: the obligation to provide service in warfare was probably part of both). *Rud.* 327f. (999), on the other hand, explicitly mentions the granting of fiefs to individual soldiers, the issuing of charters regarding these, and the calculation of yields (although the conversion of 300 dirhams: 1 dinar would seem to be an error of the narrator's, as the usual rate was ca. 15:1). Similar accounts of the granting of military fiefs are found in Athīr IX 52, 92, 114 (999, 1016–17, 1033–34), IX 171 (1042–43 'Kurds').

861 Nikbī 113 (976).

862 *Siyāsāt-nāma*, ch. v and 91f. (ch. XXIII). Barthold, *Turk.* 238f.

863 See Ibn al-Balkhī 172; Zark. 26. 1001 a representative of the caliph's tries to broker a 'fair compromise' between the claims of the Daylami soldiers in Kirman and the state: Hil. 41f. See Nikitin, *Nat.* 207; Lökk. 61, 64f.

864 See *Siyāsāt-nāma* 28. See p. 454ff. below.

865 Qommī 18 has *khiṣaṣ* (pl. of *khiṣsa*) instead, but this might be an error of the editor's.

866 Qommī 113: *qisṭ-i māli*. See Jakobovskiy, *Mach.* 60f.

amounting to two thirds of the total and requiring the appointment of a separate administrator.⁸⁶⁷

During the early Ghaznavid period the situation appears to have continued to be favourable to the distribution of agricultural revenue as ‘fiefs’,⁸⁶⁸ even though Köprülü’s idea that the decisive step towards inheritable fiefs was taken at this time rests on a very weak basis (as he admits himself).⁸⁶⁹ Whereas the Ghaznavid Empire was built on a military force made up of former slaves (*mamlūks*), the Seljuks relied on military cooperation with immigrant Turkish tribes, and so only then did the conditions obtain that were necessary on the sociological level to make granting property (Turkish: *dirlik*) to the *begs* on a lifetime (and inheritable) basis viable.⁸⁷⁰ The year 1087, cited in the *Siyāsat-nāma*, probably refers to the culmination of a development⁸⁷¹ that had taken place over some time. This is not the place for a study of whether the lands in question were ancient manors, recently occupied land or confiscated properties; and often this is impossible to determine anyway.

[449]

Taxes

The difficulty in gaining a clear understanding of the early Islamic tax structure in Iran is essentially due to the same causes that make any research into the property situation so difficult. It is true that the absence of documents in this field⁸⁷² is offset by the more extensive information in narrative sources, even though these accounts are, or could be, often biased. In addition, when it comes to the early time we must take into account a certain back projection of later conditions onto the beginnings (this can be proven in the case of Egypt on the basis of the papyri discovered there, and also by referring to our more

867 Hil. 378, with 444, n. 3. Of course, such an isolated account with terminology that is, in places, very hard to grasp, does not provide an exact picture of the entire period.

868 Köprülü, ‘Kay’, 441f. (Turkish tribes in the service of the Ghaznavids near Khwarazm in 1033–34). The term *iqṭāʿ* in this context essentially retains the meaning ‘entrust with the administration’, see Ibn Isf. 231. Nikbī 197 (ca. 990) reports the granting of extensive *iqṭāʿāt* by the Samanids in Kohistan at the urging of Sübüktigin.

869 Köprülü, ‘Kay’, 449–52 (based on a single verse in the *dīwān* of the poet Sanāʿī, twelfth century, 138, which mentions the transfer of Persian real estate to the Turks; Köprülü seems to believe that he can interpret this as the granting of fiefs).

870 Reports on such events e.g. Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. I 300; Muḥ. Ib. 150, 153, 157 etc.; Bund. 110f., 191, 256, 258; Rav. 236, 293, 335 etc. among the Seljuks: Juv. II 200; Ḥus. 29, 39, 59; under the Khwarazm-shāhs: Juv. II 14, 34, 37; Dawl. 133; in Kirman: Ibn al-Sāʿī 174.

871 *Siyāsat-nāma* 92 (ch. XXIII); Maqrīzī II 210; Ḥus. 46. See Uzun. 52, 56f., 63; in contrast Köprülü, ‘Feodalizmi’, 326.

872 But see Qommī. According to Abū Yūsuf 86f. the Sasanid documents were burned.

detailed knowledge of the practice common in Byzantium).⁸⁷³ Moreover, the Sasanid tax structure is known to us only in part, though we do know of the existence of a poll tax that corresponds to some extent to the Muslim *jizya*.⁸⁷⁴

The Jizya

The *jizya*, as the poll tax imposed on non-Muslim subjects, was based on a Qur'anic passage.⁸⁷⁵ However, in Persian territory the controversial question soon arose of whether the Zoroastrians should be treated as if they were 'people of the book' (i.e. followers | of a revealed religion), who were the only ones who might enjoy the protected status of *dhimmīs*. In this instance theory clearly followed practice. It became obvious that the Zoroastrians would have to be included in this protected status lest a vague agreement should give way to immeasurable bloodshed. Those who reported on the conquests already emphasized⁸⁷⁶ that the Prophet had granted this status to the Zoroastrians in Arabia, and this precedent (whose objective accuracy will not be discussed here) was to have deciding influence on Islamic law. Consequently the Hanafis (i.e. including Abū Yūsuf, the author of the *Kitāb al-kharāj*),⁸⁷⁷ as well as al-Shāfi'ī (but not his school) were of the opinion that the Zoroastrians should be equal to the people of the book with regards to the entitlement and the obligation to pay the *jizya*. According to the Hanafis only the idolaters in Arabia were excluded from this equal status.⁸⁷⁸ [450]

873 See Ernst Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byz. Reiches vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II und Tiberius Constantinus*, Stuttgart 1919, ch. VII, 141–60. A clarification of the landed property situation during the period of the actual conquest (only, however, with reference to Arabia and Mesopotamia) has been attempted by Aron Gurland (discussing earlier studies on the subject) in the first section of his study *Grundzüge der muhammedanischen Agrarverfassung und Agrarpolitik*, Dorpat 1907, 1–42. Dennett 14–64, on the other hand, has stated new and important facts regarding Mesopotamia and Syria. As far as I can see, his research into Egypt (65–115) goes far beyond Becker's compilation.

874 EI I 1097; Caet. v 319–25. See also Nicolas P. Aghnides, 'Mohammedan theories of finance', in *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Columbia University, Col. 70 (1916). Schwarz, 'Steuerleistung Persiens', is a brief debate with Clément Huart.

875 Sura 9:29.

876 Bal. 71. Bayḍawī also refers to these events in his commentary on Sura 9:29. See also p. 184 above.

877 Abū Yūsuf 38, 68–72; also Yahyā 52–56.

878 Browne, *Eclipse*, 30f.; Caet. v 345–47, 456–58.

Insofar as we have information on former Sasanid territory, particularly within Iran itself,⁸⁷⁹ it appears that after surrender the amount to be paid in tax was fixed; determining the way in which it would be raised was irrelevant. We are informed that in Mesopotamia Khālid ibn al-Walīd, after he had conquered this part of the province, imposed *jizya* on the peasants (apparently in continuation of the Sasanid poll tax).⁸⁸⁰ He proceeded to impose global taxes on the inhabitants of Ctesiphon,⁸⁸¹ with other generals following his example in Khuzistan,⁸⁸² Isfahan,⁸⁸³ Marv,⁸⁸⁴ Bukhara⁸⁸⁵ and Khwarazm;⁸⁸⁶ tradition then presented events as though these generals had offered the conquered cities the (well-known) choice of 'Islam, *jizya*, or fighting'.⁸⁸⁷ The *dēhkāns* | also had a duty to pay tax – *jizya* – on their person⁸⁸⁸ and their property. Exempt from this tax were minors, women, people with chronic illnesses, priests and monks if they had no possessions.⁸⁸⁹ This tax was not only payable in cash but also (as elsewhere) by enlisting (comparable to East Roman civic duty) to build roads, bridges, bazaars, as well as provision of labour and accommodation for soldiers.⁸⁹⁰ It was also possible to contribute to the Muslim war effort instead of paying *jizya*, not only for Christian Arab tribes⁸⁹¹ but also for Persians, who, for example in Gurgan, paid their *jizya* by giving military assistance.⁸⁹² All in all, during the first years this tax was seen as the 'booty' of the fighting army,

879 See *EI* I 1098: 'With regards to the practice during Antiquity we have information on Egypt only'. This lack of clarity in the terminology is also emphasized by Boris Nedkoff, *Die Ğizya (Kopfsteuer) im Osmanischen Reich*, Leipzig 1942, 9, who includes on 1–17 a list of the results of research into the *jizya* to date (outside his own studies). See Lökk. 128–43; Berchem 17–19 (Arabia). Law scholars' lists are found in Māwardī 245–72.

880 Athīr II 148. Ṭab./Nöldeke 241ff.; Dennett 14f.

881 Bal. 271; Athīr II 199 (637). See also Caet. IX 227; Ṭab./Nöldeke 208.

882 Ṭab. II 2541.

883 Athīr III 7.

884 Bal. 408.

885 Narsh. 58.

886 Ṭab. II 1253; Athīr IV 219 (712).

887 Narsh. 149.

888 If, indeed, this is the meaning of *ʿan yadin* (referring to the phrase in 9:29), as is not improbable due to the juxtaposition with the tax on buildings, unless the passage is not genuine but a later construct. Rudi Paret in Bonn (see his *Grenzen der Koranforschung*, Stuttgart 1950), told me that he was not sure of the meaning of *ʿan yadin*. See Lökk. 131.

889 Ṭab. I 2662 (643 in Azerbaijan).

890 Ṭab. I 2470 (637).

891 Ṭab. I 2664f. (643) [AD: Ṭab. is here talking about the people of Darband, not Christian Arabs]; Yahyā 46f.

892 Ṭab. I 2658 (643).

and only a small proportion found its way into the central treasury. ‘Umar tried to remedy this by establishing a tax register (*dīwān*),⁸⁹³ but as late as 704 the governor of Khurasan was praised to Mufaḍḍal for not owning a ‘treasure house’ but instead distributing the ‘booty’ directly among his soldiers.⁸⁹⁴

The amount of *jizya* payable was determined according to people’s ability to pay. Theorists calculate that in countries with silver currencies (of which Iran was one), the ‘poor’ (peasants, craftsmen) would pay twelve dirhams a year, the (not clearly defined) middle class twenty-four dirhams, and the ‘rich’ (money changers, merchants, physicians) forty-eight dirhams.⁸⁹⁵ This corresponded to one, two, and four dinars⁸⁹⁶ in countries with gold currency (according to the Hanafis), but we may safely assume a more finely structured system. The collection was supposed to take place in humiliating circumstances, such as after a slap in the face from an official (the *muḥtasib* or the *‘āmil*).⁸⁹⁷ Those liable to pay *jizya* | were marked with a brand to the neck (probably not before al-Ḥajjāj, [452] and only for a limited time and not everywhere).⁸⁹⁸

From Egypt, where documents survive, we know that these rates were usually adhered to, but that there were also a large number of persons who, for unknown reasons, did not pay anything.⁸⁹⁹ There is reason to believe that a similarly arbitrary approach to the collection of taxes existed in Iran, and that some non-Muslim tax collectors would show favour to the followers of their own faith.⁹⁰⁰ However, we do not have any specific documents on which to base these assumptions. For financial reasons, but also due to the fact that the Arab nation felt itself to be superior,⁹⁰¹ until 718–19 the regulations were not observed, even though they would be declared binding later,⁹⁰² as emphasized

893 See Caet. iv 368–414, 693; but see Dennett 24–27, esp. 27.

894 Athīr iv 194.

895 Yahyā g; Abū Yūsuf, ch. ‘Jihad’. See Kremer, *Streifz.* 18; id., *Cultur.* I 436; Arnold, *Preaching*, 55.

896 On the ratio between dirham and dinar see p. 409f above.

897 Shayzarī 107.

898 Ṭab. I 1445 (721–22 Khojand), 1920 (738 in Khurasan); Stefan As. 182 (ca. 751: Armenia; a lead seal around the neck).

899 *EI* I 1097f.

900 Dennett 118f. I do not believe that by following such a fiscal policy the *dēkhāns* hoped to overturn Zoroastrianism. There is no evidence of this in the sources.

901 In 728 the *dēkhāns* did not declare that the Persians had become Muslims but ‘Arabs’: Ṭab. II 1508; Athīr v 544. This claim of the Iranians was, of course, not recognized by the Arabs in the Umayyad era.

902 See Mubarrad, *Kāmil* I 285; ‘Iqd II 76. Also Wellh., *Arab.* 175f., 186ff. The ideas concerning the field of finance have been, in my view justly, criticized by Löck. 206 and Dennett *passim* (esp. 3–13).

by 'Umar's decree of that year, which prohibited the collection of *jizya* from newly converted Muslims in Khurasan.⁹⁰³ Attempts at reintroducing the poll tax in 728–29 in Samarkand and among the Sogdians met with firm resistance from the people concerned.⁹⁰⁴ Later, even Muslim sources mention the government's decreeing the measure, felt to be oppressive, of collecting *jizya* from [453] Jews and Zoroastrians in Kirman in 1203.⁹⁰⁵

The account of the various, even contradictory, measures taken with regards to the *jizya* in Iran from 718–29 also shows that the *jizya* had so far not been clearly distinguished from the other taxes (the abovementioned rate of taxation in Khuzistan is a further indication of this). It is reported again and again that 'because the *jizya* was abolished, the *kharāj* went bankrupt',⁹⁰⁶ or that 'Umar II abolished the *jizya* imposed on the newly converted because the *mawālī* had previously complained about the continuous imposition of the *kharāj*.⁹⁰⁷ Consequently the measures of 728 were described in these words: 'The *dēhkāns* demanded: from whom should the *kharāj* be collected?' Then the governor decreed that the *kharāj* was to be collected from those people who had paid it in the past, and that the *jizya* was to be imposed on those who had become Muslim as well.⁹⁰⁸ We can see that the terminology was just as fuzzy here as it was in countries further west where, however, it remained standardized. It seems that this was a measure taken by the last Umayyads in the hope of satisfying the Muslims who only wanted to pay 'land tax', while in Iran

903 Ṭab. II 1354; Bal. 426; Athīr v 19. See also Dennett 120–24, with an attempt at clarifying the confused terminology, which, however, includes a very daring interpretation. On 'Umar II's policies in general see C.H. Becker, *Ibn al-Ġauzīs Manāqib 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz*, Leipzig 1899; id., 'Studien zur Omajjadengeschichte: 'Omar II', in *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, xv (1900), 1–36; Wilhelm Barthold, 'Chalif Omar II I protivorečivye izvestiha o ego ličnosti' ('The caliph 'Umar II and the contradictory accounts of his personality'), in *Christianskiy Vostok* VI/3 (1922), 203–34.

904 See p. 141 above and Jakubovskiy, 'Vosstanie', 36; Sadighi 34f.; Gafurov 145f.; Wellh., *Arab.* 215f. and, in contrast, Dennett 124–28.

905 Muḥ. Ib. 184. There had been unrest in Kabul in 978 because of the *jizya* being collected from 'unbelievers': Ibn Ḥawq.² 450.

906 Bal. 429.

907 Ṭab. II 1354. See Vloten, *Rech.* 21, 71f.; on the interpretation see Dennett 84.

908 Ṭab. II 1508. Barthold, *Turk.* 190; Wellh., *Arab.* 176f. Dennett 120–28 attempts to resolve the difficulty of this passage and the accounts of the year 738 by interpreting *jizya* as the poll tax agreed by contract, while *kharāj* would be the revenue from taxes in general (rejecting the explanation in Wellh., *Arab.* 297–300). He believes that there was not (as Wellhausen states) a fundamentally new regulation at the time, but only an abolition of the corruption which had taken root due to the employment of *dēhkāns*, Christians and Jews as tax collectors. See p. 452 n. above.

the number of people from whom *jizya* might have been collected decreased continually.⁹⁰⁹ This is why the word *jizya* was gradually applied not only to the tax on *dhimmīs*⁹¹⁰ but also with the meaning 'tribute';⁹¹¹ later Persian⁹¹² and Ottoman historiographers also use it to describe the 'honour gifts' (Poln. *Polminki*) given by tributary Europeans and other peoples.⁹¹³ The ambivalence of the term was thus retained, but shifted to a different field.

Kharāj and Ṣadaqa

[454]

Ahmed Togan's statement, regarding the first century and a half of Islamic rule in Azerbaijan,⁹¹⁴ that information concerning the tax revenue is very scant, and often contradictory at that, and that consequently we are hardly able to imagine realistically the developments taking place, can easily be applied to the whole of Iran. Until around the end of the eighth century we have only very little information on the subject of tax revenue.⁹¹⁵ The technical terms used are often mixed up, as they follow the gradual development of the Islamic tax system on Sasanid foundations. We have sources for the continued existence of the Middle Persian system of land tax⁹¹⁶ only regarding Mesopotamia.⁹¹⁷ After the Arab conquest, only male owners of plots of land and merchants were assessed⁹¹⁸ here and liable to pay *kharāj*.⁹¹⁹ The word may be of Greek origin (χοράγιου), or it may have been adopted during the Achaemenid era (into Iranian); later

909 In Qom in 895, all of 5,305 dinars were collected (Qommī 125).

910 See Nedkoff, *Die Ġizya* (as p. 450 n. above) *passim*.

911 Thus ca. 1215, when Muslim vassals accused Osman, the Sulṭān-i Salāṭīn of Transoxania, of paying *jizya* to the 'heathen' Gūrkhān (of the Qara-Khitay), i.e. the formerly Nestorian Kūčlūg; Juv. II 123.

912 This is how Ḥus. 44f. describes the Byzantine tribute to Malikshāh in 1088–89.

913 E.g. Mustafa Na'imā, *Revżet al-Ḥüsein fi ḥulāṣat aḥbār al-Ḥāfiqain* (*The garden of Paradise of Husayn: Summary of news about East and West*), 4. edn., Istanbul 1864–66, v 386 (regarding 1654).

914 *ET Turk* I 108. Concerning all technical terms see Maf. ul. 58–62.

915 See Lökk. 9, 12.

916 See Qommī 179–82; Christensen¹ 361ff. and 117–21. Jahsh. 5f. mentions a tax on date palms, trees and wells, which Khusrau I Anōshirvān intended to introduce following his father's preparations. The tax (with a rate between one third and one sixth of the yield) was in theory staggered flexibly depending on irrigation levels and the weather, and was due in thirds every four months; see Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 212, 218–26 and N.V. Pigulevskaja, 'K voprusu o podatnoy reforme Chosroya Anuširvana' ('On the question of Kh. A.'s tax reform'), in *VDI* I (Moscow 1937), 146.

917 It was still presented to the caliph al-Muhtadī (869–70) as an example: Qommī 147.

918 Ṭab. I 2371; Ya'q., *Hist.* II 176.

919 Ṭab. I 2468, 2545 (Basra and Ahvaz 638). See Wellh., *Arab.* 172f.; Lammens, *Om.* 85–89.

[455] it would be adapted to the Arabic root *kh-r-j* ('to go or come out'), and consequently linked to the income from the land tax ('the amount yielded').⁹²⁰ | It is entirely probable that the situation on the Iranian plateau was similar.

While there is evidence of the word *kharāj* being used to denote the land tax⁹²¹ during the early years,⁹²² the sources are all so late that it is impossible to gauge the retroactive effect of later usage or attempts at explaining unfamiliar terms. There is no doubt, however, that the terms *kharāj* and *jizya* were used initially not with their later, fixed meaning.⁹²³ There are other sources which mention separate land and poll tax levied on cities in Western Iran (Dinavar, Māsabadhān, al-Şaymara, Isfahan⁹²⁴ in 641) and also distinguish clearly between the groups of the population paying *jizya* and those paying *kharāj* (in Gurgan in 643).⁹²⁵ Furthermore the sources⁹²⁶ state clearly that *kharāj*, the land tax, had to be paid by Muslims as well.⁹²⁷ Later, *jizya* and *kharāj* were not the only taxes levied at the district level⁹²⁸ anymore.⁹²⁹ Around 985 in

920 See *EI* II 968 and the literature listed there, also Walter Henning, 'Arabisch Ḥarāğ' (for the Aramaic-Achaemenid hypothesis), in *Orientalia* IV (Bonn 1935), 291–93; J.A. Soloduchov, 'Podati i povinnosti v Irake v III–V vv. našey èry' ('Taxes and dues in Mesopotamia in the third to fifth centuries AD'), in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* V (1948), 55–72, shows that the word *kargā* (or *kērāğā*) is used frequently in the Talmud as well (see Berchem 20f.). See also N.V. Pigulevskaja, 'Mesopotamiya na rubeže V–VI v. n. è. Siriyskaya chronika Ieşu Stilita kak istoričeskij istočnik ('Mesopotamia at the turn of the sixth century AD. The Syriac chronicle of Joshua Stylites as a historical source'), Moscow and Leningrad 1940, 49–63.

921 The legal ideas of the ninth century are collected in Abū Yūsuf 13–15 ('Umar I). Siddiqi, *Fin.* 91–99; Levy, *Soc.* I 332–43.

922 Bal. 313 (Isfahan), 404 (Nisa ca. 652).

923 See p. 451f. above; see also Ṭab. II 1354, 1508 (718–19 and 728–29 in connection with the question of the taxation of newly converted people). A list of cases of similar confusion concerning other terms may be found in Lökk. 44, 56, 131.

924 Bal. 307, 312.

925 Ṭab. I 2658. It is not quite clear whether the account in Browne, *Isf.* 23 (Isfahan) relates to the time around 680 or 980.

926 Yaḥyā 9f., 41–44, 118f.; collected by Pfaff 26f.

927 It seems to me that Dennett's book disproves Wellh., *Arab.* 172ff. and Pfaff 27ff.

928 Geographers provide some information; an exact list of 365 villages and 42 *rustāqs* (including descriptions of the scenery, but unfortunately not the agriculture) is extant only for the district of Qom in 987: Qommī 56–86. In the list of the *tassūj* Qommī describes (113–22) those individual sub-divisions of the tax district (Qom) separately that contain a remarkably different number of villages and manors (*hast*, apparently = *dīyā*).

929 It is impossible to be sure whether such an increase in the number of different kinds of tax was in any way linked to the tightening of the tax screw which, according to Leontios 124f., accompanied the beginning of Abbasid rule.

Gurgan, Dehistān, Ābaskūn and Astarābād taxes to be paid also included the *mu‘āmala*,⁹³⁰ the *jibāyāt* ('collection'), the *qabālāt* and the *ḥuqūq al-sultān* ('government dues'⁹³¹).⁹³² | In Jibāl and Daylam *bāj*⁹³³ (simply 'tax') had to be paid around the year 1000. While we have no detailed information on which kinds of tax this referred to, the situation in Fars during the tenth century is rather clearer. In those days the Persian population and that of the 'Kurdish' districts (Z/Rumm)⁹³⁴ paid the land tax (*kharāj*), the poor rate (property tax = *zakāt*),⁹³⁵ a tithe on sheep, a fifth⁹³⁶ on meadows and pastures, and the poll tax (where payable). In addition there were taxes on agricultural produce, on mills,⁹³⁷ rose water factories, mines,⁹³⁸ salt works and mints; there were water rates, tolls⁹³⁹ and a turnover tax on markets (for *dhimmīs* this was five per cent, and for other unbelievers [*ahl-i shirk*] ten percent).⁹⁴⁰

930 Nikbī 144.

931 Possibly identical with the information on domains (p. 444f. above); Qommī 113 appears to use the term *ṭasq* (*ṭisq*) to describe these. On the subject of the *qabāla* see Aleksandr Jakubovskiy, 'Ob ispol'nykh arendach v Irake v VIII v.' ('Share-cropping lease of land in Mesopotamia in the eighth century'), in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* IV (1947), 174, n. 3.

932 Ibn Ḥawq. 385, 425 (here called *jibāyāt*, *qawānīn* and *adā*' [payment]). It is not clear whether the information in TS 30, with notes 5 and 6, in fact applies to the early Islamic situation.

933 Dawl. 43. Qommī repeatedly uses the technical terms *dākhil*, *jasht* and *fāsiq* for taxes, without clearly defining their exact meaning. The alphabetical list of taxes and dues (of the *re'āyā*) to be consulted as a comparison is found in Neş'et Çağatay, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda reyadan alınan vergi ve resimler' ('Taxes and dues levied on the 'unbelievers' in the Ottoman Empire'), in *Ankara Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğr. Fak. Dergisi* v (1947/8), 483–511.

934 See p. 241 above.

935 Yahyā 5f.; Māwardī 195–217 (the lawyers' lists). See Caet. v 287–319; Fateh 732, 737; *EI* IV 1302–4.

936 *Ushr*, or *khums*.

937 Near Qom in the tenth century, 25 or 12 dirhams (Qommī 120), presumably according to the position. See Abū Yūsuf 53.

938 See also Ibn Rustah 156 (ca. 905). The legal phrase is found in Yahyā 16; Māwardī 206–8. There was much dispute on the rate of tax for mines; usually the ruler claimed 20 percent. Jurists from the Hijaz wished to see only the *zakāt* levied. Things coming from the sea (ambergris, pearls) were taxed at 20 percent, like spoils of war: Qommī 168f.

939 *Marāşid* or *arşād*, see Ibn Ḥawq. 253, 279; Maf. ul. 59; Qommī 120, 167.

940 Qommī 168.

Land tax was originally collected in twelve monthly parts,⁹⁴¹ later apparently at greater intervals⁹⁴² or even once a year.⁹⁴³ It was collected in three ways – usually as a combination of money and in kind: 1. as a percentage according to the cultivated area, or the entire area (*misāḥa*), which would be |
 [457] surveyed again at regular intervals;⁹⁴⁴ 2. according to the yield (good or bad) of the harvest (*muqāsama*, Persian: [*i*]stān);⁹⁴⁵ or 3. at an invariable level (1/10, 1/3, 1/4 etc.; *muqāṭa'a*),⁹⁴⁶ independently of the area cultivated or the yield. In Fars the first way was customary at the time, while the Kurdish Z/Rumm areas were usually taxed according to 3 (with a few exceptions taxed according to the second way).⁹⁴⁷ Between 916 and 931 a proportional levy was imposed (on the inhabitants of the city) in Qom, which was slightly higher for Persians than for Arabs; however, it was soon raised beyond all reasonable proportion, with the result that the Buyids took specific steps to protect the population against excessive taxes (946–47).⁹⁴⁸ Over time the *kharāj* (as *kharāj walad al-āb*) came to be collected and delivered by the most distinguished member of a family

941 Thus Qommī 144; beginning in Farvardīn (21 March, but see p. 482 below, on the ‘Calendar’) and ending with Aspandārmudh (20 March; see *ibid.*). Reinstated by the Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla in this form in Qom: Qommī 145. Lambton 594f.

942 See p. 459 n. below. The Buyid Rukn al-Dawla determined ten tax dates (*Nujūm-i kharāj*) between Ordibihisht (21 April–21 May) and Dai (22 December–20 January): Qommī 145.

943 See below, in the section ‘Calendar’.

944 Maf. ul. 66–68. For Qom see the table in Qommī 102–5 (the reason given for new land surveys was disputes among the population). Lökk. 103, 108–25 (against Berchem’s assumption on p. 17 that the *muqāsama* was merely a tax in kind).

945 Abū Yūsuf 28; Ibn Ḥawq.² 425 [AD: for an explanation of *muqāsama* see Ibn Ḥawq.² 302f.]; Sauvaire B 238f.; Lökk. 61, 8.

946 [AD: tax rates of 1/10, 1/3 etc. apply not to *muqāṭa'a* but to *muqāsama*; cf. Iṣṭ. 158 and Goeje in Lökk. 103]. This was the basis of tax farming, see e.g. Bal. 311 (ca. 800), also Berchem 45–59 (whose works have partly been superseded by Lökk.); Siddiqi, *Fin.* 55–60. On the corresponding reforms in the leasing of land (*muzāra'a*, *musāqāt*) in Mesopotamia (according to the *K. al-kharāj*) see Jakubovskiy, *Arendy*, which includes references to related phenomena in other Islamic countries not in Iran. (On the different types of *kharāj* mentioned in the text see *ibid.* 179 and n. 5). I have not been able to access the author’s ‘Irāq na grani VII–IX v.’ (‘Mesopotamia at the turn of the eighth–ninth century’), in *Trudy I sessii associacii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1937, 25–49.

947 Iṣṭ. 158; followed by Ibn Ḥawq.² 302f.

948 Qommī 142f. In 920 a tax raise included the order that 66 dinars and four *dānagh* should be levied on Persians, and on Arabs 66 dinars for 1000 dirhams, when the taxes were converted into gold currency. Taxes were increased gradually, and raised to 200 dinars (for 1000 dirhams local currency) by Mardāvij. Qommī 147 mentions the ‘old rate’ as having been 25 dinars on 1000 dinars (*sic*), which was then increased to 33 of 1000. Lambton 594.

on behalf of the whole clan. In Ahvaz this was the duty of the *dēhkāns* as early as ca. 700,⁹⁴⁹ and in Qom by the eighth/ninth century;⁹⁵⁰ among the Arabs in Qom it was the duty of ten prominent citizens.

One reason for this very varied differentiation in the taxation was that the original, more primitive taxation was not adequate for the progressing economic development, and that the owners of agricultural land liable to land tax would attempt to evade payment of any other imposed taxes as much as possible.⁹⁵¹ While in theory it was the land tax only that remained | obligatory, it [458] became necessary in practice to adapt to the changing circumstances by adding other sources of tax revenue.

There were, however, occasional suggestions that the land tax might be replaced once and for all by a different type of tax, such as a universal poll tax which would put an end to the ‘injustice’ of the land tax that only applied to a few. An attempt of this kind was made in Rayy in 929, even reusing the old receipts for the poll tax (*barā’a*) with a seal (similar to those we know from Egypt).⁹⁵² It appears that the financial situation at the time was difficult in every respect, for there are reports from Fars at nearly the same time that many of those who were obliged to pay *kharāj* had emigrated because of the excessive burden of this tax. To begin with (from 911 onwards) the authorities had attempted to impose the duties of the emigrants (as a joint liability) on those who remained in the country. This, however, proved to be so impossible that a ‘fruit tree tax’ was imposed instead (with reference to the conquest by force – *anwatan* – of the district); not, of course, without the necessary expert opinion on whether this type of tax was admissible. It was introduced on Thursday 25 Jan. 916 = 16 Rajab AH 303; tax year 302. The revenues were calculated to nearly the same amount as the increased land tax,⁹⁵³ which had been abolished in 913–14.⁹⁵⁴ The government also imposed ‘surcharges’ (*kusūr*), in order to make up for the monetary deterioration.⁹⁵⁵

It is, however, difficult to truly understand the situation at the time, not only because of the comparatively fragmented information available but also due

949 Bal., Ans. v 256f. Vloten, *Rech.* 10.

950 Qommī 155–58. See also Lökk. 140; Lambton 594.

951 See *EI* II 968.

952 Mas. IX 14f. [AD: Spuler uses the word Stempel/stamp, but this would correspond to Arabic *maṭbū’* whereas Mas. says *makhtūm*, corresponding to gesiegelt/sealed).

953 Hil. 340–44; Kremer, Ein. 354–57; Ibn Ḥawq. 302f.; Iṣṭ. 158.

954 Misk. I 28.

955 Qommī 147 (Qom; tenth century). It may well be a pious legend that ‘Umar II abolished these surcharges for the duration of his rule: Qommī 148.

to the insufficiently technical terminology used. Very soon, in fact, the term *kharāj* was understood to mean ‘tax’ in a general sense, not referring to a particular type of taxation. It was used in particular to refer to the tribute-like obligations⁹⁵⁶ incumbent on, for example, the *zūnbil* in eastern Iran among his payments to the governor of Sistan in 698–89,⁹⁵⁷ the two rulers of Ṭabaristan among their payments to the caliph in 805⁹⁵⁸ and later to the Ṭāhirids in 839,⁹⁵⁹ or on the Ghōr and the Mazandarānis to Maḥmūd and Mas‘ūd of Ghazna in 1020–21.⁹⁶⁰ The word *qabāla*⁹⁶¹ also appears to have been used to denote ‘tax’ in general (elsewhere it would denote a separate type of tax besides *kharāj*).⁹⁶²

[459] Our best information on the amount of the individual tax burden also comes from Fars and Qom, in the form of documents and tax lists (*rōz-nāmagh[a]*).⁹⁶³ Here, the *kharāj* varied according to the region, the age of the plantation (or culture) and the kind of yield.⁹⁶⁴ In Shiraz, where the taxes were highest, the tax rate for a ‘great *jarīb*’⁹⁶⁵ of wheat and barley according to the land register (*dastūr*) was 190 dirhams; irrigated fruit plantations: 192 dirhams; clover, dates,⁹⁶⁶ melons and cucumbers: 237 1/2 dirhams; cotton: 256 dirhams; grape-
[460] vines: 1425 dirhams⁹⁶⁷ | (perhaps taxed so heavily due to the prohibition of

956 See p. 476 below.

957 Ṭab. II 1036.

958 Athīr VI 63.

959 Ibid. 168.

960 Bayh. 114; Gard. 100. On the subject of Ghaznavid tax practice see Siddiqi II 276.

961 Ṭab. II 1717–18 (originally a lease and tax contract between Muḥammad and those who cultivated the land: Berchem 16). [AD disagrees that *qabāla* is ever a general word for tax; it refers to the rent arising from the lease agreement]. *Qabāla* is the origin of the French word *la gabelle*.

962 Abū Yūsuf 51. See p. 455 above.

963 Qommī 150, 161; Maf. ul. 54. See Hinz (as p. 460 n. below); Lökk. 149.

964 Agriculture was monitored by the *massākhs* (called *marz* in Qom), to whom the land owners would have to make statements under oath about their fields: Qommī 107 (tenth century), see Lambton 588f., 593.

965 Concerning the ‘great *jarīb*’ see p. 423 above. Qommī 29 reports surveys undertaken for this reason; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 302/04. Lökk. 117 rightly states that these lists are problematic due to the unclear value of money and income.

966 In Hormuz and Basra only a tithe for the government was payable on dates: Iṣṭ. 167.

967 Similarly staggered tax obligations had been known in Iraq since the earliest Islamic years (Yaḥyā 103–10; Abū Yūsuf 20–22, 27–32; Māwardī 203f., 304. Kremer, *Streifz.* 17ff.); of course these were inherited from even older usage. Looking at eight consecutive tax assessments according to seven rates (in local official terms: *važī’a* or *tasq/tisq*) in Qom we arrive at the following amounts: a) each *jarīb* with wheat, barley, sweetpeas (i.e. nukhūdh = peas) and lentils: 1) 15 dirhams, 1 *dānaḡh*; 2) 16 dirhams, 1 *dānaḡh*; 3) 12 dirhams, 1 *dānaḡh*;

consuming wine or because of the high profit). In Iṣṭakhr the tax burden was only slightly lower; in Ghōr it amounted to a third of these rates. The amount of artificial irrigation necessary (whether once or twice a year) influenced the rate of taxation: if there was no rain, only a third of the usual rate of *kharāj* had to be paid. (In Khulm – between Balkh and Tukharistan – and in Marv, but very probably also elsewhere in similar conditions, the rate of taxation also depended on the irrigation).⁹⁶⁸ In Arraghān, Darabgird and Sābūr the tax was calculated according to the harvest yield;⁹⁶⁹ in Qom, the height of fruit trees would be measured to this end (the trees were counted and then checked by special inspectors called *mu'ābir*).⁹⁷⁰ These officials were paid according to specific pay scales and in proportion to the area inspected;⁹⁷¹ furthermore the tax collectors themselves took surcharges (*ikrāj*) (in Qom from 966 onwards: 1 1/2 dinars out of 1,000 dinars) for their pains (and also to bribe the governor!).⁹⁷²

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- 4) 15 dirhams, 1 *dānagh*; 5) 9 dirhams, 1 *dānagh*; 6) 6 dirhams, 1 *dānagh*; 7) 3 dirhams, 1 *dānagh*. It is only here that we find seven different statements, which clearly correspond to seven tax assessments, without any explanatory information as to the time in question.
- b) Cotton per *jarīb*: 1) 36, 2) 30 dirhams; c) Trees (fruit-bearing) on all *rustāqs*: 36 dirhams; d) Grapes: 1) 50, 2) 32 dirhams; in the case of diseased (*kirm kharāb*) vines (which were not suitable for eating or producing raisins but only for wine and vinegar), half, i.e. 25, or 16 dirhams; e) Herbs (*buqūl*), cucumbers, melons, carrots, onions, garlic, spinach and similar orchard plants: 1) 25 dirhams; 2) 15 dirhams. Further information regarding dates, millet, sesame, caraway, safflower, scented plants, endive; pistachios, olives; fresh water lakes; fruit trees dependent on irrigation etc.: Qommī 112f.; also 119, 120f. (in Māh al-Basra see p. 467 below: irrigated wheat: 6 dirham, 1/2 *dānagh* per *jarīb*; scented plants: 4 *dānagh*; vegetables (*sabzar*): 2 *dānagh*; grapes: each *jōy* (= field) 4 dirhams; sesame: 4 dirhams; saffron: 3 dirhams; millet: 1 1/2 dirhams; cotton: 15 dirhams considerably lower, therefore, than on the dry plateau of Qom). See Tritton 213–15; Lambton 592f.; Houtum-Schindler, *Irak*, 72f.
- 968 Ḥud. 105, 108 (982), see also 368; Qommī 169; Abū Yūsuf 30f. (list concerning the Sawād). In Qom Arab-owned property had to pay as a starting point ten per cent; land conquered by force, twenty per cent; *agri deserti* which had been re-cultivated, ten per cent; if artificial irrigation was needed, five per cent: Qommī 172 after the theories of al-Ṣūlī (on the subject of this writer and his lack of reliability see *EI* IV 586f.).
- 969 Iṣṭ. 128; Ibn Ḥawq. 2 302f.; Muq. 451. Yaḥyā 60f. A summary of Muslim theory is found in Siddiqi, *Fin.* 61–72.
- 970 Qommī 108, 110 (tenth century). Trees that were too old were exempt from the count.
- 971 For 100 *jarīb* with cereals, cotton, grapes, saffron and dates (*khuẓrīyāt*) the land surveyor (*massāh*) received ten dirhams; the inspector: six dirhams and four *dānagh*; for ten nut trees: one dirham each; for each mill, 1/2 dirham; for ten *dhinnīs* ('Jews and Christians'): two dirhams; for each fresh water pond: one dirham, Qommī 108.
- 972 Qommī 166; see Abū Yūsuf 45f. or Lambton 593f. For general information on these tax surcharges see Lökk. 185–87. The situation was still similar under the Mongols, see Hinz,

It is of course impossible for the sporadic details found in the tradition to give a truly exact picture of the circumstances within the Iranian settlement area, but they do at least convey an impression of the variety of gradation and the vast number of local differences everywhere. Of course a list such as the preceding does not mean that during the Middle Ages the authorities in the Orient really adhered to these rules or customs. Among the age-old habits of eastern potentates was to consider their subjects above all as sources for financial exploitation. Iran in the early Islamic period | was no exception.⁹⁷³ It has to be said, however, that a tax increase was by no means proclaimed in advance and subsequently adhered to, as suggested by the well-known theologian Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in the middle of the ninth century for Ṭabaristan and for religious reasons (the country having been conquered in a war);⁹⁷⁴ on the contrary, the tax revenue for a particular district would be calculated too high from the very first (e.g. Hamadan in 980).⁹⁷⁵ An even more popular method in the case of a deficit, however, was to decree a backdated tax levy, a measure that might come from the caliph's court (e.g. in 915–16 for Nahavand)⁹⁷⁶ or that might be ordered by individual governors (839 in Ṭabaristan,⁹⁷⁷ 869 in Rayy⁹⁷⁸ and 882–83 for parts of Khurasan on the occasion of an internal war).⁹⁷⁹ It was quite common for a tax thus levied in advance to be collected again on the original due date.⁹⁸⁰ It might even be that a governor (as in Ṭabaristan in 857–58) demanded taxes three times.⁹⁸¹

When it came to fifteen demands for tax payments over a period of two years, followed by another demand after the cities (in Marv and Khurasan around

'Steuerinschriften', 747f., 750f. (in the case of grain the surcharge was called *ḥazr*, in the case of cattle *sumāra[-i qobchur]*); see also Lökk. 125.

973 'Umar II attempted to remedy this in Fars: Ibn Sa'd v 289f. Concerning the pernicious tax practice under Maḥmūd of Ghazna see Barthold, *Turk.* 287f. Leontios' (p. 132f.) account of the people of Armenia's drudgery is of course valid for the entire empire of the caliphs, including Iran.

974 Ibn Isf. 125.

975 Rud. II. This kind of surcharge was called *tafāwut* and resulted in overcharges on the tax rate: TS 30 (see p. 460, n. above). On the other hand there were often unpaid tax demands (*baqāyā*): Misk. I 239f.

976 Ibn Khaldūn III 383; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 282.

977 Ṭab. III 1272 (particularly quick tax collection).

978 Ṭab. III 1738.

979 Ṭab. III 2039.

980 Anecdotes from the practice of tax collecting in Qommī 161–64; further information 183–90.

981 Ibn Isf. 157f.

880) had been occupied, this at least is mentioned as a particular exception.⁹⁸² Soon afterwards (938–39) Vashmgīr's governor in Qom introduced a monthly tax on persons, soon to be transformed into a separate taxation on bazaars for Nowruz and Mihragān.⁹⁸³ The Buyid, 'Aḍud al-Dawla (949–83), invented several more new kinds of tax in order to raise the revenues of his territories from 320 million to 360 million dirhams annually (i.e. one million a day).⁹⁸⁴ Consequently the population found it a relief, and one that contributed significantly to the popularity of Alp Arslan and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and the early Seljuks in general, when they reverted from the bi-annual levy of the *kharāj* to collecting it once a year only, | and had regular inspections carried [462] out throughout the country.⁹⁸⁵ Earlier attempts (779–80 by the Barmakids,⁹⁸⁶ 996 by the Kurdish emir Badr ibn Ḥasanwayh⁹⁸⁷) at introducing a 'fair tax' (by means of tax relief), which was supposed to be based on the principle that only those who were protected by the state paid tax,⁹⁸⁸ had not been successful. And this soon came to apply to the Seljuks, too.

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that there were – just as in Mesopotamia and on the banks of the Nile – constant difficulties when it came to collecting taxes in Iran.⁹⁸⁹ The population resisted backdated tax demands *baqāyā* (e.g. 978 in Kabul and in Qom).⁹⁹⁰ From the distant and unsettled province of Ṭabaristan we have reports (e.g. in 803) of tax collectors being murdered.⁹⁹¹ Here the Zaydi, Nāṣir-i Kabīr, was not even able to enforce payment of the comparatively small tithe tax (which was an obligation under religious law).⁹⁹² This kind of arbitrariness resulted in occasional attempts at introducing collective liability for taxes in Iran, although this was usually frowned upon

982 Athīr VII 100, 132.

983 Qommī 164; *mushāhara*; in the local dialect: *māhyāna*. See Lambton 595.

984 Athīr/Tornberg IX 16. See Mez 24. A similar case of extortion in 799 in Khurasan by one of the Barmakids (Jahsh. 282f.) and 888 in Kirman, Fars and Khurasan (TS 246) as well as in 998 in Khuzistan (Athīr IX 56).

985 Ḥus. 21; Siyāsat-nāma 119. Backdated tax collection is explicitly condemned in Siyāsat-nāma 118.

986 Jahsh. 175.

987 Rud. 290; see p. 113 above.

988 Clearly expressed in Qommī 166.

989 Regarding Fars in the tenth century see Mez 116f.

990 Ibn Ḥawq.² 450; Qommī 102, 127.

991 Ibn Isf. 141.

992 Ibn Isf. 201.

(913 in Fars,⁹⁹³ in Bukhara in the tenth century⁹⁹⁴). At least the government was reasonable enough to let the population off paying some,⁹⁹⁵ or all, of the taxes for a year in emergency situations; in Ṭabaristan there were times when merchants and craftsmen were entirely exempt from paying taxes.⁹⁹⁶

The tax from individual provinces usually had to be paid⁹⁹⁷ to the (finance) governor (*‘āmil*).⁹⁹⁸ Of course there were repeated instances of the *‘āmil* not delivering the taxes on time,⁹⁹⁹ or not regularly,¹⁰⁰⁰ or indeed not at all, [463] and thus officially withdrawing his allegiance from the caliph. | During the Umayyad era this would be punished by removal from office,¹⁰⁰¹ which in those days clearly meant the loss of one’s position (and more). When collecting taxes the governor would be supported by the officials from the *dīwān al-kharāj*, called *ahl al-kharāj*¹⁰⁰² or *‘ummāl al-kharāj*¹⁰⁰³ and numbering six.¹⁰⁰⁴ These officials bore a variety of titles depending on their duties: *dabīr* = secretary (notary); *mustawfi* = tax collector; *mushrif* = inspector; *ustuwār* = faithful follower (Sistan, 668).¹⁰⁰⁵ The use of Persian terms – also in book-keeping – survived in parts till later times. The *Sīyāsat-nāma* recommends replacing officials (and tax farmers) at least every three years.¹⁰⁰⁶

993 Hil. 340.

994 Narsh. 31. See Mez 105.

995 In order to bring the Khurasanis on his side, al-Ma’mūn waived a quarter of their taxes in 810: Jahsh. 354. Soon afterwards Rayy received a similar tax relief, whereupon the inhabitants of Qom tried to achieve the same by force in 825–26, but in vain: Bal. 314, 320; Ṭab. III 1030, 1092; Athīr VI 135.

996 The Seljuk Chaghry Beg in Marv in 1040: Ḥus. 9.

997 Ṭab. II 1458 (Khurasan 822–23); TS 125 (ca. 720). See p. 324 above and Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian library*, III (1938), 123. Bal. 310 (ca. 780). See p. 316f. above. It seems that Hōrmizdān had the authority to do this as early as 638: Ṭab. I 2543.

998 Ṭab. III 1278 (839).

999 Athīr VII 62 (869 in Fars). See also Bal 413 (ca. 678 in Khurasan).

1000 Athīr IV 174 (689–99 the sub-governor of Sistan towards al-Ḥajjāj).

1001 Bal. 319 (ca. 658 in Rayy); Athīr V 37 (721–22 the governor Maslama in Mesopotamia and Khurasan).

1002 Ṭab. III 1272 (838 in Ṭabaristan).

1003 Ṭab. II 1458 (722–23 in Khurasan).

1004 For more information see the summary in Mez 103 after Maf. ul. 54ff.; Ṭab. II 81, re 665–66 [AD says this reference belongs here, rather than two notes down, as it gives an example of a 6-man tax team].

1005 TS 92.

1006 *Siyāsat-nāma* 37.

Among the nomadic tribes ('Kurdish' and others), the collection of the poor tax (*ṣadaqa* = *zakāt*),¹⁰⁰⁷ which was the only tax demanded from them, was the duty of the chieftains,¹⁰⁰⁸ who might, of course, refuse to deliver it altogether (e.g. in Kirman in 1196)¹⁰⁰⁹ and instead keep it for themselves. In some regions the central power was de facto unable to levy any taxes at all (e.g. in Sistan during the tenth century).¹⁰¹⁰ With reference to the *ṣadaqa*, which was the main tax for animal-breeding nomads, but also other owners of herds, we learn that in the tenth century in the district of Qom, the following rates were in force: tax had to be paid on a camel that had grazed (i.e. had been weaned) for a year; for five camels the (annual) rate was one sheep; for 25 camels, one suckling calf (either male or female was permitted); for 45 heads or more, a four-year-old she-camel (*hiqqat*); for 60 heads or more, a young camel (*judh'a*); for 75 or more, two suckling camels; for 90 or more, two four-year-old she-camels; over 120: one *hiqqat* for every 50, a suckling animal for 40. For cows that only graze on the steppes and do not work: for 30 animals, one calf (of any kind); for 40, an adult cow; for 60, two | one-year-old calves or two young animals (spelled here *guza* or *juz'a*); for 70, an adult cow and a calf; for 80, two grown oxen etc. For sheep: for 40 animals that graze, one sheep; for 121 and over, two sheep; for 201 and over, three sheep; for 401 and over, four sheep and one for every additional hundred.¹⁰¹¹ [464]

In the course of time the central government waived their immediate involvement in the collection of taxes. To begin with the caliphs made over the revenues from individual districts to Arab cities (under Mu'āwiya the district of Nahavand – and later also Hamadan¹⁰¹² – to Basra; Dinavar to Kufa)¹⁰¹³

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- 1007 Iṣṭ. 99. The prototype of similar collection methods was the action of the early community vis-à-vis the Christian Banū Taghlib: Yaḥyā 10f. For a general overview see Pfaff 32–46; *EI* IV 1302–4; Siddiqī, *Fin.* 9–54 (list of the Islamic theoretical information on the subject and attempt at an explanation with reference to concepts of modern finance). In the tenth century *ṣadaqa* as well as *kharāj* was collected in Qom: Qommī 167.
- 1008 Iṣṭ. 113 = Yāq. IV 289 (ca. 930 in Fars), Athīr IX 148 (1033 'Kurds' near Isfahan); see Yāq. IV 289.
- 1009 Muḥ. Ib. 152.
- 1010 Ibn Ḥawq. 385.
- 1011 Qommī 174f. (with reference to al-Ṣūlī): p. 177, the form of a *zakāt* receipt, and 177f., a list of the technical terms for camels, cows and sheep of different ages etc. The information corresponds largely with that found in Abū Yūsuf 43–45; see also Māwardī 197f.
- 1012 = Māh al-Basra; Ya'q., *Buld.* 272.
- 1013 = Māh al-Kufa; Bal. 306; see Caet. IV 502. This region, in particular the Arraghān district, was so financially profitable that 'Aḡud al-Dawla was said to have wished for the title from Iraq and for the income from Arraghān: Muq. 421.

or to individuals.¹⁰¹⁴ Such a secure source of income clearly meant immense financial gain for those who received these rights, and consequently requests for these sources of income were soon expressed, for example in the case of the leader of the *mawālī* movement against Qutayba ibn Muslim in Khurasan in 715.¹⁰¹⁵ This was the basis on which tax farming developed¹⁰¹⁶ (usually called *qabāla* or *ḍamān*). It had been practised to a limited extent by Hārūn al-Rashīd,¹⁰¹⁷ and became the norm around 900.¹⁰¹⁸ From histories on the economy and the vizierate we can see how stubbornly the government's financiers insisted on their claims, how they would outbid one another in public auctions (*nīdāʾ*, *ziyāda*) and at the same time embezzled sums of money for themselves again and again.¹⁰¹⁹ Only rarely did it happen that a tax farmer [465] (*ḍāmin*) was accused of maltreating the population or | collecting the tax before the due date.

In such a system it was effortless (for one particular individual) to achieve an apparent surplus over two years (from Iraq and Ahvaz). An investigation into the tax farmer thus accused soon proved that unless he employed force (this was easily possible due to a lack of supervision) he was unable to accomplish anything. A price rise finally toppled him and returned his old rival to the position, who – by thoroughly keeping track of revenues and expenses – had been able to prove his predecessor's mismanagement.¹⁰²⁰ On this occasion we also find out the sums payable for lease of land at the time: in Khuzistan and Isfahan in 915–16: 1,260,122 dirhams¹⁰²¹ // in al-Sawād (Mesopotamia), Ahvaz and Isfahan in 919–20: 55 million dirhams over three years¹⁰²² // in Rayy, Qazvin, Abhar, Zangān and Azerbaijan in 922–23: 500,000 dinars, in addition

1014 Nikbī 144 (ca. 985) mentions a general to whom a Buyid allocated *kharāj* and *muʿāmala* from Gurgan, Dehistān, Ābaskūn and Astarābād.

1015 Ṭab. II 1291.

1016 See Berchem 45. Abū Yūsuf 60–69 discusses the theory (not the practical consequences) of tax farming.

1017 Bal. 311 (for Sīsar), 323 (Qazvin). Tanūkhī II 65 reports that the province of Fars was already allocated to tax farmers under al-Mahdī (though this may not be correct).

1018 Qommī 149–55 includes two such tax collector documents (see the phrase on p. 153: 'they should collect the *kharāj* and turn it over to the treasury/*Bayt al-māl* and the caliph') of 932–33 (AH 310). The document is called a 'banker's document' ([*'ahd al-jahbadh*]; see p. 410 n. above). For general information see Lambton 595; Mez 124f.; Lökk. 92–108; Schwarz VII 952.

1019 Misk. I 18f., 46 (909, 916/7).

1020 Misk. I 70f., 73–75.

1021 Vaṣṣāf 444 = Kremer, Ein. 308 = 313. Kremer, *Cultur.* I 270, and n. 1; Mez 125.

1022 Misk. I 70.

to the cost of the army and administration¹⁰²³ // in 926 Rayy and Khurasan were united for the purposes of tax farming, as the previous governor of Rayy had to fight the Qarmaṭis; the revenues due to the central treasury were agreed again in a conference.¹⁰²⁴ A particular variation was that favourites were given a share (*istithnāʾ*, *muqāṭaʿa*) in the tax revenue.¹⁰²⁵

Tax revenue (*irtifāʿ*)¹⁰²⁶ was mainly used to defray the expenses of the caliph's household,¹⁰²⁷ or those of minor Iranian princes (who were consequently often very wealthy¹⁰²⁸), and the administration. Military expenses also played an important part: the *kharāj* from certain | areas was always made [466] available immediately for the upkeep of military units (as early as 695–96 from three districts in Fars,¹⁰²⁹ later also e.g. in Nishapur¹⁰³⁰). The distribution of tax revenue with the aim of gaining followers was closely linked to this practice, especially in the case of rebelling governors.¹⁰³¹ Some money was needed furthermore for religious and cultural purposes.¹⁰³² From the ninth century we have the following account of the use made of the two million dirhams allotted to the local ruler: for building work and the upkeep of existing buildings, 12,000 dirhams; for irrigation systems, 4,000 dirhams; for the maintenance

1023 Misk. I 83. Athīr VIII 33 on the other hand reports a sum of 160,000 dinars for Rayy, Dunbāvand, Qazvin and Abhar for 919. See Kremer, Ein. 300.

1024 Misk. I 149.

1025 Hil. 86; see Lökk. 99–102.

1026 Concerning this word see e.g. Ibn Ḥawq. 385. Kremer, Ein. 309 (Vaṣṣāf).

1027 Of a 23 million annual income between 911 and 932 the caliph kept 19 million, the treasury (*Bayt al-māl*) receiving only four million dirhams, see Mez 115 and n. 3. Over the 21 years between 911–12 and 932 (AH 299–320) the treasury received approximately 83 million dirhams, the caliph's personal treasure chest received 400 million dirhams, furthermore 28 million dinars, all of which was soon spent again. The caliph's own assets amounted to only 14 million dinars in those days (Misk. I 239–41).

1028 Evidence of the wealth of individual rulers can also be seen in their legacies: Yaʿqūb ibn Layth 879: four million gold dinars and fifty million dirhams (Ibn Khall./Eg. II 319; Mas. VIII 46, and note on 416, states eight million dinars). // In 900 the Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir succeeded to the throne and to a treasure worth 33 million dirhams, in addition dinars and pearls as well as separate treasures, e.g. of robes and weapons in various castles (TS 257). // In 997 the Buyid Fakhr al-Dawla left 2,875,284 dinars and 100,860,790 dirhams and all kinds of valuable assets (Ibn Taghrībirdī 82f.). // In 1040–41 Masʿūd of Ghazna called himself the owner of 3,000 camel loads (*ḥamal*) of treasures of all kinds (Athīr IX 167).

1029 Ṭab. II 1004.

1030 Ḥus. 4.

1031 Athīr IV 39 (681 in Sistan); TS 246 and n. 3 (888 ʿAmr ibn Layth).

1032 We have already pointed out on p. 153f. above that many social responsibilities were left to private initiative.

of fortresses, 5,000 dirhams; to support prisoners, 20,000 dirhams; alms for readers of the Qur'an during Ramadan in the main mosque, 30,000 dirhams; for servants in the *dīwān*, bailiffs, household troops, headmen (*ru'ūsā-i shahrī*), guards, town criers (*mu'arrifūn*), Ramadan inspectors, 20 dirhams a head plus provisions; for the muezzins, 20,000 dirhams; for the annual redemption of a hundred slaves at 400–500 dirhams each; for hospitals, 10,000 dirhams; for inns (*band(u)bastihā*), 25,000 dirhams; for the police, 30,000 dirhams; for the tax collector (*bundār*) and his secretaries (*dabīr*), 50,000 dirhams; for the criminal judge (*ṣāhib-i mazālim*), 20,000 dirhams; for measures against sand drifts, 30,000 dirhams; for earthworks near fords and in mountainous areas, 50,000 dirhams; for bridges, fords etc. on the Helmand River, 30,000 dirhams; the remainder for alms to the needy and for repairing flood damage.¹⁰³³ While this information is only a small detail, and possibly not even correct for the year in which it was given but based on the conditions prevailing at the time it was written, it does give an approximate idea of how the tax revenue of a province would be used, and in what relative amounts.

In the following we shall complete the picture with an overview of the division of taxes and the tax revenues of the individual districts (or the cities within them). The information shows the gradual fall in tax revenue and the concomitant gradual economic (and political) decline of the caliph's empire.¹⁰³⁴ What is noticeable in nearly all of these lists (but see below) is the lack of information on payments in kind. There is a further discrepancy between the information given on the total of the tax revenue raised in the Iranian territories and the | individual items, which add up to a higher total. If these are not simply errors of calculation (which are found often in lists from the East of this kind), it might be the case that the individual items express the required standard target while the total shows the actual average annual revenue. (We have already mentioned that the calculations were usually on the high side for the purpose of maximising revenue extraction). However, this lack of agreement in the calculations is a further element of uncertainty.

According to these summaries the total tax revenue of the Iranian territories (ca. 550) under Khusrau Anōshirvān amounted to 36 million dirhams (which according to the exchange rate at the time is said to equal three million dinars). After a period of decrease during and immediately after the conquest, under the administration of al-Ḥajjāj's brother Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf the revenue in Fars rose to 30 million dirhams. Around 891, Ya'qūbī reports 40 million

1033 But in the later TS 30–33 with explanation of terms in the notes.

1034 Mez 121ff. also has some brief figures.

dirhams;¹⁰³⁵ around a hundred years later al-Muqaddasī reached a sum of 50 million.¹⁰³⁶ This kind of increase might well correspond to the calmer development under the Ṭāhirids and Samanids; consequently we cannot deny these accounts a certain credibility.

*Table of the Tax Revenues of Individual Districts*¹⁰³⁷

Azerbaijan

642	800,000 dirhams annually (Bal. 326).
Ca. 680	30 million dirhams (Ya'q., Hist. II 277).
Ca. 785	four million dirhams; Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.; Kremer, <i>Cultur.</i> I 341.
Ca. 800	four million dirhams (Jahsh. 362).
819	(incl. Arrān): 4,500,000 dirhams (Qud. 244; cf. Vaṣṣāf 444).
Ca. 846	(after Bābak's rebellion): two million dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 121; Ibn al-Faqīh 286).
891	four million dirhams (or a little more or less) (Ya'q., Buld. 272).
955–56	the Shīrvān-shāh pays (for Shekī as well): one million dirhams (Ibn Ḥawq. 354f.).

Dinavar (Māh al-Kufa and Māh al-Basra)

Ca. 785	ten million (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.). (Cf. Schwarz VII 945f.).
Ca. 820	Māh al-Kufa five million, Māh al-Basra 4,800,000 dirhams (Qud. 244).
Ca. 850	3,800,000 (listed a second time with one million dirhams) (Ibn Khurd. 121; Schwarz VII 950). [468]
891	(‘excluding the “Sultan’s villages”’): ¹⁰³⁸ 5,700,000 dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 271).

1035 Ya'q., Buld. 308. Fateh 735–37.

1036 Muq. 418.

1037 This table takes particular account of the times of economic prosperity within a comparatively unified Empire, as in later times the individual states would usually keep their tax revenues secret; see Kremer, *Cultur.* I 265; *EI Turk.* II 108f. For more information relevant to the tables see Levy, *Soc.* I 343–46.

1038 See p. 443 above.

Dinavar (Māh al-Kufa and Māh al-Basra) (cont.)

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- 918–19 ('excluding the *ḍiyāʿ al-riyāsa* [cf. Kremer, Ein. 325], the '*mustahdatha*' and the '*tuʿma*' properties'): 105,678 (dirhams?), and 89,500 for the *ḍiyāʿ* (Vaṣṣāf/ Bombay 444; Kremer, Ein. 309 = 315).
- Ca. 940 thirty million dirhams (Muq. 400). (The last two declarations must be based on different taxes and on different taxed areas.)
-

Fars

-
- (Ca. 600 40 million dirhams: Yāq. IV 265, supposedly after Sasanid records).
- Ca. 680 70 million dirhams (Yaʿq., Hist. II 277).
- Ca. 700 the *muʿāmalāt* from Shiraz: 30,000 dirhams (Zark. 25 [though he is a later source])
- Ca. 785 (including Oman): 2,600,000 dinars (!) (Ibn al-Balkhī 171).
- Ca. 800 the *muʿāmalāt* from Shiraz: 60,000 dirhams (Zark. 25).
- Ca. 800 (including Kirman and Oman): two million dinars (!).
- Ca. 800 27 million dirhams; in addition to which, in kind:¹⁰³⁹ 20,000 *riṭl* black grape juice; 150,000 *riṭl* pomegranates and quinces; 30,000 bottles (*qārūra*)¹⁰⁴⁰ rose water; 15,000 *riṭl* sweetmeats; 50,000 *riṭl* cheeses (*ṭabaq-i sīrāfi*);¹⁰⁴¹ three 'donkey loads' grapes (Jahsh. 358; Thaʿālibī, Laṭ. II 110 has slightly differing amounts).
- 815–16 new arrangement for Fars, Kirman and Oman after the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʿmūn: 2,600,000 dinars (Ibn al-Balkhī 171).
- Ca. 820 27 million dirhams, in addition 30,000 *qārūra* rose water; 20,000 *riṭl* dried grapes (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).
- Ca. 846 33–35 million dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 48).
- 869f. Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār collects 30 million dirhams after the conquest (Ibn Khall./Eg. II 315; Krymśkij I 53; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 306).

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- 1039 On the end of the contributions in kind around 900 (in Mesopotamia between 874 and 915) see Mez 445.
- 1040 Thus instead of *ṭīn* in the text.
- 1041 Instead of *sūrābī*.

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- 911–12–932 revenue from the *kharāj*, the state-owned lands and the royal estates annually, 18 million dirhams: Misk. I 238f.
- 918–19 taking into account the estates bequeathed to the state and the ‘gifts from the chieftains’: 1,634,520 dinars; in addition revenue from the ‘emirs’ territories’ and the port charges from Siraf: 258,040 dinars (Ibn al-Balkhī 171, Vaṣṣāf/Bombay 444; Kremer, Ein. 308 = 313f., 324). [469]
- Ca. 920 of the 23 million dirhams collected only four million flow into the treasury, 19 million into the caliph’s personal treasure chest. Of course, the caliph had the expense of seven million dinars (!) for military purposes in this region (e.g. in 915): Hil. 290; also Mez 115 with n. 3.
- Ca. 932 24 million dirhams (Qud. 249).
- Ca. 950 Fars with the shipping tithes from Siraf, 2,150,000 dinars, of which Shiraz and the area around Panā(h) Khusrau contributed: 316,000 dinars (Zark. 172).
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Ghazna and Kabul

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- Ca. 975 including the ‘neighbouring areas of India’: 100,000 dinars payment for real estate use, in addition 600,000 dirhams cash (Ibn Ḥawq.² 425).
-

Gilan

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- Ca. 785 five million dirhams. In addition 1,000 slaves, 12,000 skins of honey, ten hawks, 20 robes (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.; Vaṣṣāf 444f.; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 342).
- Ca. 899 (including al-Bāb and Ṭaylasān): 100 slaves, twelve skins of honey, ten hawks, 20 robes: Jahsh. 364).
-

Gōzgān

-
- Ca. 975 100,000 dinars, in addition 400,000 dirhams cash (*waraq*) and other items (Ibn Ḥawq.² 425).
-

Gurgan

-
- Ca. 785 12 million dirhams, 1,000 *mann* (weight) of silk fabrics (Ibn Khaldūn I 322; Jahsh. 358f.; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 332).
- Ca. 850 10,176,800 dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 35; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 332).
- Ca. 891 ten million dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 277).
- 907–8 cf. Rayy.
- Ca. 932 four million dirhams (Qud. 250).
- Ca. 985 10,196,800 dirhams (Muq. 371).
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Hamadan

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- Ca. 785 11,800,000 dirhams. 1,000 *riṭl* pomegranate conserve; 12,000 *riṭl* honey (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 336).
- Ca. 800 11,800,000 dirhams. 1,000 *mann* currant juice; 20,000 *mann* Arwandī honey (very high quality) (Jahsh. 361).
- [470] Ca. 820 1,700,000 dirhams on average (Qud. 244).
- 891 six million dirhams (for the population of Basra): Ya'q., Buld. 272; Schwarz VII 952.
- 918/9 150,480 dinars *kharāj*, 55,789 dinars from the *ḍiyā'* (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Einn. 308 = 314).
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*Khurasan*¹⁰⁴²

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- 741 for Faryab, 70,000 dirhams (Athīr v 93).
- Ca. 786 28 million dirhams. (Jointly with Transoxania:) 2,000 silver ingots; 4,000 sumpter mules; 1,000 slaves; 27,000 tunics (or *matā'* fabric); 3,000 *riṭl akhlīlaj* (*ihlīlaj*)¹⁰⁴³ (myrobalan, a medicinal plant) (Jahsh. 359f.; Ibn Khaldūn I 322).
- 826–28 38 million dirhams (Qud. 243; TS 26; Ibn Khurd. 34–39) with exact data concerning the individual districts.
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1042 When the Umayyad governor of this district (probably in the early eighth century) declared that the revenue of the province was not even sufficient to cover the expenses of his kitchen (Aghānī/Būlāq XI 56) this is, of course, pure exaggeration. Detailed information on the revenue from the cities may be found in Kremer, *Cultur.* I 320–25.

1043 Siggel, *Wörterbuch*, 17.

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- 844 (Khurasan with Rayy, Ṭabaristan and Kirman): 48 million dirhams (Ṭab. III 1338f.; Athīr VII 5).
- 846 10,729,200 dirhams (after subtracting Rayy, Gurgan, Qumis, Kirman and Sistan) (Ibn Khurd. 41–43; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 331).
- 891 the city of Sarakhs one million dirhams (balanced against Khurasan, as well as Ṭus, Nishapur, Marv and Herat) (Ya'q., Buld. 279f).
- Ca. 915 37–38 million (Qud. 250).
- In some books the total *kharāj* collected in Khurasan is given as 44,800,930 dirhams, in addition to 20 riding animals, 100 sheep, 1,102 slaves, 1,300 donkey loads of fabrics.
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Khuzistan

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- Ca. 680 Ahvaz and hinterland: 40 million dirhams (Ya'q., Hist. II 277).
- 775–76 25 million dirhams. 30,000 *riṭl* sugar (Tha'libī, Laṭ. 107; Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).
- 819–20 23 million dirhams (Qud. 243).
- Ca. 840 30 million dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 42; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 295).
- 919–20 11 million dirhams for Ahvaz, in addition 2,900,000 from the domains, the Abbasids 'newly raised sum' and Ibn al-Furāt's seized domains: 1,260,922 dinars (Misk. I 70).
- Ca. 940 Ahvaz 30 million dirhams (Muq. 418 v.; Schwarz IV 442–45). | [471]
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Hulwan

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- Ca. 820 nine million (dirhams? – probably an error in the text) (Qud. 250).
- 918–19 (*kharāj* and *diyā'*): 30,015 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444 f.; Kremer, Ein. 309 = 315).
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Isfahan

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- Ca. 800 11 million dirhams. 20,000 *riṭl* honey; 20,000 *riṭl* wax (Jahsh. 361; Tha'libī, Laṭ. 110f) (according to Qommī 31 after separating from Qom: 12 million dirhams).
- Ca. 820 10,500,000 dirhams (Qud. 242.; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 337).
- Ca. 891 ten million dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 275).

Isfahan (cont.)

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- Ca. 900 12 million dirhams (Ibn Ḥawq. 367; Browne, *Isf.* 23; Schwarz VII 942).
- Ca. 905 10,300,000 dirhams, excluding the revenue from the villages known as *shurṭīya* and those which are the size of a town (Ibn Rustah 154; Schwarz VII 953). (the *kharāj* from Qom and Karaj is included with that from Isfahan here). The brass works near Isfahan yielded 10,000 dirhams annually (Ibn Rustah 156).
- 918–19 *kharāj* subsequent to the renewed treaty taken jointly with the Kurds' *kharāj* and the yield (possibly from the sale of the harvest) of the freehold estates (*īghār*) and the *ḍīyā' al-sultān*: 410,178 + 189,334 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 308 = 314).
- 919/20 2,100,000 dirhams annually (Misk. I 70).
- 978 An orchard near Isfahan is said to yield 100,000 dirhams *kharāj* annually (Ibn Ḥawq. 364).
- Ca. 980 *kharāj* and *jizya* together 40 million dirhams (after the Buyid conquest under Mu'ayyad al-Dawla) (Browne, *Isf.* 23).
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Karaj

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- Ca. 785 300,000 dirhams (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.) (probably correct to 3 million).
- Ca. 830 3,400,000 dirhams (including one million from the *rustāqs*). In addition 400,000 from the *ashriba* (irrigated areas, cf. Jahsh. 5f.).
- Ca. 845 the *kharāj* is reduced to 3,300,000 dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 273).
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Kashan

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- Ca. 940 one million dirhams (Muq. 400).
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Kirman

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- Ca. 600 60 million dirhams (Yāqūt IV 265, supposedly after Sasanid records).
- Ca. 786 four million dirhams. 500 pieces of Yemeni fabrics; 20,000 *riṭl* dates; 1,000 *riṭl* caraway (Jahsh. 358f.; Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).

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- Ca. 819–20 six million dirhams (Qud. 242).
 844 see Khurasan.
 911/2–32 annually: five million dirhams (Misk. I 238f.; Ibn Khurd. 35; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 309; Schwarz III 286).
 918–19 tax including the ‘emirs’ territories’, but excluding ‘*ahd* and *warah*’ (perhaps *warj*, ‘courtyard’), the deserted villages and the bequests: 364,800 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 308 = 314, 324).
 Ca. 919–20 six million dirhams (Qud. 250).
 Ca. 940 60 million (certainly meaning six million) dirhams (Muq. 473).
 Ca. 950 Kirman with Tiz and Bezīrk (Bulūk): 750,000 dinars (Zark. 172).
 961/2 1,100,000 dirhams (Ibn Ḥawq. 226).
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Makran

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- Ca. 785 400,000 dirhams (Jahsh. 358f.; Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).
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Māsabadhān

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- Ca. 820 1,100,000 dirhams (Qud. 244).
 918–19 *kharāj* 57,746; *diyā'* 16,750 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 309 = 314; cf. Schwarz VII 947).
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Nishapur

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- Ca. 891 4 million dirhams (balanced with Ṭus) (Ya'q., Buld. 278).
 Ca. 940 in recognition of a gift the tax from Biyār (west of Nishapur) is lowered from 26,000 to 6,000 dirhams and linked to that from Nishapur (Muq. 371).
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Nahavand

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- Ca. 680 (including Māh al-Kufa [Dinavar] and Māh al-Basra [Hamadan with surrounding areas of Jibāl]): 40 million dirhams (Ya'q., Hist. II 277).

Nahavand (cont.)

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- 891 (excluding the *māl al-ḍiyā'*): one million dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 272).
 918–19 (including the two *īghārs*): *kharāj* 185,636, *ḍiyā'* 267,520 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 308 = 314).
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*Qazvin*¹⁰⁴⁴

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- Ca. 820 1,628,000 dirhams (Qud. 244; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 335).
 Ca. 846 (Qazvin, according to another MS Qazvin and Zangān): 1,500,000 dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 57; Schwarz VII 950).
 891 Qazvin, Zangān and Abhar: *kharāj* 115,710 dinars, *ḍiyā'* 58,290 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 308 = 314, 325). |
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Qumis (Kōmish; capital = Dāmghān)

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- Ca. 785 1,500,000 dirhams. 1,000 (according to Jahsh., 2,000) silver ingots (Ibn Khaldūn I 322; Jahsh. 360; the latter also mentions: 70 robes, 40,000 pomegranates).
 Ca. 820 1,050,000 dirhams (Qud. 244, 250; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 333).
 Ca. 850 2,196,000 dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 35; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 333).
 Ca. 891 1,500,000 dirhams (balanced with the *kharāj* from Khurasan) (Ya'q., Buld. 276; Schwarz VII 952).
 Ca. 985 1,196,000 dirhams (Muq. 371).
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1044 The lowering of Qazvin's tax to 10,000 dirhams reported in Bal. 323 was at most an ephemeral measure.

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- Ca. 800 (after separating from Isfahan): 3,500,000 dirhams (Qommī 31).
- Ca. 820 two million dirhams. After a rebellion by the population – demanding a reduction – had been put down, seven million were imposed upon them (Bal. 314; Ṭab. III 1092f.; Athīr VI 135).
- 847 (including the yields from the estates/*dīyā'*, the arrears and the *jizya*): 3,213,033 dirhams (Qommī 126f.).
- Ca. 850 3,800,000 dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 41; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 337; Schwarz VII 950).
- Ca. 891 4,500,000 dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 274: does not agree with the preceding, or the following, but it is possible that Ya'q. calculated the area differently).
- 895 3,479,895 dirhams (Qommī).
- 897 (including '*māl-i manqūl*, *māl-i silāqānī* [herds?] and *jizya*): 3,373,874 dirhams (Qommī 128).
- 900 3,370,438 1/2 dirhams (Qommī 122).¹⁰⁴⁵
- Ca. 905 Qom and Karaj are included with Isfahan (Ibn Rustah 152; Qud. 20).
- 918–19 Qom alone 197,229 dinars *kharāj* and 80,229 dinars yield from the *dīyā'* (the total for both sums is indeed the same as in Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 308 = 314).
- Ca. 920 three million (Qud. 250; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 337).
- Ca. 940 Qom one million dirhams, 'Qom and Zangān' (sic) 1,628,000 dirhams (Muq. 400).
- 964 2,900,000 dirhams (Qommī 132; he includes a detailed breakdown of the total on p. 142.). |
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[474]

Rayy

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- Ca. 680 (with the surrounding areas): 30 million dirhams (Ya'q., Hist. II 277).
- Ca. 785 12 million dirhams. 20,000 *riṭl* honey (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).
- Ca. 800 12 million dirhams. 100,000 pomegranates; 1,000 *riṭl* peaches (Jahsh. 360f.; Tha'libī, Laṭ. III).

1045 Out of this, smaller sums (50,723 or 90,971 1/2 dirham) were transferred from Isfahan or to Karaj; Qommī 122. (Here also further breakdown into the basic amount *aṣl*, the surcharge *iẓāfat* and the revenue from the *rustāqs*).

Rayy (cont.)

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- Ca. 813 al-Ma'mūn lowers the *kharāj* to two million dirhams (Bal. 320; Ṭab. III 1030; Athīr VI 135; Schwarz VII 948f.).
- Ca. 820 (including Damavand) 20,200,000 dirhams (Qud. 244, 250).
844 see Khurasan.
- Ca. 850 ten million dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 22, 34; Schwarz VII 951; Kremer *Cultur.* I 335).
- Ca. 891 ten million dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 276).
907–8 Rayy, Ṭabaristan and Gurgan: 80 'loads' (*wīqr*) . . . (Athīr VIII 3).
918–19 Rayy and Damavand: land tax and rates from the (non-privileged) estates according to the fixed tax rate (*kharāj*, '*ushr*', *khums*)¹⁰⁴⁶ with taxes collected separately: 465,078 dinars, *ḍiyā'* 122,644 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 308 = 314, 325).
- Ca. 940 ten million dirhams (Muq. 400).
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Shahrazur, Samghān and Darābādih (north of Mihragānkadhagh and Māsabadhān)

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- Ca. 785 still included with the province of Mosul (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).
- Ca. 820 2,750,000 dirhams (Qud. 245; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 339).
- Ca. 850 2,750,000 dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 41; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 339).
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Al-Ṣaymara (the areas of Mihragānkadhagh and Māsabadhān)

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- Ca. 785 four million (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).
- Ca. 850 3,500,000 dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 41; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 339).
- 891 'Ṣaymara and Māsabadhān' – with the town of Sīrvān: 2,500,000 dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 270; Schwarz VII 952).
- Ca. 920 1,200,000 + 1,100,000 dirhams (Qud. 250; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 339).
- Ca. 940 3,100,000 dirhams (Muq. 400).
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1046 The 'lords' estates' paid only a tithe, the ordinary lands the normal *kharāj*, often with additional surcharges.

Sāva ('with the mint')

918–19 17,625 dinars (Vaṣṣāf 444; Kremer, Ein. 309 = 314).

[475]

Sistan

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- Ca. 650 (including Bust, al-Rukhkhaj, Kabul, Zābulistān, Nawzād, Zamīndāvar, Ispizār and Khugistān): one million dirhams (TS 26).
- Ca. 785–86 four million dirhams, 300 pieces of striped silk, 20,000 *riṭl* refined sugar (*pānīdh*) (Ibn Khaldūn I 322f.).
- 794–95 400,000 dirhams handed over to the caliph, in addition seven million dirhams from conquered Kabul (Ṭab. III 634).
- Ca. 800 4,600,000 dirhams. 'Specifically listed' robes: 30,000; 2,000 of which dyed with indigo and 20,000 made from sateen (Jahsh. 358f.).
- Ca. 850 6,776,000 dirhams (Ibn Khurd. 35; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 315).
- Ninth century 3,512,000 dirhams (TS 30).
- 912 Revenue regularly not exceeding one million dirhams (TS 297).
- Ca. 920 one million dirhams (Qud. 250).
- Ca. 975 Sistan and al-Rukhkhaj (except for Bust): 100,000 dinars in *jibāyāt*, *qawānīn* 'wa-'adā'ihā', in addition 300,000 dirhams ready money (Ibn Ḥawq.² 425).
- Ca. 975 Bust: 100,000 dinars in various *jibāyāt* from property, from agriculture liable to tax (*muqāsamāt*), in addition *kharājāt wa-tawābi'ihā*, furthermore 800,000 dirhams ready money (Ibn Ḥawq.² 425).
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Ṭabaristan

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- Ca. 785 600 Ṭabaristani carpets, 200 robes, 500 undergarments, 300 cloths (*mandīl*), 600 glass goblets (Jahsh. 360; also Ibn Khaldūn I 322f., but 300 silver cups instead of the glass goblets).
- Ca. 800 Hārūn al-Rashīd fixes Rōdh/yān's tax at 400,000 dirhams (Ibn Rustah 150).
- Ca. 820 the newly founded city of Chālūs has to pay 500,000 dirhams (Ibn Rustah 151).
- Ca. 820 1,163,000 dirhams (Qud. 250; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 334).
- 844 cf. Khurasan.

Tabaristan (cont.)

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- Mid-ninth century under the Ṭāhirids): 5,830,000 dirhams (the sum of the individual items does not, however, add up to this figure). The *ḍiyā'* of Ṭabaristan was divided into three levels in those days, which yielded 7,000,000 dirhams under Ṭāhir (d. 822) (but the subsequent items only add up to 6,100,300 dirhams). The three levels are 1. *tafṣīl ma'rūf* with one *ḍiyā'* purchased from the caliph and one other estate; 2. *ghallāt* from the proceeds of fishing and bird-catching; 3. distilled wine¹⁰⁴⁷ from two properties; 4. *ḍiyā'* which the Ṭāhirid Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh had been given as *iqṭā'*, and further *ḍiyā'* belonging to this family; the total of *ḍiyā'*, *khawārij* and *ṭāhirīya*: 13,300,000 dirhams (Ibn Isf. 29f.).
- [476] 891 four million dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 277).
 907–8 cf. Rayy.
 Ca. 920 1,163,070 or 4,280,700 dirhams (Qud. 245 against Qud. 250).
 Ca. 975 200,000 + 2,000,000 dirhams (after the land had 'sunk').
 'Revenue is very variable. In some years no tax will be collected at all, as the rulers in this country change so very frequently'. 'In the past, the tax revenue was a high as in Gurgan, as the country had good agricultural yields, especially growing wheat and barley' (Ibn Ḥawq. 385).
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Transoxania

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- 707 after its fourth conquest by the Arabs (under Qutayba ibn Muslim), Bukhara has to pay 200,000 dirhams annually to the caliph and 10,000 dirhams to the governor of Khurasan (Narsh. 51).
- 801f. due to a currency reform the *ghit'rīfi* dirham¹⁰⁴⁸ was introduced; afterwards the *kharāj* for Bukhara, which had earlier been slightly less than 200,000 dirhams (silver = *nuqra/nākartak*), became a heavy burden. Nevertheless, at first it was possible to collect 1,068,567 (sic) dirhams;¹⁰⁴⁹ later the sum decreased (Narsh. 31, 35).
- Ninth century at first 1,168,566 (sic) dirhams 5 1/2 *dānagh*, less later (Narsh. 31).
 Ca. 850 a summary of the revenue of individual cities is to be found in Kremer, *Cultur.* 1 326–31.
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1047 Safjiya, see Vullers s.v. = Si(h)jaki, p. 514f. below.

1048 See p. 409 above.

1049 Thus on p. 35; on 31: 1,168,566 dirhams 5 1/2 *dānagh*.

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- Ca. 891 Bukhara: one million dirhams (Ya'q., Buld. 293).
- Ca. 910 Bukhara: 'Due to the devastation of recent times' only 20,000 (sic) according to the report of the Samanid ruler (this is certainly understated deliberately in order not to have to hand over large sums to Baghdad) (Narsh. 10).
- Ca. 985 Fergana: 280,000 *dirhams-i Muḥammadīya*; Shāsh (= Tashkent): 180,000 *dirhams-i musayyibīya*; Khojand: 100,000 dirhams *muqāṭa'āt al-a'shār*; Sogdiana, Kish, Nakhshab, Usrūshana: 1,039,031 *dirhams-i Muḥammadīya*; Ispējāb: 4 *dānagh* and a broom annually (symbolic tax); Bukhara: 1,166,897 *ghitrīfi* dirhams;¹⁰⁵⁰ Chaghānīyān: 48,529 dirhams; Vakhān: 40,000; Khwarazm: 420,120 dirhams 4 1/2 *dānagh*.
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Tribute

In many parts of the caliph's empire, including the east, tax farming had taken the immediate administration of these areas from the capital Baghdad in the ninth and tenth centuries. This political development continued to remove ever larger tracts of land from the power of the Commander of the Faithful | altogether. All these territories did, of course, legally remain part of the caliphate, as long as they did not enter into open rebellion (which would [477] in any case be put down in the end), and as long as there were no powers of different faith (such as the Fatimids in North Africa and Egypt, and at times the Eastern Roman Empire) who cut all connection, including the religious one, with the caliphate. Thus the money turned over to Baghdad by the virtually independent dynasties in the Iranian territory, the Ṭāhirids, Ṣaffārīds, Samanids, Ghaznavids and later Seljuks, was by no means seen as a tribute under constitutional law. On the contrary, political theory saw these dynasts as governors (and at the same time as commanders-in-chief and tax administrators) and their payments consequently as taxes or 'gifts'. The only justification we have for calling them 'tribute' lies in the fact that these dynasties were de facto politically independent potentates. The list below, which shows the monies turned over to Baghdad by the Persian dynasties, may consequently only be seen as showing 'tributes' in this particular context.

The situation is different, however, in the case of the small and genuinely independent dynasties that survived for some time in Ṭabaristan, Gurgan and some other regions along the south coast of the Caspian Sea. When, after the

1050 See the information under '80if.' and 'ninth century' above.

caliph's campaigns (e.g. 717–18)¹⁰⁵¹ they had to come to the decision to pay an annual contribution (in money and in kind) while retaining their Zoroastrian faith, these were genuine tributes¹⁰⁵² from independent states, whose rulers had no inner connection to the Islamic community. The same is true of the independent dynasties on the eastern Iranian frontiers, such as the *zūnbīls* (in present-day Afghanistan),¹⁰⁵³ the chieftains of Rēvshārān (in Gōzḡān)¹⁰⁵⁴ or the dynasty on the island of Qays in the Persian Gulf. Some of them would pay their tribute (which in the case of the *zūnbīls* had to be collected by force and in several military campaigns¹⁰⁵⁵) to the caliph's governor, but some also [478] to local dynasties in Fars, | or to the Samanids¹⁰⁵⁶ or the Ghaznavids.¹⁰⁵⁷ The latter would act as independent rulers rather than as representatives of the Commander of the Faithful. Thus the payments by these princes were also tributes as understood by constitutional law. They are grouped here with the aforementioned taxes of Islamic dynasties purely with a view to the actual political development.

Payments (tributes) to the Caliphs

Ṭāhirids

They paid (826–27) 44,846,000 dirhams for the entirety of the territories they ruled (Ṭab. III 1338; Ibn Khurd., 34–39; Barthold, *Turk.* 220).

836: 38,000,000 (Qud. 185).

1051 Ṭab. II 1232; Athīr v 12, Ibn Isf. 118; Awl. 45.

1052 Terms used in this context are: 1. *qarār* (Athīr IV 148 [733], v 224 [768]); 2. *muqāṭa'a* (Ḥud. 107 [982]); 3. *maḥmūla* (Athīr VI 33 [919]). The sum collected from the Sogdians was also called *jizya*: Ṭab. II 1229 (see p. 453 above).

1053 He was able to buy himself out of paying anything by promising to hand over a rebel who had fled to him (after his death, however, he surrendered only his nephew): Ṭab. II 1135. On the legal position of 'theoretically dependent states' see Ḥamīdullāh I 172–74.

1054 Ḥud. 106 (982).

1055 Athīr v 224 (768).

1056 This was the reason why they called themselves *Sultān al-salaṭīn* (see Ibn Khall./Eg. II 78; Krymskiy I 74). The Samanid Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad in Bukhara had to make an additional payment of 500,000 dirhams annually to his brother Naṣr in Samarkand (since 874), a payment which Naṣr enforced after long fighting despite his brothers difficulty in paying this sum: Narsh. 80, 82. Vassals of the Samanids under the obligation to pay tribute (not taxes, i.e. *kharāj*) were the rulers of Sistan, Khwarazm, Gharshistan (title: *shār*), Gōzḡān, Bust, Ghazna and Khuttal: Muq. 337, Ḥud. 342 (commentary by Minorsky).

1057 Bayh. 243 (Makran ca. 1020).

Ṣaffārids

Despite the caliphs' demands, which usually amounted to 20 million dirhams annually (TS 234–36; Krymskij I 59, esp. n. 3), they did not send a fixed amount to Baghdad, even though Ya'qūb al-Ṣaffār had on occasion pledged to pay five million dirhams (Ibn Khall./Eg. II 315). They did, however, occasionally present gifts: in 881–82 'Amr ibn Layth sent 300,000 dinars, 50 *mann* musk, 50 *mann* ambergris, 200 *mann* aloe wood, 300 'pieces' of silk fabrics, a vessel with gold and silver as well as riding animals and slaves worth 200,000 dinars (Athir VII 123).

Samanids

They paid different sums every year (Krymskij I 67); also 'gifts' (910–11: mounted pages, robes, musk, silk, sable: 'Arīb 35).

Fars

In 909–10 al-Subkarī, who had conquered this region, had himself confirmed as the ruler in return for a single 'gift' of 200,000 dinars and an annual payment of 13 million dirhams (Misk. I 16; TS 295); in the end he only paid ten million dirhams which he already found difficult to raise (Ibn Taghrībirdī II 263; Kremer, *Cultur.* I 284).

[479]

Buyids

In 934 the caliph asks for a payment of eight million dirhams in return for granting the fief of Shiraz; he also has the Buyids pay for the costs of the local administration. However, 'Alī ibn Buwayh (being a Shi'ite) forced the caliph's envoys to hand over the robe of honour and the standard before he paid the money (which was against their orders), and after long debate refused to pay anything at all. The caliph's chief envoy died in Shiraz (Misk. I 299).

Azerbaijan

In 919 S-b-k asks the caliph to be granted the fief of the lands he has conquered, in return for an annual payment of 220,000 dinars (Athir VIII 23).

Sistan

In 919 the territory pays 500,000 dirhams annually (Athir VIII 33).

Mazandaran/Ṭabaristan

After an Arab victory in 717–18 the *ispāhbadh* decides to pay an annual sum of 700,000 (or 500,000) dirhams, in addition 400 'loads' saffron, one *ṭaylasān*, and either a silver vessel, a piece of silk or a robe, and also to provide 400 men armed with a sword each (Ṭab. II 1232; Athir V 12).

In 765 the tribute obligation amounted to one 'gold dirham' for each inhabitant (settled as well as nomad), 300,000 'white silver' dirhams, 300 bales of green silk carpets and quilts, the same number made from golden cotton, gold-embroidered robes, good saffron and some sea fish (Ibn Isf. 118; Awl. 45).

In 929 the prince Aspār paid a tribute to the Samanids calculated at one dinar for each of the inhabitants of Rayy and its district (settled as well as nomad) (Athīr VIII 60).

In 1000 Manūchīhr paid 500,000 dirhams annually to Maḥmūd of Ghazna and had to provide 1,000 Daylami horsemen (Ibn Isf. 233).

In 1034 the country pledges to pay 300,000 dinars annually (Gard. 100).

Gurgan

In 650–51 the region pays 'according to its wishes': once 100,000, then 200,000 and occasionally 300,000 dirhams. If the Muslims campaigned against them, they simply renounced Islam (Athīr III 42, v 11).

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The Qufṣ and the Baluchis to the Buyids

In 936 'Ali ibn Zangī pledged to pay one million dirhams (in spite of this the Buyids treacherously attacked him) (Misk. I 354).

In 964 Daylam has to agree to pay the Samanids 150,000 Nishapur dirhams after a campaign (Narsh. 97).

In 1020 Makran pays 10,000 (*harawīya* = from Herat) dinars in minted coin to Maḥmūd of Ghazna (Bayh. 243).

Ca. 1035 the ruler of Isfahan, Ibn Kākūī, who had been appointed by Mas'ūd of Ghazna, was ordered to pay 200,000 (Herat?) dinars annually to the latter; in addition, to deliver 10,000 robes made in the country, furthermore bring all manner of gifts on Nowruz, especially race horses,¹⁰⁵⁸ camels and various travel gear (Bayh. 16).

The ruler of Gurgan has to pay 100,000 dinars annually to the Seljuks, who conquered his country by treaty (*sulḥan*), even though his vassal who had been imposed on him, Mardāvīj, paid him only 50,000. The actual ruler of the country, Anōshirvān, who was allowed to keep Sāriya, had to pay an additional 30,000 dinars (Athīr IX 171).

In 1042–43 the *salār* of Tārom pays 200,000 dinars to the Seljuk Tughril Beg (Athīr IX 176).

1058 *Tāzī* horses, see *tāzī* = greyhound, or Arabian (= thoroughbred) horses.

The Calendar¹⁰⁵⁹

The regulation of the calendar is closely linked to agricultural matters and also to tax collection, as the Islamic year, being a strictly lunar year, proved to be of no use for determining any dates that were connected to the climate and the seasons. Thus it became necessary to find a different calendar in order to determine dates in these areas. Departing altogether from the Islamic calendar in [481] relation to all aspects of life was impossible for religious reasons. | In the Iranian territory a suitable calendar was easily found. The ancient Persian division of the year (the so-called Mazdayasna calendar, unlikely to have been introduced before 485 BC¹⁰⁶⁰) into twelve years of thirty days and an additional five leap days (after the eighth month; used to celebrate carnival days¹⁰⁶¹) suggested itself. Even after the Muslim conquest, this calendar remained well known. Historians describe its arrangement,¹⁰⁶² even though the earlier periodization of the course of history according to Avestan teachings had been replaced with a division according to other sources, such as the *Khvadhay-nāmāgh*.¹⁰⁶³ This, however, was of importance only for historical tradition. In practice the years were still counted following the duration of the kings' rule. When after the death of Yazdagird III (651) no king was able to assert himself, the count was continued from his era, beginning in 632 (the year he acceded to the throne), and is occasionally named after him.

Dating according to the Persian calendar was usually chosen when information relevant to a certain season needed to be conveyed.¹⁰⁶⁴ More importantly, the ancient Persian Zoroastrian festivals of New Year (Nowruz; Arabic

1059 On the Iranian calendar of the early years, see Alfred Gutschmid, 'Über das iranische Jahr', in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* xiv, Leipzig 1862, 1–6; Taqizadeh, *Calendars* (discusses the Achaemenid and Sasanid eras with their calendars); Lewy, 'Le calendrier perse' (Achaemenid and early Sasanid eras); Friedrich K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie I*, Leipzig 1906, 298, 300. See also Christensen² 171–78, and the literature listed there, 171 n. 4.

1060 See Nyberg, *Rel.* 38ff. (detailed discussion). For criticism of this date see Taqizadeh, *Calendars*, 6f.

1061 Mas. III 413f.; Bir., *Chronol./Sachau* 211.

1062 Mas., *Tanb.* 215 (ca. 950); Mas. III 413. See Bir. 10f., 14f.; 42f.; Mez. 102.

1063 Barthold, 'Epos', 146f.

1064 Having spent the winter in Balkh, Mas'ūd of Ghazna wanted to return to Ghazna 'for Nowruz': Bayh. 9, also 451 and 456 reporting unusual weather. Elias 155–60 has a schematic table to compare Zoroastrian, Seleucid and Hijra years.

form also *nayrūz*)¹⁰⁶⁵ and the Summer Solstice, and later the Autumn festival (Mihragān), were still celebrated, and naturally according to the old calendar. Of course the Muslims, in particular under ‘Umar II, tried to abolish these festivals¹⁰⁶⁶ and to suppress the custom of giving gifts to one’s superiors on these occasions.¹⁰⁶⁷ However, the custom was so firmly linked to the Persian people’s ideas and emotions¹⁰⁶⁸ that it would soon | carry the day,¹⁰⁶⁹ and with the rise [482] of the Abbasids, and the Buyids in particular,¹⁰⁷⁰ become universal,¹⁰⁷¹ not only in Iran but even in Mesopotamia¹⁰⁷² (especially in Baghdad, but also in Basra¹⁰⁷³). It did not, however, spread to Syria, Egypt and North Africa to anything like the same extent.¹⁰⁷⁴

However, the Persian calendar was not structured so rigidly (particularly with respect to the leap days) that it could be compared to the Julian calendar. The necessary astronomical observation was already lacking in the Sasanid era,¹⁰⁷⁵ and consequently over time dates (and also festivals) shifted considerably in relation to the seasons. Nowruz, which originally fell on the winter solstice, and according to later understanding (subsequent to the shift) was meant to mark the beginning of the new year on the first day of spring), was by no means fixed to 21 March (in the old system; or to 1 Farvardīn).¹⁰⁷⁶ Similarly

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- 1065 See Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 82–110 (Sasanidskiy prazdnik vesny = The Sasanid spring festival); Tolstov, *Chor.* 282–85, and p. 290 above.
- 1066 Ya’q. *Hist.* II 466.
- 1067 In 652–53 the general al-Aḥnaf declined Mihragān gifts with which the inhabitants of Balkh wished to present him ‘in excess of the agreed *kharāḡ*’ but ‘according to local custom’, while the commander-in-chief Ibn ‘Āmir accepted them (Ṭab. I 2903f.). By ca. 670, however, Iraq’s financial director demanded such gifts from the population: *Jahsh.* 21.
- 1068 It is named as the date for a negotiation exclusively among Arabs in Persia: Ṭab. II 1846 (744).
- 1069 Nowruz gifts (such as sweets) in Fars 850–51: Ṭab. III 1405. Browne I 259; Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 93–102; concerning present-day custom: Massé, *Croyances*.
- 1070 Rud. 67. Goldziher, *Shu’ub.* 210, n. 1, and the Jewish sources listed there. *Misk.* VII, III.
- 1071 Ṭab. III 1448; Athīr/Tornberg VII 30. Al-Jāhīz discusses these festivals in detail.
- 1072 Islam ‘dressed the festival up’ as remembering the day on which ‘Alī was appointed the Prophet’s successor (according to Shi’ite understanding): according to Goldziher, ‘Heiligenverehrung’, 331, this should be seen as a transference of the Persian tradition that Jamshēdh acceded the throne on Nowruz.
- 1073 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 78f.
- 1074 Mas. III 413f. The Fatimid al-Mu’izz in Egypt, for instance, forbade it: Kremer, *Cultur.* II 79.
- 1075 Bīr. 33.
- 1076 In 1201 Nowruz was celebrated on 8 Farvardīn: Muḥ. Ib. 179.

the Mihragān festival (16 Mihr),¹⁰⁷⁷ which had originally been linked to the winter solstice,¹⁰⁷⁸ soon became a harvest festival that was occasionally moved to late autumn.¹⁰⁷⁹ It might also fall during July or August (e.g. 738),¹⁰⁸⁰ but usually took place | in September. Not even the distance from Nowruz remained constant: besides the figure of 169¹⁰⁸¹ days we also find 194 days,¹⁰⁸² of which [483] only the latter corresponds to the date of 16 Mihr.¹⁰⁸³

Under these circumstances the dates set according to the Persian calendar for paying the *kharāj* were not immutable. In 857 the caliph al-Mutawakkil moved the date from Nowruz to 17 June by inserting leap days (*kabīsa*);¹⁰⁸⁴ al-Mu'taḍid moved it again, to 11 June.¹⁰⁸⁵ Finally it was attempted to even out the irregularities of the Persian calendar by introducing the new Jalālī era (from 15 March 1079 onwards), also called *kharājī*.¹⁰⁸⁶ This calendar appears to have had some practical relevance, for we do occasionally find dates calculated according to this era.¹⁰⁸⁷ Chronological information found in Iranian

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- 1077 Consequently Christensen 166, n. 5, and 167 ought to be altered. See the literature listed there n. 3, also Graf II 114, and *EI* III 959; Markwart, 'Naurōz'.
- 1078 Nuts, garlic and raw meat were eaten during the festival in Iraq and Fars, also warming foods and drinks; people also disguised themselves and performed cultic rites to ward off evil: Mas. III 413f. On the subject of the festivals in the Iranian calendar in general see Bīr. 215–33 (Sogdians and Khwarazmians, *ibid.* 233–42). Schwarz CII 857.
- 1079 Bīr. 223. Yatīma IV 65 in Mez 401.
- 1080 Thus Mihragān would have been celebrated shortly after 26 November (1 Ramadan AH 712): Athīr V 63. On the subject of the coexistence of the popular and the 'hieratic' Nowruz celebrations see Šūli/Canard I 63, n. 1.
- 1081 It must have fallen during Rajab (24 June–23 July) or shortly afterwards at that time: Athīr V 79. See also Wellh., *Arab.* 287, n. 1.
- 1082 Mas. III 413f.
- 1083 Kremer, *Cultur.* II 80f.
- 1084 Ibn Ḥawq 308, 341. Qommi 146 reports an earlier leap (two months), but it is impossible to fix it definitely, as his equation that 1 Khordādh 184 Yazd. = Wednesday 16 Rabī' II AH 182 (6. 6. 798) cannot be correct, for (the solar year) 184 Yazd. would correspond to 816–17. The day of the week, on the other hand, is correct.
- 1085 This must be the correct reading (Ḥazīrān/July, as Mez states, is certainly wrong); Qommi 444 mentions only that the tax year began 'in Khordādh' (i.e. 22 May 21 June). Qommi 146, Šūli 197 (see Šūli/Canard II 17, n. 2) and Athīr VI 11 call this New year *Nawrōz* (*nayrūz*) *al-mu'taḍidī*. Bīr. 31–34, 68 also has a detailed discussion. Taqizadeh, 'Eras', I 905–911, II 131; Lambton 595; Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 190 and n. 2.
- 1086 See *EI* I 1049f., s.v. Djalālī, with further sources, and more recently Taqizadeh, 'Eras', II 107ff.; Mez 102. In the tenth century the tax administration calculated a leap month every 116 years: Qommi 146.
- 1087 Muḥ. Ib. 34, 38, 192, 195, 196 dates according to *kharājī* years (besides the Hijra calendar) in the years 1156, 1204 and 1205, with the dates of the Hijra years anticipating the

historiography relating to the Iranian calendar is often purely schematic and may be misleading. Thus Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī¹⁰⁸⁸ provides a table showing the date of Nowruz for every year AH up to 350 (= AD 961).¹⁰⁸⁹ These dates are [484] worthless, because they | are fabricated. This observation is proved correct by the instances found in texts where these dates are given as corresponding to certain Islamic ones. Consequently the dates from this calendar must be checked before they are used,¹⁰⁹⁰ at least for the Islamic era. The various corrections to the tax year, however, show that the Zoroastrian system continued [485] to exist not only on the local level.

The Military

*The Army*¹⁰⁹¹

The armies fighting in Persia during the years of conquest and the first decades that followed it were not significantly different from the troops employed by the Arabs in other parts of the territory they had conquered. An exhaustive

kharājī years by three or six years (an obvious error on p. 48), which would add up approximately with the era beginning in 1079 (as 100 Hijra years correspond to 97 solar years). The normal Yazdagird era began on 24 Jan. 1205, year 574 (strict solar count from 632 onwards); see Mahler, *Vergleichungstabellen*.

1088 108–20.

1089 It must be said that the list in Gottwaldt's edition of Ḥamza Iṣfahānī is presented in a most unclear fashion, as the Nowruz indication is linked to the date from which it is separated by a full stop, not the one next to which it is written without a separating full stop (see beginning and end of the list). Year 1 AH (622–23) = Year 34 of Khusrau Parvēz's rule: Sunday, 7 May (623) was Saturday '18 June': the mistake is clear here, too, due to Ḥamza's faulty tables.

1090 Extensive instances and tables are found in the article by Bertold Spuler, 'Die Zuverlässigkeit sassanidischer Datierungen', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XLIV (1951), 546–50 (discussing the Islamic era).

1091 Maf. ul. 64–66. For a general overview see Qūzānlū I 243–346 (primarily a description of the Arab conquest of Iran, but by no means a systematic military history; followed on 347–55 by a very brief overview of the historical development until the Seljuk invasion); Fries; Alfred von Pawlikowski-Cholewa, *Die Heere des Morgenlandes*, Berlin 1940, 223–31 (I am indebted to the author of this book, a resident of Hamburg, for a number of verbal suggestions concerning the contents of this section). Regarding the Sasanid army see Inostrancev, *Sas. Ét.* 41–82 (Sasanidskaja voennaja teoriya = Sasanid military theory); Christensen 365–67; Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 231–34. A summary of, in particular, the later period may be found in Daniel B. von Haneberg, 'Das muslimische Kriegsrecht', in *Abh. der kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Munich 1871.

overview of the situation is thus not possible unless we take into account the events beyond the borders of Iran.¹⁰⁹² The following are merely notes to shed some light on the situation in Persia proper.

We are able to form an approximate idea of the number of armies employed by the Arabs in the early years by looking at some immediate army reports. Thus we find out, for example, that during the fighting in Mesopotamia in 658 the number of soldiers on both sides was 200 (and the number of those killed in action, five on the one side and two on the other),¹⁰⁹³ and that the number of Arabs invading Fars was 4,000.¹⁰⁹⁴ Other figures are similar: 4,000 (troops of the *ispāhbadh* of Ṭabaristan ca. 755¹⁰⁹⁵), between 500 and 1,200 (in Ṭabaristan ca. 927¹⁰⁹⁶), 2–3,000 (occasionally 5,000¹⁰⁹⁷), 2,000 (876 in Bukhara);¹⁰⁹⁸ 900, then 1,300, later 7,000 Abbasid rebels in Khurasan in 747¹⁰⁹⁹ are mentioned. These figures can make a claim to be authentic, even though they are impossible to check in detail.

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These figures can be set against an overwhelming mass of implausible accounts describing armies of tens if not hundreds of thousands of men. There is no doubt whatsoever that these are fabricated and predominantly used as a stylistic device,¹¹⁰⁰ in the same tradition as the affectation, known from Antiquity, of quoting (excessively) large numbers of fighting men. This is certainly due in part to the psychological fact that the number of people in a crowd is easily estimated far too high, but partly also due to sheer boastfulness.¹¹⁰¹ The unreliability is further instanced by the individual armies nearly always being given in round numbers (10,000; 20,000; 50,000; 100,000; 300,000) and that figures such as 18,000 fighting men or 255,000 killed by Bābak between

1092 See Fries *passim*; Leo Beckmann, *Die arabischen Heere der Eroberungszeit* (PhD, Hamburg 1952). On martial law, jihad etc. in general see Ḥamidullah I 272–301, and the texts listed in I 19, II 326–35; Levy, *Soc.* II 267–342.

1093 Ṭab. I 3427f.

1094 Ṭab. I 3448.

1095 Ibn Isf. 116.

1096 Ibn Isf. 212.

1097 TS 371 (1052) etc. This text generally has very low and credible figures of troops.

1098 Narsh. 79.

1099 Athīr v 138; Ṭab. II 1955f.

1100 See Spuler, *Ilch.* 10, with Jan Rypka in *OLZ* 1942, 415. Discussions of the size of the Persian army found in Qūzānlū I 245–47, 288f., 299, and Levy, *Soc.* II 279–82, contain only generalities.

1101 Thus the rebellious Ḥuṣayn (sic) in Khurasan is said to have defeated the caliph's 12,000 men with 600 of his own in 791–92: Athīr VI 41.

818–38¹¹⁰² are very rare indeed. Attempts at feigning great exactitude by quoting tens and units were not yet made at that time. The statement that a count took place must not be seen as genuine proof either.¹¹⁰³ It would be pointless to [487] quote long lists of figures given by Muslim historians¹¹⁰⁴ (or e.g. Firdawsī¹¹⁰⁵).

The ethnic composition of the army soon corresponded to the situation in Iran. At first it was of course the Arabs who provided all or most of the soldiers,¹¹⁰⁶ with tribes from Northern Arabia playing the most important part in Iran: Tamīm (715: 10,000), Bakr (7,000), Rabī'a, 'Abd al-Qays (4,000), also the Basrans (9,000)¹¹⁰⁷ and the Kufans (7,000). Southern Arabs and Yemenis are rarely mentioned: Azd (715: 10,000).¹¹⁰⁸ With the changing circumstances, in particular due to the rise of the Abbasids, this began to change as well. The number of Iranians joining the military (also as *farḍ* – mercenaries – who were paid a previously agreed amount – *farīḍa*) rose constantly, while the number of Arabs decreased.¹¹⁰⁹ Of course, not all tribes in the country were signed up in similar numbers. Iranian mountain tribes were the favourites: Daylamis¹¹¹⁰

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- 1102 Ṭab. III 1233; Athīr VI 162. The number of those having been taken into captivity with him in the course of the battle, 3,309, may well be correct.
- 1103 Perhaps by means of arrows: Ṭab. I 2467 (637 in al-Jalūlā').
- 1104 Firdawsī/Vullers I 446, v. 212, states that the Turanian army invading Iran numbered 12,000 fighting men.
- 1105 After a battle in 643, 70,000 Christian Arabs are said to have been executed: Athīr II 149 // At the battle of Qādisiyya more than 200,000 Persians were facing more than 120,000 Arabs: Ṭab. I 2249 // In 645, 40,000 Arabs were stationed in Kufa, 10,000 Kufan soldiers on the border between Ray and Azerbaijan: Ṭab. I 2805 // The Tukharian army with its allies (ca. 654) numbered 30,000: Bal. 406 // In 699 al-Ḥajjāj's army in eastern Iran included 20,000 Kufans and 20,000 Basrans: Athīr IV 175 // The Arabs had 80,000 men at the siege of Tirmidh ca. 700: Bal. 418 // In 707 Qutayba was attacked by 200,000 Turks, Sogdians and Ferganans: Athīr IV 204 // In 757–58 in Ṭabaristan 39,100 Arabs are stationed in 44 garrisons: Ibn Isf. 122f. // The caliph is able to muster 570,000 men in Bukhara in 778: Narsh. 70 // Maḥmūd of Ghazna agreed with the Seljuk leader Isrā'īl to mobilize 200,000 riders to fight in India: Rav. 89f. For a general overview see Barthold, *Vorl.* 96 (eleventh century); Kremer, *Cultur.* I 203ff.; Nāẓim 139f. (no critical appraisal of the numbers transmitted) and Olgiera Górká, *Liczebność Tatarów krymskich i ich wojsk (The number of Crimean Tatars and of their armies)*, Warsaw 1936 (relevant beyond the particular subject discussed).
- 1106 TS 91 (661–62) etc. In some cases also later: ca. 980–83 (Nikbī 125, 139, 142, esp. in Khurasan); 1033 (Bayh. 437; in Kirman).
- 1107 These figures hold for Qutayba ibn Muslim's rebellion: Ṭab. II 1291, see also 1318.
- 1108 Athīr V 67 (734); Ṭab. III 1971 (747).
- 1109 Misk. I 180. Fries 24; Lökk. 75.
- 1110 Ibn Isf. 226 (971); 228f. (998); Nikbī 125 (ca. 980); Athīr IX 56 (1000). They already distinguished themselves under the Sasanids: Christensen¹ 204 and n. 6; Dieterich, *Byz.* I 39 (Procopius), I 40 (Agathias: they fought only on foot and with swords, spears or slings).

(with *šu'lūk*, 'toughs'), Khurasanians,¹¹¹¹ also Kurds¹¹¹² and Lurs.¹¹¹³ They were joined by Afghans and Ghōr¹¹¹⁴ in the Ghaznavid era. The generic term *mawālī*¹¹¹⁵ will usually refer to these groups in particular; this is even pointed out explicitly in some places.¹¹¹⁶ The term Tajik, used to refer to those members of the indigenous population who were in military service, is not used until later (e.g. 1165).¹¹¹⁷ The tribes listed above are in general referred to as being particularly suitable to military service.¹¹¹⁸

The ninth and, even more, the tenth century saw an increasing number of Turks in military roles,¹¹¹⁹ not only in Iran, but also in Mesopotamia and Egypt. | This would soon include leading positions, while Arab predominance [488] in Iran decreased. This development significantly favoured the rise of Turkish dynasties, the Ghaznavids and the Seljuks, and others later. The Ghaznavids would often fight together with Indians (who were frequently 'unbelievers') in Persia,¹¹²⁰ among them the Jhat (Zuṭṭ),¹¹²¹ who became known because of their rebellion in southern Mesopotamia in the late ninth century. The household troops¹¹²² employed by the Ghaznavids and the Seljuks,¹¹²³ but also the Samanids¹¹²⁴ and Ziyārīds,¹¹²⁵ were composed of members of *dēhkān* families (*Āzādhaḡhān*), 'condottieri' (*Sarhangān* or *Ru'asā-i qavgha*) and 'Mamluks' (*Ghilāmān*) (i.e. in Sistan in 923).¹¹²⁶ They were usually of foreign origin and so

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- 1111 Athīr/Tornberg v 462f. See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 233; Uzun. 482; Fries 19.
- 1112 Ibn Isf. 226 (971); 228f. (998); Bayh. 437 (1033); Athīr VII 63 (869); VIII 146 (945); Misk. II 62 (944).
- 1113 Ibn Isf. 226 (971).
- 1114 Athīr IX 56 (1006–7). Uzun. 482.
- 1115 TS 91 (661–62); Ibn al-Balkhī 118 (ca. 1040).
- 1116 Athīr VII 63 (869).
- 1117 Ibn Isf. 251. See Schaefer, 'Türkische Namen der Iranier'.
- 1118 Khurasan (individual places): Ĥud. 103–7, 110. Daylamis: Muq. 353; Ĥud. 133. Kurds, esp. Hakārīyā ('Hakkiari'): Athīr IX 133 (1041–42). The Kurds were elite troops already under the Sasanids: Ibn al-Balkhī XIX = 168.
- 1119 Ibn Isf. 226 (971), 228f. (998); Athīr IX 56 (1000); Bayh. 437 (1033). Grünebaum 208. Information on individual tribes is summarized in Köprülü, 'Kay', 444–49.
- 1120 TS 355 (1002); Bayh. 437 (1033); 610 (1039); Athīr IX 66 (1006–7), 158 (1037–38).
- 1121 Athīr IX 56 (1000).
- 1122 Ĥarasa, see Ṭab. II 1859 (744 in Khurasan). Fries 22f.
- 1123 Siyāsāt-nāma 85f. (ch. XIX); Rav. 365.
- 1124 Nasafī, Qand/Barthold I 50. Siyāsāt-nāma 95 describes the training of a Turkish page at the Samanid court. See Krymskiy I 75; Barthold *Turk.* 227f.
- 1125 Mas. IX 28f.; Athīr VIII 104 (Turks and Daylamis); Šūli 62 (ditto; 935 on the occasion of Mardāvīj's death).
- 1126 TS 312.

they were particularly reliable and keen to keep one another in check,¹¹²⁷ but on the other hand they contributed to soldiers being hated and feared far and wide, leading a man such as al-Ghazzālī (1058–1111) to consider everyone who was a soldier or wore a uniform to be an ‘evildoer’.¹¹²⁸

The troops were – e.g. under the Seljuks, insofar as the structure of tribes and clans could be upheld – bound to their princes (chieftains) by ties of personal loyalty. However, wherever the empire grew more uniform, personal ties with the commander-in-chief would loosen. Thus it was necessary to ensure the loyalty of the troops by strict training for the sergeants (‘*arīf*’, pl. ‘*urafāʾ*’) and by paying them promptly¹¹²⁹ (through the ‘*arīq*’),¹¹³⁰ as an absence of pay [489] was an immediate threat to reliability.¹¹³¹ | Paying the soldiers was a very solemn ceremony under the Ṣaffārīds, Samanīds and Ghaznavīds, and later the Ottomans,¹¹³² which took place four times each year.¹¹³³ In addition the army expected cash ‘rewards’, even before the battle,¹¹³⁴ and of ‘suitable’ amounts, but in particular ‘gifts’ after victory had been won,¹¹³⁵ to say nothing of a share in the loot.¹¹³⁶ They made sure that there would be loot to share by pillaging thoroughly as they went along; rules against this practice (at least ones that would actually be enforced) were rare.¹¹³⁷ However, the most successful armies were often those that did have such rules, and were generally very strict in terms of discipline, as in the case of Ya‘qūb al-Ṣaffār, whose every word had to

1127 Siyāsāt-nāma 92f. (ch. xxiv and xxv); Ṣūlī/Canard II 20, n. 5. A vivid description of the agitation against the Daylamis in Baghdad on the eve of the Buyid invasion (20 Sept. 941 = 25 Dhū ‘l-ḥ. AH 329) is found in Ṣūlī II 209. Jakubovskiy, Mach. 78f.

1128 Bauer, *Erlaubtes und verbotenes Gut*, 100f.

1129 In 704 in Sistan in the caliph’s army 100 dirhams monthly: Ṭab. II 1135; 747 the Abbasid troops in Khurasan 3, later 4 dirhams a day: *ibid.* 1969. Fries 10, 17f.

1130 See p. 338 above.

1131 Misk. I 298f. (934 in the case of ‘Alī b. Buwayh); Siyāsāt-nāma 92. Lökk. 94; Jakubovskiy, Mach. 54.

1132 Spuler, ‘Europ. Dipl.’, 188.

1133 Siyāsāt-nāma 91f. (ch. xxiii). Concerning the Ṣaffārīds see the list in Krymskiy I 61f.; Barthold, *Turk.* 221. Concerning the conditions under the Sasanīds see Dīn. 74f. and Ṭab. I 963–65.

1134 Ṭab. II 1569 (734 near Marv one dinar for each man).

1135 Ṭab. III 796 (811 the caliph al-Amīn).

1136 Ṭab. I 2451 (636 before Ctesiphon); Narsh. 41 (ca. 682 each rider 2,400 dirham before Bukhara); Ṭab. II 1144 (704 before Badghis 800 dirhams for each man).

1137 Browne, *Isf.* 43 (ca. 1063 Alp Arslan in Isfahan). The Samanid Ismā‘īl made good the damage his camel had caused: ‘Awfi 156, no. 442.

be obeyed implicitly.¹¹³⁸ Of course, this made for reliability on the part of the soldiers; virtually no one moved to another commander independently.¹¹³⁹

There were occasional attempts at averting tribal frictions within the armies by forming new groups (which did not consider ethnic origins) and by billeting soldiers from different backgrounds together¹¹⁴⁰ (a practice followed later by, e.g., the Safavids). The Abbasid propagandist Abū Muslim had already recorded soldiers in a muster roll (*daftar*).¹¹⁴¹ This institution was continued by Ya'qūb al-Şaffār,¹¹⁴² the Samanids¹¹⁴³ and the caliphs (for the Daylamis).¹¹⁴⁴ As the Daylamis were held in particularly high regard as elite troops, in 998 the Buyids used the muster roll | to discharge all those who were not of 'genuine [490] descent' (*ṣaḥīḥ al-nasab*) – 1,000 troops. The expelled soldiers then proceeded to form a gang of robbers.¹¹⁴⁵ Regular armies comprised not only infantry but also cavalry units,¹¹⁴⁶ which the Arabs had brought with them from Arabia (in particular camel riders).¹¹⁴⁷ In Iran we find them among the Persians¹¹⁴⁸ (sometimes mounted on elephants, see below) and in particular among the Turks; war chariots played no part in warfare. There were occasional instances of women being taken along on campaign.¹¹⁴⁹

1138 A number of instances, and information on the way in which volunteers joined the ranks of the army (they had to sell all their possessions and were consequently entirely dependent) may be found in Mas. VIII 46–50.

1139 Misk. v 435; the Buyids left their previous commander, as he was sick (and they consequently had no prospects of loot and fame).

1140 Ṭab. II 1490 (725–26 in Balkh).

1141 Ṭab. II 1957, 1969 (747); Athīr v 138; Nikbī 150 (989–90). Fries 9. Concerning the appearance of such muster rolls (according to Qud.) and the organization of the *dīwān al-jaysh* in Baghdad, or Samarra, in general see Hoenerbach, 'Zur Heeresverwaltung der 'Abbasiden'.

1142 Mas. VIII 48.

1143 Maf. ul. 56f.

1144 Hil. 392.

1145 Athīr IX 49.

1146 844 in Bust (TS 191 etc.); 885–86 Edgü Tigin before Rayy (Athīr VII 139). Particularly numerous were the Seljuks in Armenia in the eleventh century (Matthew 41).

1147 727–28 in Khurasan (*rābiṭa*, see Wb. CCLVII: *cohors equestris praetoria* = mounted bodyguard) (Ṭab. II 1504); 734 before Marv: Athīr v 67.

1148 Concerning the Sasanid structure of garrisons (including flags, listing of losses, rules of engagement 'from the Avesta' etc.) see Christensen¹ 205ff.

1149 680–81 from Khurasan to Transoxiana: Ṭab. II 393; 983 an Azerbaijani emir: Matth. 32. Bābak abducted women and children during his campaigns (7,600 in all, it was reported) (Ṭab. III 1233).

Turkish states generally restructured the army. What the Ghaznavids began, the Seljuks developed further.¹¹⁵⁰ Here, the ruler employed dedicated household troops (pages = *ghulāmān-i sarāi*) made up from Khurasanis and Daylamis under a special commander with magnificent parade arms.¹¹⁵¹ Following Maḥmūd of Ghazna's example, the palace guard (*dargāh-i 'ālī*) (at the time of Niẓām al-Mulk they numbered 500 men) consisted of the relatives of tribal chieftains and other nobles who were hostages at court.¹¹⁵² There was furthermore a special mounted 'retinue' posted in garrisons throughout the 'military districts' of the country.¹¹⁵³ Their commander was called Sipāhsālār (Arabic: *ṣāhib al-jaysh*).¹¹⁵⁴ In addition there were the *bekchi* (guard) troops (possibly garrisons) and religious volunteers fighting on the borders (*mutaṭawwi'a*,¹¹⁵⁵ later *ghāzīs*).¹¹⁵⁶

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Weapons

During the first Islamic centuries soldiers were armed in the customary fashion. The main weapons were sword and spear, which are, however, rarely mentioned¹¹⁵⁷ explicitly, as they were so common. Bow and arrows were also used (usually made from wood, *nushshāb*¹¹⁵⁸).¹¹⁵⁹ The 'hard bows' used by the

1150 Nāzim 141f.; Uzun. 56.

1151 Siyāsāt-nāma 85, ch. XIX; Rav. 365.

1152 Siyāsāt-nāma 23, ch. XXV.

1153 In detail: Rav. 131.

1154 Bayh. 218, 230 etc.; Bund. 56; Ḥus. 11; Rav. 396f., 510. Further titles are listed in Uzun. 60.

1155 Athīr v 11 (716–17). Barthold, *Turk.* 215; Levy, *Soc.* 11 278f. On the desire for martyrdom among these groups see Ṭab. 11 1037 (689–99 in eastern Iran). *Al-shahīd* did not, however, refer exclusively to those who had died in battle for their faith but also e.g. the assassinated Samanid Aḥmad Ibn Ismā'īl (914): Athīr v111 25.

1156 See Franz Taeschner, 'Islamisches Ordensrittertum zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge', in *Welt als Geschichte* v (1938), 382–408.

1157 Ṭab. 1 2462 (637, al-Jalūlā', on both sides).

1158 Athīr v 219 (767 in Khurasan).

1159 For a general overview see Friedrich Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber, aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt*, Leipzig 1886; Fries 43f., 46–63. Hans Stöcklein, 'Arms and armours (in Persia)', in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, 111 2555–85, discusses only the later time. Concerning bow and arrows: *Arab Archery: a book on the excellence of the bow and arrow*, translated (from an Arabic MS of ca. 1500) by Amin Faris and Robert Elmer, Princeton 1945; Huuri; Ahmed Kohzad, 'Uniformes et armes des gardes des Sultans de Ghazna', in *Afghanistan* VI (1951), 48–53 (after paintings of the excavations noted on p. 279, n. 1 above).

Turks¹¹⁶⁰ were useless in constant rain,¹¹⁶¹ and the Arabs preferred their own bows to the Persian type.¹¹⁶² There are very few references to poisoned arrows; using them was punishable by death even among the Khārijites (695 in Kirman¹¹⁶³). Crossbows are not mentioned in Iran before ca. 1100 (in Mesopotamia, on the other hand, as early as ca. 880 among the Zanj).¹¹⁶⁴ These basic weapons would be the standard for centuries until the Seljuk era.¹¹⁶⁵ They also used spears and lances,¹¹⁶⁶ which were particularly popular with the Daylamis¹¹⁶⁷ (occasionally with barbs | = *kalālib*¹¹⁶⁸). They were also familiar [492] with clubs (as used mainly in Ṭabaristan¹¹⁶⁹) and battle-axes (*tabarzīn*¹¹⁷⁰). Weapons were manufactured in extensive workshops¹¹⁷¹ and marketed through a wide-ranging trade network.¹¹⁷² (In a situation of urgent need near Barda'a in Caucasia, weapons buried with the Varangians ('Russians') were dug up and reused¹¹⁷³). Fighting men protected themselves with a shield, usually made from leather with metal decorations,¹¹⁷⁴ armour¹¹⁷⁵ (often covering the chest only¹¹⁷⁶), sometimes woven,¹¹⁷⁷ and an iron or leather helmet. Tents, as

1160 They were remarkably good bowshots: Ṭab. II 170 (675), as were the eastern Iranians: Ṭab. II 1228 (710), III 1221, 1224, 1228 (837). For the pre-Islamic era: Dieterich, *Byz.* I 36f. (Maurikios, Takt.), I 37 (Procopius, *Bellum Pers.*).

1161 Athīr VIII 109 (938 near Ahvaz).

1162 Goldziher, *Shu'ub.* 169, 172 (comparisons between the Arabs primitive craft of war and the very advanced Persian style); Viktor von Rosen, 'Zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte der alten Zeit', in *Mélanges Asiatiques... de St. Pétersbourg* VIII (1880), 776.

1163 Athīr IV 170.

1164 Huuri 118, 114 (which gives extensive information on the use of the crossbow in the Orient, though this is irrelevant to Iran in the time discussed here).

1165 Uzun. 61.

1166 Ibn Isf. 114, 127 (eighth century); Gard. 91 (1028), 100 (1034); Muḥ. Ib. 2: 'Zhōpīn (also zhūbīn, Arabic zūbīn, a type of spear or half-spear: Steingass, *Dict.* 637) is a weapon used by the Daylamis'; see *ET* Turk. III 569: short forked spear.

1167 Christensen 204 and n. 6.

1168 Ṭab. III 1703 (when invading Persia in 869 Ya'qūb ibn Layth is carrying a lance ten cubits long [*ushārī*]).

1169 Ṭab. II 697 (685–66 in Khurasan between Arabs). Wellh., *Arab.* 314.

1170 Narsh. 70 (778 in Bukhara); Ṭab. I 2462 (637 at the battle of Jalūlā').

1171 See p. 397 above.

1172 Ṭab. II 1189 (Qutayba 706 in Marv).

1173 Athīr VIII 135.

1174 Ibn Isf. 145 (ca. 815 in Ṭabaristan).

1175 Ṭab. II 1180 (705).

1176 Ibn Isf. 145 (ca. 815 in Ṭabaristan).

1177 For a general overview see Kremer, *Cultur.* II 284f.

well as a particular winter kit (*ālat al-shitā*),¹¹⁷⁸ were used to protect soldiers against the rigours of the weather.

Besides the infantry, the cavalry was most frequently deployed. Riding animals used were horses (including post horses for forced marches)¹¹⁷⁹ and camels (in particular Bactrian ones).¹¹⁸⁰ Donkeys,¹¹⁸¹ mules and oxen¹¹⁸² transported burdens. Elephants had already been used in battle by the Sasanids,¹¹⁸³ who employed them to secure the centre ('central fortress'¹¹⁸⁴); however, they went out of use when the connections with India were severed. The caliph 'Umar I is said to have specifically forbidden an invasion (starting from Makran) and consequently had the captured elephants sold,¹¹⁸⁵ but this may, of course, be a euphemistic legend. Indeed, elephants were unknown in Iran for two and a half centuries. Only the Buyid, 'Aḍud al-Dawla (949–83), employed these animals in battle once again,¹¹⁸⁶ and the Ghaznavids found out about their importance thanks to their conquests | in India. They were the first to use greater numbers of elephants in battle once more.¹¹⁸⁷ The Ghōr learnt this way of fighting from them,¹¹⁸⁸ and from this time onwards elephants would play an important part in eastern Iran once more – not least because the flight of the leading elephant would often decide the entire battle.¹¹⁸⁹ People would be

1178 Athīr IX 147 (1032 in Ghazna).

1179 Ṭab. II 994 (695–96 from Isfahan); Athīr v 59 (730–31 on the occasion of the Khazar invasion into Caucasia).

1180 Ṭab. III 1894 (Ya'qūb al-Ṣaffār); Mas. VIII 45, 55. Fries 27–29, 40–43.

1181 Mas. VIII 55; Ṭab. III 1894 (875–76).

1182 TS 120 (ca. 708 in eastern Iran; unless this is a back projection of a later situation).

1183 Athīr II 159; Ṭab. I 2266 (at the battle of Qādisiyya between 30 and 33 elephants, among them two teaching elephants who were leading the others; *ibid.* 2326); Ibn Khaldūn III 69.

1184 Nikbī 128f. For the pre-Islamic era see Dieterich, *Byz.* I 36f. (Maurikios, Takt.).

1185 Ṭab. I 2708.

1186 Misk. VI 464; Nikbī 128f. The information that the *zūnbū* in eastern Iran was already deploying elephants in 863 (TS 205) must be read with scepticism. It is not, however, impossible that there were elephants in the army of the emir Ḥusayn (972 in Sistan): TS 336; they were also used in Khurasan in 982 and 995: Gard. 50, 55.

1187 In 990, 200 'reins' (*mīrbaṭ*: a classifier) of elephants are reported (Nikbī 167); in 1037, 100 reins (Ḥus. 7); Gard. 68, 100. The emir of Ghazna had fifty elephants in 1116–17 (Bund. 263; Ḥus. 63f.). Even five elephants might play an important part: Bayh. 110 (1020), 466, 609. Nāzīm 139.

1188 Juv. II 55f. (1205); Dawl. 75.

1189 Bund. 263.

happy if they succeeded in capturing these valuable animals;¹¹⁹⁰ indeed, some campaigns were planned just in order to ‘conquer elephants’.¹¹⁹¹

During their conquest of Mesopotamia the Arabs had already used siege machines against fortified places, which they had adopted from the Eastern Roman Empire. They were called *ma[n]janīq*,¹¹⁹² after the Greek *μαργανικόν* (adopted via Syriac). There were also other types, called ‘*arrādāt*,¹¹⁹³ *dabbābāt* (a kind of mobile protective roof)¹¹⁹⁴ and *maqālī*.¹¹⁹⁵ Catapults for ‘Greek fire’¹¹⁹⁶ were also known in Iran,¹¹⁹⁷ and were operated by dedicated ‘naphtha | [494] throwers’ (*naffātūn*);¹¹⁹⁸ mineral oil (*naft*) was widely used here.¹¹⁹⁹ These types of ballistas were seen as specifically Iranian, and the Shu‘ūbiya reproached the Arabs for having adopted them from the Persians.¹²⁰⁰ The Seljuks started using them soon, too.¹²⁰¹ The story that scorpions were catapulted into a besieged city (*Kāshān*) in order to force the inhabitants to surrender¹²⁰² is probably only

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- 1190 TS 346 (995 in eastern Iran). Ibn al-Sā‘ī 122 (1205 Qara-Khitay and Ghōr).
- 1191 Athīr IX 84f. (1014–15 Maḥmūd of Ghazna).
- 1192 [Catapults: RGH] Ṭab. I 2427 (the Arabs in Mesopotamia in 636); Athīr II 197 (637 al-Madā‘īn); Bal. 389, 396 (650 Iṣṭakhr, 661 Kabul); Narsh. 36 (673 Bukhara); Athīr IV 202 (706 Paykand); TS 346ff. (1000, Maḥmūd of Ghazna); Bayh. 113, 282 (1020 *ibid.*); Juv. II 25, 54 (1187 and 1202 the Khwarazm-shāh). Ṭab. II 1230 (710) and Bayh. 495 (*sang-manjanīq*: ‘stone-catapult’). Huuri 127–30 (‘eastern heavy stone catapult’); discussion of its use, *ibid.* 135–53 (hardly any information from Iran); Levy, *Soc.* II 313–16.
- 1193 Ṭab. III 1213 (837); Muḥ. Ib. 52 (ca. 1170 in Kirman); 190 (1204 *ibid.*). Huuri 130f. (‘western light stone catapult’: *δυναρρος*).
- 1194 Ṭab. I 2427 (another MS reads *arrādāt*; see Rashīd al-Dīn 132, n. 14).
- 1195 Ṭab. III 1381 (848–49).
- 1196 See Joseph Reinaud and Ildéphonse Favé, ‘Du feu grégeois, des feux de la guerre et des origines de la poudre à canon’, in *JA* ser. 4, 14 (1849), 257–327, and 15, 1850 (‘Nouvelles observations sur le feu grégeois’); Franz M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters*, 1931, 231ff.; C. Zenghelis, ‘Le feu grégeois et les armes à feu des Byzantins’, in *Byzantion* VII (1932), 265–86.
- 1197 Rav. 269, 346 (1188); Ḥus. 44; Athīr VI 159 (837 in the fight against Bābak), VIII 87 (934 the Buyids in Kirman). See Rashīd al-Dīn 132, n. 14 (on 132–37).
- 1198 Ṭab. III 1211 (837); Misk. I 282 (934 the Daylamis in Fars).
- 1199 Misk. II 153 (Daylamis); Narsh. 68 (before Bukhara 776); Ṭab. III 1693f. (867). The Persians were said to be especially competent when it came to sieges even in the pre-Islamic era: Dieterich, *Byz.* I 36f. (Maurikios, Takt.).
- 1200 Jāḥīz, Bayān III 7 (Rescher 33); al-Jāḥīz subsequently quotes examples of why these claims cannot be justified.
- 1201 E.g. 1054–55 before Malāzگرد: Arist. B 297.
- 1202 Muq. 390.

a legend referring to the profusion of this vermin in this city (the neighbouring hot salt desert being an ideal breeding ground).

Standards used were flags¹²⁰³ in the colour of the particular party (black for the Abbasids, white for 'Alids, Umayyads and Khārijites).¹²⁰⁴ Signals used were drums (*ṭabl*), trumpets (*būq, duhul*) and cymbals (*ṣangh*),¹²⁰⁵ especially among the Turks.¹²⁰⁶

Style of Fighting

According to Islamic understanding, military conflicts could only happen with non-Muslims (this would soon turn out to be pure theory); consequently there were regulations under the law of war only with respect to fighting those of different faiths. Before the attack began, they had to be given the three possible choices: adopting Islam, submitting to Islamic rule (by becoming *dhimmīs*),¹²⁰⁷ or battle.¹²⁰⁸ 'Umar I is said to have elaborated this procedure in more detail and determined that conversion to Islam would result in having to pay the poor tax (*zakāt*), but that the booty would only be shared with those who would henceforth take an active part [495] in the fighting. Accepting the *dhimma* would entail paying the poll | tax. If submission according to these conditions was refused and the Muslims victorious in the ensuing fight, the defeated would not be allowed to submit as *dhimmīs* afterwards.¹²⁰⁹ All these regulations are presented very much according to the rules, and expressed in the style, of a later time, which leads us to assume that the understanding of later times informed them. There cannot, however, be any doubt that 'Umar established some rules of procedure. Practice, however, would follow the individual circumstances, which superseded the original principles, most remarkably in that Zoroastrians should not actually have had the choice of becoming *dhimmīs*.¹²¹⁰

Once the army had arrived to face the enemy, after a long foot march, and battle was unavoidable, attempts were made to clarify the situation by

1203 Athīr v 61 (the Arabs in Sogdia 730–31); VI 82 (810–11 the armies of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn near Hamadan); Ṭab. III 1175 (835).

1204 TS 197 (854 the Khārijites in Sistan). See p. 348f. above.

1205 Ibn Isf. 129 (Ṭabaristan ca. 782); Ṭab. III 1175 (835 in Afshīn's army against Bābak); Gard. 55 (Khurasan 994), 82 (by the Oxus in 1024–25); Athīr IX 201 (1052–53).

1206 See p. 350 above. Concerning the style of fighting in the Umayyad era see Fries 63–92.

1207 Athīr II 149f. See Majid Khadduri, *The law of war and peace in Islam: a study in Muslim international law*, London 1948.

1208 Ṭab. I 2714; Athīr III 19.

1209 See p. 295 above.

1210 Details concerning the Umayyad era may be found in Fries 66–68.

employing scouts¹²¹¹ and sentries.¹²¹² This was perfectly natural and customary in every army. The Arab Bedouin in particular employed them. The Persian Shu‘ūbiya was exaggerating, as usual, when it accused the Arabs of having copied scouting activity from the Persians.¹²¹³ A battle¹²¹⁴ was often opened by one or more single combats;¹²¹⁵ the Persians¹²¹⁶ shared this custom with Arabs¹²¹⁷ and Turks.¹²¹⁸ Sometimes (e.g. 633 under Hōrmizdān) it would happen that once the champion had been defeated, the army would surrender without further fighting, and retreat;¹²¹⁹ this was, however, an exception. In the vast majority of cases such a single combat was followed by a battle of the troops, occasionally introduced by a speech from | the commanders-in-chief.¹²²⁰ [496] There were instances where the battlefield was determined in advance by mutual agreement. Thus in 634 and 638 there was an agreement that both parties (Arabs and Persians) should first cross the Euphrates.¹²²¹ Indeed, similar proceedings may be observed in other instances in the warfare of past centuries. Several kinds of raft were used to cross the rivers.¹²²²

Persian troops were arranged in three (two in Ṭabaristan in 782)¹²²³ rows (*ṣaff*), reinforced by elephants during the Sasanid era.¹²²⁴ Often the elephants would carry towers inside which the fighters were hidden (a practice which continued in India for a long time afterwards). During the battle of Qādisiyya

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- 1211 Ṭab. II 707, 1179, 1966 (*‘ayn*, see also gloss. CCCLXXXIV f.); Michael Syr. 416f.
- 1212 Persian *kōhbānīya* (probably = ‘guardians of the mountain’): Athīr VI 156 (837); see *EI* I 568.
- 1213 Jāhīz, Bayān III 7 (Rescher 33).
- 1214 Grünebaum 225, 227 is entirely justified in pointing out that the descriptions of battles often follow a clear pattern. Some general information on the course of battles between 633 and 651 is collected in Qūzānlū I 247f.; Levy, *Soc.* II 297–304.
- 1215 Single combat to decide a battle that had been surging back and forth for a long time, on the other hand, was a rarity (684–85 between Arab tribes in Khurasan): Ṭab. II 596.
- 1216 Ṭab. I 2422f. (636 in Mesopotamia), I 263f. = Athīr III 7 (ca. 641 near Isfahan); Athīr II 148 (633 Hōrmizdān); Ṭab. II 1493 = Athīr V 51 (726–27 in the land of Ghōr); Ṭab. II 1041 (699 before Bukhara); II 1320f. (Ṭabaristan); Bal. 128 (ca. 782). A list of the rulers (including Persian ones) who actively took part in battles themselves is found in Marvarrūdhī (Shafi, ‘Fresh Light on the Ghaznavids’, 215f.).
- 1217 Ṭab. II 1972 (747 in Khurasan).
- 1218 Ṭab. I 2687 = Athīr III 14 (643); Athīr V II (716–17 the Turks on the border of Gurgan).
- 1219 Athīr II 148.
- 1220 Ṭab. II 1179 (Qutayba in Khurasan 705).
- 1221 Athīr II 168f. Also 637 near Takrit: *ibid.* 202, and 638 near Ahvaz: Ṭab. I 2541.
- 1222 Misk. I 302 (Daylamis near Ahvaz 934).
- 1223 Ibn Isf. 125.
- 1224 Athīr II 170. Kremer, *Cultur.* I 218.

the Arabs attacked the animals' bellies and trunks as much as possible,¹²²⁵ with the aim of making them flee and thus throw the entire enemy army into confusion. In the case of horses the same aim was achieved by holding one's spear against their nostrils.¹²²⁶ The army was divided into a left and a right wing as well as the centre (*qalb*). To these were often added an advance guard and reserves (*ḥashar*),¹²²⁷ a formation that was seen as typically Persian,¹²²⁸ and which the *Qābūs-nāma* (1080) follows in its theoretical advice, which furthermore expects the general to combine authority and concern for his troops.¹²²⁹ Individual troop units (*kurdūs*[a], or *kirdaws*, pl. *karādīs*), which had first been deployed in the late Umayyad era in Syria¹²³⁰ but were soon used generally, were usually led into battle one after the other;¹²³¹ the main point here was to keep in touch with the individual units, to keep the elite troops around the commanding general, who should intervene only in dangerous situations, but with determination and courage.¹²³² There are accounts from later times (1210, the Khwarazm-shāh Muḥammad II) of the commander wearing enemy uniform¹²³³ to confuse his opponents.¹²³⁴

Battles were not always decided by purely military factors. During the early years in particular there were instances of the Muslims persuading Christian Arab auxiliaries in the Persian army to desert, which could change the outcome of a battle. The weather could also play a part: an army might scatter due to snow falling.¹²³⁵ In anticipation of this circumstance, in Persia as well as in other regions, summer campaigns were extremely characteristic, e.g. from Khurasan into Transoxania;¹²³⁶ after their Arabic name, *ghazw*, they became known as 'razzia' (raid) (especially in Asia Minor in campaigns against the East

1225 Athīr II 168 (634).

1226 Ṭab. II 495 (Arab tribes before Herat 683–84).

1227 Gard. 101 etc.; Ḥus. 41, 44; Rav. 267. See Fries 14f.; Uzun. 58–61. The Sasanids also had an elephant group among their reserve: *Qābūs-nāma* 788ff.

1228 *Jāḥiẓ*, *Bayān* III 7 (Rescher 33). 'Iqd 148 confirms that particular Persian instructions for tactics etc. were known.

1229 *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 787f.

1230 Wellh., *Arab*. 232f.; Herzfeld, *Sam*. VI 141, n. 1.

1231 Athīr VI (837 in the fight against Bābak); VIII 119 (940–41 in Gurgan); Gard. 107 (1040 before Dandān[a]qān, see p. 123 above). Fries 42.

1232 *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 788ff.

1233 Thus already in the Bible, I Kings XXII 30 and II Chron. XVIII 29 (King Ahab of Israel in the fight against Gilead 854 BC).

1234 Juv. II 84.

1235 944 near Salmās in Azerbaijan: Athīr VIII 135.

1236 Athīr IV 39 (a regular custom until 681).

Roman Empire). In some cases the commander had the tents cut up, to ensure the army would be in desperate straits in case of a defeat.¹²³⁷ The Sasanids even chained soldiers together in order to prevent a defeat.¹²³⁸

A very popular stratagem (which was probably adopted from the Turkish – Central Asian style of fighting) was for an army to pretend to retreat and so entice the apparent victors to engage in a rash and insufficiently supervised¹²³⁹ pursuit, which would ultimately lead them into an ambush. This practice was much employed in the mountainous regions of eastern Iran, e.g. in fights with the *zūnbūl*,¹²⁴⁰ where troops cut off at a narrow pass would be showered with wooden arrows and crushed under rocks rolled down from the heights.¹²⁴¹ Attempts at escaping from such dire straits by using ropes and attacking the enemy in this way¹²⁴² probably only rarely achieved success.

The victorious army¹²⁴³ would turn its attention mainly to the booty; indeed, acquiring this was among the most important aims of warfare in those days.¹²⁴⁴ This included the provisions left by the enemy, which could make all the difference for the army's provisions and equipment in enemy territory;¹²⁴⁵ also the armour and | possessions of the fallen enemies.¹²⁴⁶ Preferential treatment [498] when sharing out the loot was a way of honouring and rewarding men who had distinguished themselves in battle:¹²⁴⁷ in the Orient, as everywhere else, this was of particular importance and is specifically emphasized in the advice given by the *Qābūs-nāma*.¹²⁴⁸

Besides open battle, there were of course sieges of cities. We have already discussed the weapons used in these situations. It only remains to be added that in some cases there were attempts at filling up a ditch with wet wood (i.e. that could not catch fire) in order to be able to cross it. This could, however,

1237 Thus the Persians in 704: Ṭab. II 1147.

1238 Athīr II 148 (633).

1239 Qābūs-nāma/Diez also warns of this, 791f.

1240 Ṭab. II 1037 (698–99).

1241 Ṭab. II 1321 (716–17 in Ṭabaristan); Bal. 335 (ibid. ca. 670).

1242 Ṭab. II 1489 = Athīr V 51 (725–26 in the land of Ghōr).

1243 As everywhere, victory did of course depend on the superior strength of the army. When the Buyid 'Imād al-Dawla in 933 defeated 10,000 men defending Isfahan with only 900 of his own (or in any case, a greatly superior force), this excited great admiration: Athīr VIII 85.

1244 See the note by the Buyid Rukn al-Dawla in 966: Athīr VIII 188. Fries 31.

1245 Qābūs-nāma/Diez 793.

1246 Athīr II 196 (636 in Mesopotamia).

1247 Ibid.

1248 Qābūs-nāma/Diez 789ff.; see also Jakubovskiy, Mach. 83–86.

be stopped on occasion by throwing dry wood on top of it and lighting the latter.¹²⁴⁹ Stacking up brushwood and setting it alight was a tactic used to burst city walls (presumably in particular if they were made from clay) through heat.¹²⁵⁰ The same end was achieved by tunnelling under the city walls and then setting fire to the supporting beams in order to collapse the tunnel and thus breach the wall.¹²⁵¹ It was for this reason that (in regions where some tree cover might be expected) the army would bring along workers especially to fell trees.¹²⁵² Of course, not every besieged castle was actually taken, which proved the value of fortifications. The Arabs in Iran soon learned how to best barricade themselves if needed.¹²⁵³ The term used for the trenches, which were of particular importance for these field fortifications (frequently four-sided and with two¹²⁵⁴ or four¹²⁵⁵ gates), *khandaq*, is a Persian loan dating from pre-Islamic times and thus evidence of where the Arabs learnt this style of fighting.¹²⁵⁶ Another indication is the report that during the Battle of the Trench for Medina a Persian, Salmān ‘al-Fārisī’, advised the Prophet to dig such a trench. Yet there were Arab generals (from Basra) as late as 695 who rejected this means of war and ‘intended to rely on their swords as their barricades’.¹²⁵⁷

[499] However, | camps (occasionally fortified with walls) soon became customary among the Arabs as well.¹²⁵⁸

In order to tackle these bulwarks, and fortifications in general, they might be smoked out¹²⁵⁹ or the whole surrounding area flooded.¹²⁶⁰ Wells in the region would be filled,¹²⁶¹ and villages and farms burned down.¹²⁶² This resulted

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- 1249 Athīr v 56 (728–29 in Khurasan). Fries 82–85.
 1250 Ṭab. II 1187f. (Qutayba before Paykand in 706).
 1251 Narsh. 78 (776).
 1252 Ṭab. II 1320 (716–17 on a campaign from Khurasan to Ṭabaristan).
 1253 Narsh. 68 (near Bukhara in 776).
 1254 Athīr v 138 (Abū Muslim in East Khurasan in 746–47).
 1255 Athīr v 219 (the caliph’s general in the fight with Ustādhsīs in 767).
 1256 Ṭab. I 2265 (Persian barricades in 635); Athīr II 201 (also 637 at the battle of al-Jalūlā’).
 1257 Ṭab. II 875 (694–95 before Kāzrūn in the fight against the Khārijites); Fries 39.
 1258 Ṭab. I 2456f. (with a wooden barrier outside); II 491 (683–84 the Bakr b. Wā’il and the Aws before Herat); II 696 (685–86 between Arabs in Khurasan); II 1958 (Abū Muslim in Khurasan in 747; complete with wall); III 10 (748–49 in the fighting on the Zāb).
 1259 Athīr VIII 200 (the Kurd Ḥasanwayh in northwest Persia in 970); Ḥus. 26 (Alp Arslan a fortress in Khurasan in 1064).
 1260 Juv. II 20 (the Khwarazm-shāh in 1174).
 1261 Athīr VIII 116 (639–40 in Gurgan); Rav. 100 (Mas‘ūd of Ghazna ca. 1040); Ḥus. 26 (1067 in Fars).
 1262 Ibn Isf. 182 (868 in Ṭabaristan). This was also the fate of rebellious Khārijite villages in the region of Guvayn as punishment: Athīr VI 50 (795–96).

not only in general damage to the enemy but also meant that a sortie would be a great relief to those besieged¹²⁶³ and blockaded.¹²⁶⁴ In order to keep rebelling populations in check (e.g. the *'ayyārūn* = jobs),¹²⁶⁵ hostages might be detained.¹²⁶⁶

*Fortifications*¹²⁶⁷

There were a large number of defensive fortifications in Iran, as the mountainous terrain was most suitable for constructions of this kind. Many of them dated back to Sasanid or even earlier times. There are reports from Fars that the Arabs stormed or destroyed 73 fortresses and thus brought a degree of peace to the country¹²⁶⁸ without, of course, laying every fortress here or in Khuzistan in ruins. Ḥiṣn al-'Umāra (on the Persian Gulf)¹²⁶⁹ is mentioned as a particularly remarkable place in this context.¹²⁷⁰ There were furthermore numerous fortresses and beacons in Azerbaijan, the Elburz Mountains, in | Khurasan,¹²⁷¹ in [500] Khwarazm,¹²⁷² Fars and the mountainous regions of the East,¹²⁷³ where rebel tribes dwelt, who remained untouched by Islam for a long time. The fortifications in Bust in Sistan, the residence of the *zūnbīl*, was particularly impressive, and Isfahan is said to have been protected against Daylamis and Turks by 365 bulwarks.¹²⁷⁴ Fortresses of this kind were most suitable to make entirely unpassable the mountains which were in any case difficult to cross. It is not surprising that the Arabs, and later the Muslim Persians, representing the lawful government, endeavoured to get as many of these places under their control. A number of similar border forts were added over time, in particular on

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- 1263 'In the Daylami manner' was when they attacked with spears and shields only: Misk. I 399 (937 before Ardabil).
- 1264 Narsh. 81 explicitly mentions such a blockade between Sogdia and Khurasan (885–86).
- 1265 See p. 437 above.
- 1266 Athīr IX 150.
- 1267 For a general overview see Fries 34–40.
- 1268 Zark. 43; Yāq. VI 176.
- 1269 Ibn Ḥawq. 40 (tenth century).
- 1270 See the list in Ibn Ḥawq.² 271–73.
- 1271 In Ispējāb in Transoxania: Muq. 273. Concerning the garrisons see Fries 20.
- 1272 Thanks to excavations in Khwarazm it is possible to observe clearly the adoption of defensive structures during the Islamic era and the Khwarazm-shāhs' gradual abandonment of bulwarks in safer times: Field and Prostov, 'Khwarazm', 144. Following p. 146 there are images of excavations of fortresses with attempts at reconstruction. Ṭab. II 1238; Bal. 205, 319, 421.
- 1273 Ṭab. II 1431, 1447, 1636. In Fergana evidence regarding Uzgand only: Muq 272 (tenth century).
- 1274 Yā'q., Buld. 281.

the northeast border of Khurasan which, being comparatively open, was the traditional gateway for Central Asian nomad tribes, and also in the Caucasus.¹²⁷⁵ In order to make the area accessible to the army, mountain paths, bridges and cisterns were constructed (built by e.g. the Kurdish chieftain Badr ibn Ḥasanwayh in 996¹²⁷⁶).

In some places actual rows of bulwarks and watch stations (*aywānāt* = *khāns*; *ribāt*) were erected, even in deserts¹²⁷⁷ and along the northeast border of Khwarazm against the Oghuz.¹²⁷⁸ Long walls were built on mountain passes and along rivers in the ancient Iranian style¹²⁷⁹ in order to prevent invasions from troublesome elements, e.g. in northeast Sogdiana and near Bukhara and Samarkand (against the Turks). The Samanids neglected these defensive fortresses, and they gradually fell into disrepair. This dynasty believed that their best protection was to adopt a more missionary and culturally active policy¹²⁸⁰ in order to win over the Central Asian Turks to Islam and Persian culture; they were proved wrong by the Qarakhanids, who annihilated them in the year 1000. In 839 a wall with trenches was built in Ṭabaristan: it was three parasangs [501] long, stretched from Ṭamēsha into the sea | and served as a defence against the Turks.¹²⁸¹ Another line of defence against the Zoroastrian Daylamis protected Qazvin, Chālūs and other places in Ṭabaristan until they were destroyed by the Zaydis.¹²⁸² The wall near Darband on the eastern edge of the Caucasus facing the Caspian Sea was particularly famous; it had large gates for trade caravans to pass through and stood for centuries. Another such wall was built on the border between Kirman and Sistan ca. 1042; this one had gates and watch stations every 300 paces, in order that their beacons could be seen from the neighbouring towers. They were furnished with water cisterns and baths and had observation towers for extra protection.¹²⁸³ A large staff of engineers (*muhandis*) was responsible for these constructions.¹²⁸⁴

1275 Ibn Ḥawq.² 363, 369.

1276 Leontios 38 (717 the Arabs near Darband on the Caucasus); Ṭab. III 1172 (between Ardabil and Barzand in the fight against Bābak); also later: 1144 near Qazvin: Rav. 289.

1277 Ṭab. II 1504; Sam. s.v. *ribāṭī* (728 the governor of Khurasan); Barthold, *Vorl.* 191; Barthold, *Turk.* 189.

1278 Tolstov, *Civ.* 249 (with a map on p. 248 and detailed information on the bigger, colour map included). See also Aghānī/Būlāq XIII 64.

1279 See Ṭab. III 1275.

1280 Barthold, *Vorl.* 42f., 60.

1281 Ṭab. III 1275; Athīr VI 168.

1282 Mas. IX 5.

1283 Muḥ. Ib. 10.

1284 Bayh. 508 (Mas'ūd of Ghazna in 1035).

Unlike the Sasanids, who had settled entire groups of the population and tribes in places where they would protect the borders¹²⁸⁵ (as did the Byzantines), the Muslims preferred to rely on the voluntary border patrols (*ghāzī*), who were spurred on by their religious convictions, but at the same time deployed by the government (as early as al-Ḥajjāj), to take responsibility for the protection of the borders – and on the whole with success. Camps were built for them as well (in Khuzistan, Fars, Sind, Transoxania, Mazandaran, Daylam and Azerbaijan).¹²⁸⁶ Of course, securing the borders alone was not enough. Larger cities in the interior of the country also needed fortifications. It was very convenient if they were situated near a natural fortification on which a fortress could be erected (Qalʿat Ziyād, later Qalʿat Maṣṣūr near Iṣṭakhr from 659–60 onwards;¹²⁸⁷ Samarkand 751–52;¹²⁸⁸ Nishapur ca. 930).¹²⁸⁹ These fortresses served as the last refuge,¹²⁹⁰ even for cities surrounded by a wall¹²⁹¹ or earthworks,¹²⁹² around which would often be a trench | (*khandaq*, ^[502] from Middle Persian *khantak*),¹²⁹³ if possible filled with water.¹²⁹⁴ This could be crossed via a drawbridge¹²⁹⁵ linked with the gate in the wall.¹²⁹⁶ The walls of conquered cities were occasionally razed to the ground,¹²⁹⁷ but often rebuilt later.¹²⁹⁸ Thanks to Russian excavations we now know of two bulwarks, called Teshik-qalʿe and Ush-qalʿe today, dating back to the early Islamic era and situated near Khwarazm.¹²⁹⁹ They had a big square tower at the centre of the

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- 1285 Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 15 (under Khusrau I 531–79).
- 1286 Aghānī/Cairo VI 3, l. 10f., l. 16 (al-Ḥajjāj's time); Aghānī/Būlāq XII 29 (Daylam, same time); XIII 49 (a poet from among the border fighters ca. 700); Sam. 549 r (Abū 'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Mikālī as a fighter for the faith first in Khurasan, later in Tarsus, d. 986). On all aspects of this field see Kremer, *Cultur.* I 211.
- 1287 Ṭab. I 3450.
- 1288 Nasafī, Qand/Barthold I 48–50; Athīr v 170.
- 1289 Iṣṭ. 254.
- 1290 Ṭab. II 1324 (717–18 in Gurgan).
- 1291 The wall of Marand in Azerbaijan was twenty cubits thick in 848/9; Ṭab. III 1381. Schwarz VII 838 (index re Jibāl).
- 1292 The one surrounding Isfahan (constructed ca. 1010) had a circumference of 15,000 paces: Browne, *Iṣf.* 23.
- 1293 Ṭab. II 1517 (in Sogdia); Ya'q., Buld. 281 (987 in Bust); Nāṣir-i Khosraw 95 (1052 Qāyim in Khurasan).
- 1294 Rud. 16 (982 Astarābād).
- 1295 Athīr IX 60 (1003 in Sistan).
- 1296 Ṭab. II 1968 (747 in Abū Muslim's headquarters in al-Mākhuvān).
- 1297 Ibn Ḥawq.² 334f.
- 1298 Zark. 27 (Shiraz 1044–1049: 12,000 cubits circumference); Athīr IX 181.
- 1299 See Terenožkin 168–89, esp. 177f., incl. map.

southern wall. Inside the walls were the living quarters for the garrison, the servants and the population who sought refuge here in dangerous times. The walls had small embrasures.¹³⁰⁰

Prisoners

Among the Muslims prisoners were counted as war booty (a fifth of which belonged to the caliph under religious law, while four fifths were distributed among the soldiers¹³⁰¹), and could be killed without further ado. It was also permitted to put them to work, to exchange them for prisoners of one's own side, or to release them.¹³⁰² All these possibilities did happen in actual fact. Especially during the early years, execution¹³⁰³ (even of generals¹³⁰⁴) was particularly frequent. In the case of rebels, e.g. the 'yobs' (*'ayyārūn*¹³⁰⁵) and similar [503] elements, | it would remain the standard treatment until later; it was frequently carried out in the form of hanging or crucifixion.¹³⁰⁶ There are occasional references to crosses of the executed lining the roads¹³⁰⁷ or that a neighbouring wadi ran red with the blood of the executed prisoners. The numbers cited are extremely high in some cases, as exaggerated as the numbers of prisoners of

1300 Terenožkin 177f. (p. 180: map of the distribution of rooms in the fortress).

1301 Put into practice in the case of e.g. the Khazar booty before Ardabil in 730–31: Athīr v 60.

1302 See Kremer, *Cultur.* I 413, 433; Hamidullah I 304–10; Fries. 90f.

1303 After the battle of Dūmat al-Jandal in 633 Khālid had the captured Arabs killed, with the exception of the Kalb and Tamīm: Athīr II 152 // In 710 Qutayba had the defenders of the eastern Iranian stronghold of Shūmān killed: Ṭab. II 1228 // Around the same time the Arabs are said to have executed 4,000 prisoners after the battle with the rebellious brother of the 'king' of Khwarazm: Bal. 421; Ṭab. II 1238 // In 735 the execution of 80 captured Arabs (mostly Tamīm): Ṭab. 1580 // In 748 the massacre of captured Umayyad troops in Nahavand at the hands of the Abbasid army from Khurasan: Ṭab. III 8 // In 767 the caliph's general had 14,000 of Ustādhsīs' captured followers executed in Khurasan: Ṭab. III 358 // 994: execution of captured Daylamis: Rud. 257 // Alp Arslan's 3,000 executed prisoners in the city of Fasā are also a very large number: Athīr IX 195.

1304 Ṭab. I 2478 = Athīr II 203 (637).

1305 See p. 437 above.

1306 Athīr IX 150.

1307 'Two parasangs long', 716–17, about prisoners in Gurgan: Ṭab. II 1332f.; see also II 1207.

war or of fallen enemies.¹³⁰⁸ Before being executed, prisoners could be interrogated regarding military matters.¹³⁰⁹

This practice of extermination saw a gradual change in Islam, probably largely due to economic reasons. There were, however, also ethical difficulties, as may be seen in accounts such as, e.g., of the general Khālid ibn Walīd executing Christian prisoners in 663 only because of a vow (and consequently actually in spite of himself¹³¹⁰) or, after another battle, sparing the Kalb and Tamīm.¹³¹¹ Later, such savage practice is quite generally remarked upon as unusual (ca. 1160¹³¹²), or excuses are offered, such as: the execution of 400 prisoners (out of 1,000) was only carried out in order to force the commander of the garrison (Ghazna, 1207) to surrender (which he then did).¹³¹³ As early as 736 in Khurasan 'only' a third of the prisoners captured on the occasion of the conquest of a fortress were executed; the remaining two thirds had their hands or feet cut off.¹³¹⁴ It was not until the Mongols (under Genghis Khān and Tamerlane) that the atrocities of mass slaughter became a universally practised custom.

While exchanging enemy prisoners for captured Muslims was an important factor on the border of the Eastern Roman Empire, | it soon lost its importance [504] on Persian territory, as Islam spread quickly, and because the border fighting in the north and northeast did not allow any manner of organized exchange. In these areas, however, high ransoms might be asked for prisoners: 500,000 dirhams for a noble Arab¹³¹⁵ captured by the inhabitants of Kabul ca. 683, or even 500,000 dinars for the wife of Sultan Sanjar when she was captured by the

1308 Between 650 and 653 (over the course of two and a half years) the governor of Zarang (Sistan) al-Rabī' is said to have taken 40,000 prisoners: Bal. 394 // In 716–17 14,000 (!) captured Turks are executed in Gurgan: Ṭab. II 1320; Athīr V 12 (although the *dēhkān* there had surrendered in exchange for *amān*) // 30,000 prisoners taken by the Arabs are mentioned in Sistan ca. 755: Bal. 401.

1309 Thus captured Arabs by the Persian Rustam in 635: Ṭab. I 2554.

1310 Athīr II 149.

1311 Ibid. 152.

1312 Muḥ. Ib. 46 states explicitly that after the conquest of Kirman the victorious army did not show any mercy but killed numerous prisoners from Fars. See also the reference to the execution of 14,000 prisoners in spite of having assured them of *amān* previously (816–17): Ṭab. II 1320.

1313 Ibn al-Sā'ī 175.

1314 Ṭab. II 1591, 1928. In 1018 Maḥmūd of Ghazna had three prisoners (presumably the military leaders) executed and the others sent to Indian garrisons: Bayh. 677.

1315 Bal. 398.

Qara-Khitay, and 100,000 dinars for a captured emir and his son.¹³¹⁶ But even in cases where the ransom demanded was less extreme, it could still provide a considerable profit. Consequently it is not surprising that taking as many prisoners as possible, holding them for ransom and making a profit soon became universal practice.¹³¹⁷ These prisoners were, of course, treated with care, like valuable items: in 709 the fugitive ruler of Balāsāghūn bound the captured ruler of Tukharistan with golden chains¹³¹⁸ in order to render his captivity more ‘bearable’.

All in all, however, here in the east ransom was an option only for very high-ranking personalities. The common prisoners were not freed, but their manpower was used, mostly in the service of their new lords. This is, of course, the origin of the Turkish guards in Baghdad, but also at other courts (also in Persia) and it is no surprise that there should have been bounties on the capture of enemy warriors in order to acquire more soldiers (1000 for one of the caliph’s generals in Kirman). The prize would be doubled¹³¹⁹ in the case of members of those tribes (such as the Daylamis)¹³²⁰ who were known to be especially competent warriors. The Buyids generally treated their prisoners well and soon employed them in their own service;¹³²¹ Maḥmūd of Ghazna deployed captured Khwarazmians to garrisons in India (1017–18).¹³²² In an exceptional case in 746–47 Abū Muslim offered the captured Umayyad governor of Khurasan, Naṣr, the choice of either joining his forces or be released on condition that he swore not to fight against the Abbasid party.¹³²³ his reason being that this extremely able officer might be persuaded to join the Abbasid cause voluntarily.

[505] Releasing prisoners (without ransom) more widely may well have been an attempt at winning people’s goodwill, at least in some instances. Another factor may have been the thought that | it would have been impossible for them to return to their homeland, for instance because of the inclement climate. Thus many of the prisoners of a campaign against Khwarazm in 704 froze to death, as the Arabs had stolen their clothes due to the cold.¹³²⁴ Furthermore, the pris-

1316 Ḥus. 66; Bund. 278. Further similar figures (1132) e.g. *ibid.* 71 or (1101) Rav. 147.

1317 Ṭab. I 2470 (644 ‘Kurds’ and Farsians).

1318 Athīr IV 208.

1319 Hil. 398.

1320 See p. 487 above.

1321 Misk. v 444.

1322 Bayh. 677; Athīr IX 90; see also *Siyāsat-nāma* 92–95. On the subject of the slaves (*ghulām*) at Maḥmūd of Ghazna’s court, their origin and their duties see Jakubovskii, *Mach.* 55f.

1323 Athīr v 134.

1324 Ṭab. II 1143.

oners were often shackled¹³²⁵ and consequently limited in their movement. On the other hand, an emir of Bukhara in 876 freed 70 Khwarazmians (from the Ṭāhirid army) and gave them white cotton robes as gifts.¹³²⁶ In 996 the Buyid, Rukn al-Dawla, also released captured Samanid troops (for whom he obviously had no use) and allowed them to leave Khurasan and travel home.¹³²⁷ There are other instances in which we hear of such actions (Qābūs of Gurgan in 998¹³²⁸), and it is certainly not wrong to assume that this was essentially due to the Qur'an's call to treat prisoners and slaves humanely. In 740 the Sogdians had received assurance from the governors of Khurasan that they would free only those Muslim prisoners who agreed to their release:¹³²⁹ many of the fighting men in those days had converted to Islam only formally; in a country of different faith they were only too happy to revert to their original religion.

Prisoners were not only taken in open battles but also in the course of the capture of cities and the occupation of entire regions. Here, not only men but also women and children fell into the victors' hands¹³³⁰ (it is unlikely that much concern was given to old people). Muslim constitutional law had regulations for these cases as well. It was forbidden to kill women and children if they were members of a revealed religion (we have already heard that Zoroastrianism was soon numbered among these). According to al-Shāfi'ī, killing was generally forbidden; instead, prisoners ought to be treated as slaves and shared out among the victors (men were also treated in this way).¹³³¹ It was not permitted to separate women from their children; a female prisoner's marriage, on the other hand, was immediately invalid (this meant that she would then be available). According to Ḥanafite law, however, the marriage continued if the husband had been taken prisoner of war at the same time.¹³³² In the vast majority of cases these rules were observed and captured women and children distributed among the victors. Releasing them was permitted only with the approval of the victorious army and only if recompense was paid from the ruler's portion of the booty or his private fortune. Prisoners, children in particular, were

1325 Misk. v 444 (ca. 945).

1326 Narsh. 80.

1327 Athīr VIII 188.

1328 Ibid. IX 48.

1329 Ṭab. II 718.

1330 710 in eastern Iran: Ṭab. II 1228; 1154 after the capture of Marv by the Oghuz: Rav. 180.

1331 1014 at the conquest of a Ghōrid fortress by Ghaznavid troops: Bayh. 114.

1332 Kremer, *Cultur.* I 434. For a general overview of this phase see T.W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der schāfi'ītischen Schule, nebst einer allg. Einleitung*, Leiden and Leipzig 1910.

often sold on,¹³³³ as individual soldiers had no use for them, especially if the campaign continued. Killing the men in a captured city¹³³⁴ happened just as frequently as it did after an open battle. In 972, the men of the Baluch tribe fled into the mountains. Their women and children were captured and interned with the aim of forcing the men to surrender; this was mentioned as an exceptional manner of proceeding.¹³³⁵

Games

Just like other regions, Persia in those centuries had to be in constant readiness for war, and consequently everyone who was willing and able to fight had to practise his physical agility.¹³³⁶ Games that trained the knightly skills occupied a firm position in the everyday life of the 'upper class' in particular, and consequently also the education of the young. This had already been the case in the pre-Islamic era: part of the young men's training under the Sasanids was horse riding, throwing the javelin, archery, wrestling, throwing clubs and axes, and ball games.¹³³⁷ As the leading circles among the Arabs followed a similar regime and held similar views regarding physical prowess during the years of the conquest, there can be no doubts that these exercises were continued, even though the sources barely touch on matters of everyday life, and only provide occasional and incidental accounts. The favourite game of the nobility was polo,¹³³⁸ which the sources mention from time to time,¹³³⁹ especially, of course, in cases where during the course of this game (Arabic: *ṣawljān* or [507] *kurra* = ball) a ruler | was killed in a fall¹³⁴⁰ or murdered.¹³⁴¹ The skills of good players are also emphasized.¹³⁴² It appears that this game had a place during military parades¹³⁴³ as well.

1333 1189, the children of a defeated *wālī* in Azerbaijan as well: Rav. 362.

1334 The captured members of the Shi'ite rebellion in Bukhara ca. 780: Narsh. 63; 1056 in Sistan: TS 377.

1335 Athīr VIII 202.

1336 The *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 357f. also recommends physical exercise for this reason.

1337 Bartholomae, *Frau*, 8; Unvala, *Der König Husrav und sein Knabe* (discusses the development of a young man); Pigulevskaja, *Viz.* 234; Inostrancev, *Sas. Et.* 72.

1338 See Mez 384 and n. 9 and Carl Diem, *Asiatische Reiterspiele*, Berlin 1941.

1339 As in the case of a game between Mas'ūd of Ghazna and his emirs in 1033 (*chōgān bākhtand*): Bayh. 349.

1340 A Zaydi ruler of Ṭabaristan and a potentate in Gurgan in 928 and 936, resp.: Ibn Isf. 211, 217; Athīr VIII 55, 105.

1341 961 the Samanid 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nūḥ: Gard. 42; Must. I 384.

1342 Ibn Isf. 243 (ca. 1107 a prince of Ṭabaristan). A nobleman constructed a polo field in Bukhara ca. 930: 'Awfi 223, no. 1658.

1343 1163 an *iṣpāhbād* of Ṭabaristan: Ibn Isf. 249.

The Seljuks revived the art of archery throughout the Iranian territory, Alp Arslan and Malikshāh in particular being famous exponents of the game.¹³⁴⁴ Wrestling was a popular sport, especially among the culturally backward tribes, and achieved more universal recognition with the rise of the Daylamis (Buyids), with whom it even spread to Baghdad.¹³⁴⁵ A special feat was that a wrestler at the time of the Ghōr (ca. 1200) fought a leopard, an elephant, and both together, and still remained victorious.¹³⁴⁶ It was, however, possible that games might take away from physical prowess, if they were played as a mere diversion, in which case they were seen as a sign of decadence.¹³⁴⁷ This view was occasionally taken of the old-established game of chess (it had originally come from India, but had long since taken hold in Persia),¹³⁴⁸ which was, however, a universal favourite.¹³⁴⁹ Maḥmūd of Ghazna reproached the Buyid, Majd al-Dawla, who was being held captive on his (Maḥmūd's) orders, for having played chess and thus wasted his time to no avail (1029).¹³⁵⁰ It would appear that powerful men of brute force viewed this game as exercise for the mind only and so not congenial to their aims.

Everyday Life

[508]

Food

The basic meats consumed in Iran were (and still are) mutton, beef and ox.¹³⁵¹ Their meat was also consumed cured (Persian: *āchār*, Arabic: *qadīd*)¹³⁵² and was furthermore used as provision for the troops.¹³⁵³ Cats, dogs,¹³⁵⁴ camels, and mules¹³⁵⁵ were only ever eaten in dire famine. Pork was not an option

1344 Rav. 117; Ḥus. 50.

1345 Mez. 385.

1346 Juv. II 53 (but can we believe this, even from this usually very reliable author?).

1347 Thus explicitly in 960 an emir of Azerbaijan in comparison with his father: Athīr VIII 174.

1348 On the game of chess in the Sasanid era see Christensen 481. Rav. 405–15 describes chess and its history. See H.J.R. Murray, *A history of chess*, Oxford 1913 (on 1–393 an in-depth history of the game and its distribution throughout Asia).

1349 In 1181 the Khwarazmian pretender Sulṭānshāh captured, among other things, 600 chess boards: Juv. II 22.

1350 Athīr IX 128.

1351 Ṭab. II 1970 (747 in Khurasan); Huei-ch'ao (early eighth century).

1352 Browne, *Iṣf.* 28 (probably referring to 1030).

1353 Athīr VI 152 (835 near Ardabil; Bayh. 124: Maḥmūd of Ghazna ca. 1020).

1354 Athīr II 197 (637 the Persians besieged in the western part of al-Madā'in): Muḥ. Ib. 112 (1180 in Kirman).

1355 Misk. II 4 (940–41 in Gurgan).

even then. Fowl was eaten frequently: chickens and pigeons,¹³⁵⁶ and pheasant among the wealthier classes.¹³⁵⁷ A necessary complement to meat were cereals, in the form of bread (flat bread,¹³⁵⁸ which might be baked in oil or other fat¹³⁵⁹), or as sweet pap (a favourite among which was *pālūdha*, Arabic: *fālūdhaḡh*,¹³⁶⁰ cereal mixed with water, almonds and honey). Both these food-stuffs were produced¹³⁶¹ from wheat or barley;¹³⁶² in some areas also rice¹³⁶³ and millet (*dhura* = sorghum). Foods were sweetened with honey, and sesame (besides oil) was used to add flavour and fat.¹³⁶⁴

[509] The much-loved rose water (*gul-āb*), which was not even kept from prisoners as long as they were noble, was also prepared using honey.¹³⁶⁵ In order to chill drinks (and foods), ice and snow¹³⁶⁶ were used in Persia as well as Mesopotamia and elsewhere. The snow was brought down from the mountains and stored in shady caves and cellars.¹³⁶⁷ Much fruit was eaten, predominantly to quench one's thirst, but also as foodstuff; most frequently melons,¹³⁶⁸ oranges, lemons, grapes, apples, dates and pomegranates.¹³⁶⁹ Consuming these in excess might, of course, have detrimental consequences, as in the case of the 'Russians' (which includes Varangians) who, on the occasion of their invasion of Barda'a (in Caucasia), were seized by a 'pestilence' after eating fruit (and perhaps drinking afterwards), and died in large numbers.¹³⁷⁰ Vegetables mentioned are mostly cucumbers of various kinds¹³⁷¹ and olives.¹³⁷²

1356 Ṭab. II 1970 (747 in Gurgan).

1357 Ṭāhir immediately before his death in 821: Shābushtī/Rothst. 161.

1358 Athīr IV 194 (704 among the Sogdians in Samarkand); Huei-ch'ao 455 (early eighth century); Ṭab. III 1201 (Bābak 837; here also *ka'k*, a kind of cracknel). Concerning bread and salt among the Arabs and other Semites see Kremer, 'Studien', 3rd treatise, 1–34.

1359 Muq. 357.

1360 Mas. VIII 54 (ca. 870); Rud. 194; Ṭab. III 123f.

1361 Ṭab. II 1325 (Gurgan). Hirth, *Länder*, 40 = Hirth and Rockhill 133f. (twelfth century, Kish).

1362 *Ḥanta* and *sha'ir*: Ṭab. II 1325 (716–17 in Gurgan) Shābushtī/Rothst. 161 (827 Ṭāhir).

1363 Rice bread was typical of Ahvaz: Yāq. I 382.

1364 Athīr VIII 116 (939/40): also emergency rations during a famine. Schwarz VII 833 (honey in Jibāl).

1365 Narsh. 89 (901 the captured 'Amr ibn Layth).

1366 Browne, *Iṣf.* 29 (ca. 1030 in Isfahan).

1367 See Mez 381, 408.

1368 Ṭab. III 1201 (837 Bābak).

1369 Muq. 357. See also the section on agriculture above.

1370 Athīr VIII 135.

1371 Quthā' and Khīyār: Ṭab. III 1201 (Bābak).

1372 Muq. 357.

When the sources emphasize explicitly that a man such as Ya'qūb al-Şaffār lived on mutton, beef, *pālūdha* and dates¹³⁷³ all his life, they are of course implying that the courts of princes would be accustomed to rather different fare. However, unlike Mesopotamia, we do not have any information on the feasts of the nobility in Iran. We do, however, have a reasonable amount of information about the national dishes of individual Persian tribes and regions. Considering the reliable transmission of such things everywhere and at all times, it is safe to assume that these would not have changed significantly throughout the time discussed here.

The characteristic food in Khuzistan was rice bread,¹³⁷⁴ in Dēnavar a particular kind of cheese (*jubn*),¹³⁷⁵ and in Kerman dates, millet (*dhura*), candied sugar (*pānīdh*) and syrup (*dūshāb*).¹³⁷⁶ In Sistan people enjoyed a sweet made with powdered sugar and almonds in the style typical of Baghdad (similar to that eaten in Kirman);¹³⁷⁷ they also used asafoetida (Arab: *hiltīth*)¹³⁷⁸ in generous quantities as a spice: it grew (and still grows) in the desert between Sistan and Makran.¹³⁷⁹ In Kohistan 'they liked to eat milk and honey';¹³⁸⁰ in Ghazna the consumption of sumac was noted¹³⁸¹ (restricted, however, to a few houses which were supervised by police officials). | The best bread in Khurasan [510] was said to come from Marv, where they also produced a kind of dry bread made from raisins and other fruit, which was exported as well.¹³⁸² The food of Khurasan was so noticeably different from that of Mesopotamia that Ṭāhir (the founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty) kept a special cook in Baghdad.¹³⁸³ Along the south coast of the Caspian Sea, in Ṭabaristan as well as Daylam and Gilan,

1373 Mas. VIII 54.

1374 Muq. 416. Schwarz IV 403f.

1375 Muq. 396.

1376 Muq. 460; Hud. 123f.; Hirth, *Länder*, 40 = Hirth and Rockhill 133f. (twelfth century; Kīsh).

1377 Rud. 194 (992).

1378 See BGA IV 218 (dictionary).

1379 Išt. 244. Mez 411 includes information about the present day.

1380 Muq. 384.

1381 Qābūs-nāma/Diez 812f. and 813 in an anecdote. Concerning the twelfth century in Ghazna, baked goods, meat, kumis and small fish are listed: Hirth, *Länder*, 44f. = Hirth and Rockhill 138f.

1382 Išt. 262.

1383 Krymśkiy I 28 after an anecdote by Ibn Tayfūr.

people enjoyed not only rice, rice bread and garlic but also, naturally, fish and water fowl.¹³⁸⁴

The Sogdians in Samarkand had at first (704) retained a religious tradition around foodstuffs: every year a table would be laid with meat, bread and a jug of wine (*sharāb*) which no-one was allowed to touch as it was intended for the champion knight (*fāris*).¹³⁸⁵ The religious context of this tradition is not discussed. The *Qābūs-nāma* (1080) suggests the following mealtimes: breakfast in the morning, the main meal at noon, and the evening meal in the late afternoon, early enough for it to have been digested when it is time to go to sleep. For health reasons it was advisable to eat only two (warm) meals a day.¹³⁸⁶ Using knives at table was mentioned as a particularly Persian idiosyncrasy.¹³⁸⁷

We are expecting a major work¹³⁸⁸ discussing the economic foundations of nourishment, i.e. the cost of foodstuffs; it will cover a much longer time than the present study and promises significant insights into this difficult and as yet much neglected subject. As regards Iran in the early years of Islam, prices of foods are only quoted in times of inflation, which have no value for the general economic situation.¹³⁸⁹ Of course, economic discussion based only on prices will remain difficult, as we have virtually no information concerning the regular income of the majority of the population at the time. It has been pointed out repeatedly¹³⁹⁰ that the statement that in his younger days Ya'qūb al-Ṣaffār | earned¹³⁹¹ 15 dirhams¹³⁹² a month as a coppersmith in Sistan is the only information we have regarding wages in the east of the Islamic territory in these centuries. We learn of an official regulation of food prices in 1042, when Qāvurd of Kirman ordered that 120 *mann*¹³⁹³ of bread must be sold at a price

1384 Iṣṭ. 212; Ibn Ḥawq. 381; Ḥud. 134, 137; Muq. 355. Regarding Azerbaijan see Schwarz VIII 192–94.

1385 Athīr IV 194.

1386 *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 427f. Other table customs are explained here as well.

1387 Goldziher, *Shu'ub*. 154.

1388 By Walther Hinz of Göttingen, see 411 n. above.

1389 I shall only list a few details for information: Ṭab. II 1562 (Mar 733); Narsh. 81 (885–56). Athīr VII 144 (888–89 salt); Muḥ. Ib. 139 (ca. 1185); TS 358, 361, 365, 383, 385, 389, 396 (between 1009 and 1235). The price of two swords decorated with precious stones was 50,000 dinars early in the eleventh century: Bayh. 223.

1390 Barthold, 'Ṣaffāriden', 177; Krymśkiy I 49.

1391 Gard. 10. See p. 411 above.

1392 According to Theodor Nöldeke's calculations this corresponds approximately to six pre-war gold marks.

1393 A measure (two *riṭl*) of varying weight, see *EI* III 1219f.

of one dinar, after local merchants had tried to sell as little as 90 *mann* at this price, rather than the previously stipulated amount of 100.¹³⁹⁴

Hunting and Fishing

Animals killed during hunting provided occasional contributions to people's diet. Consequently hunting, which had been seen as a very noble pastime already in Sasanid times, also had economic significance. This was true even when the game was lions, panthers and wild asses, which was the case not only under the Sasanids¹³⁹⁵ but also later under Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd of Ghazna;¹³⁹⁶ moreover, the elimination of wild beasts at least was in the public interest. The love of hunting was cultivated by the Arabs¹³⁹⁷ and Iranians¹³⁹⁸ as well as, later, the Turks (Seljuks).¹³⁹⁹ Indeed, the *ispāhbadh* Khorshēdh of Ṭabaristan (ca. 765) had parks laid out for wild boar, hares, wolves and leopards, where he could indulge his passion for hunting.¹⁴⁰⁰ The lowlands around rivers and by the coast, where birds were abundant (e.g. near Kish in Transoxania),¹⁴⁰¹ were much visited hunting grounds (especially in winter). When hunting birds or small game, hawks played a famously significant role. As in the West, whole books were dedicated to falconry.¹⁴⁰² It was common among all classes of society,¹⁴⁰³ and Khurasan (where the caliph al-Walīd obtained birds¹⁴⁰⁴ in 743) and the islands on the coast of Gurgan (where much-valued white hawks were bred¹⁴⁰⁵) were the most famous places for breeding hawks.

As opposed to hunting, fishing only served the purpose to earn one's living; no sport developed in connection with it. The main fishing grounds were on the southern and southeastern shores of the Caspian Sea: in Daylam,¹⁴⁰⁶ [512]

1394 Muḥ. Ib. 12.

1395 Bartholomae, *Frau*, 8.

1396 Bayh, 239.

1397 Ṭab. II 1766 (743).

1398 Athīr VII 98 (876–77). Rabino, *Maz.* 398.

1399 Malikshāh I (1072–92) and Malikshāh II (1152ff.) loved the hunt: Ḥus., 'Urāḍa/Turk. II 243 / Rav. 249.

1400 Ibn Isf. 115.

1401 Muq. 283.

1402 D.S. Phillott, *The Bâz-nâma-yi Nâşirî, a Persian treatise of falconry*, London 1908 (see Clément Huart in *JA* ser. 10, XIII. (1909), 130). Regarding instruction in falconry see Qābūs-nâma/Diez 425–500.

1403 When Bābak went hunting in Armenia he also had a hawk: Ṭab. III 1226 (837).

1404 Ṭab. II 1766.

1405 Mas. II 27 (27–37 gives a description of these birds).

1406 Ḥud. 134; Iṣṭ. 219.

Gilan,¹⁴⁰⁷ Ṭabaristan¹⁴⁰⁸ and Gurgan,¹⁴⁰⁹ and also along the western shore, and in Azerbaijan and Arrān.¹⁴¹⁰ The Persians did not yet sail the waters further north along the western shore bordering on Khazar lands, although other peoples were very active here.¹⁴¹¹ Fishing was also important along the Persian Gulf, in Fars¹⁴¹² and Kirman.¹⁴¹³ Here, fish was frequently the main (and in Māh[i]rūbān in western Fars even ‘the only’)¹⁴¹⁴ food, and a major export commodity.¹⁴¹⁵ There were also some inland lakes in Fars,¹⁴¹⁶ and artificial ponds in Ṭabaristan,¹⁴¹⁷ that could be fished. Rivers are not mentioned in this context. There were professional pearl fishers in Fars¹⁴¹⁸ who would be hired (especially during the months of August and September) and had a share in the profit;¹⁴¹⁹ the pearls were exported as far as China.¹⁴²⁰

Wine

Iran is a country where vines have grown since time immemorial:¹⁴²¹ not only raisins were produced¹⁴²² but wine was enjoyed everywhere as well. Some Zoroastrian ceremonies included wine well into the Islamic era,¹⁴²³ and wine was (of course) never prohibited to the Christians in the East. It was a lost cause from the first to try and enforce the Qur’anic prohibition on wine.¹⁴²⁴ On the contrary: | the custom of drinking wine took root at the Umayyad court (despite ‘Umar II’s attempts at suppressing it);¹⁴²⁵ the Abbasids, embracing Iranian culture, took to fortifying themselves with wine even more whole-

1407 Ḥud. 137 (982).

1408 Ibn Isf. 115.

1409 Muq. 357 (985); Tha‘ālibī, Laṭ. 113.

1410 Ḥud. 142 (982). According to Yāq. II 67 fishing was the only crop from the Caspian Sea.

1411 Iṣṭ. 219 (ca. 930).

1412 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 91 (1052).

1413 Ḥud. 124 (982).

1414 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 91.

1415 See p. 407 above.

1416 Ibn Ḥawq. 2 277 (978); Ḥud. 55, 126 (982).

1417 Ibn Isf. 115. (ca. 765).

1418 Ḥud. 127; Hirth, *Länder*, 40 = Hirth and Rockhill 133f.

1419 Rabino, *Maz.* I 328; Abū Yusuf 39f.

1420 For details see Mez 419f. (see also ‘Trade’ above).

1421 Ibn Isf. 31 (Ṭabaristan ca. 800); Ḥud. 107, 109 (Khurasan 982); *ibid.* 132 (Rayy).

1422 In Fars raisins were also used to make wine: Iqd III 29.

1423 Ḥud. 136 (ca. 982 in Ṭabaristan). The Zoroastrians in those days drank wine on other occasions as well: Ibn Isf. 155 (ca. 835).

1424 Sura 2:219; 4:43; 5:90 (Cairo count). See *EI* II 959–62, s.v. *Khamr*.

1425 Kremer, *Streifz.* 28f.

heartedly.¹⁴²⁶ Thus members of the various peoples who played a part in Iran at that time, Arabs,¹⁴²⁷ Persians,¹⁴²⁸ and Turks,¹⁴²⁹ devoted themselves to the joys of drinking wine, and all the dynasties – however hostile they were among themselves – loved the juice of the grape: the *ispāhbadhs* of Ṭabaristan,¹⁴³⁰ the Ṭāhirid Muḥammad (862–83),¹⁴³¹ the Ṣaffārīds,¹⁴³² the rulers of Kirman,¹⁴³³ the Buyīds,¹⁴³⁴ Samanīds,¹⁴³⁵ Ghaznavīds,¹⁴³⁶ the Seljuks,¹⁴³⁷ the Ghōr¹⁴³⁸ and the various Khwarazm-shāhs.¹⁴³⁹ The Qarakhanīds were the only ones who are reported to have been abstinent.¹⁴⁴⁰

It is of course impossible to try to provide a long list of details on the subject of the consumption of wine. We must, however, point out that it was usually seen as a matter of course that Muslims, too, should drink wine.¹⁴⁴¹ We hear again and again that guests were offered wine without any formality,¹⁴⁴² that they drank it naturally, that there were carousals – often lasting several days¹⁴⁴³ – in the palace, during hunting trips¹⁴⁴⁴ and on other occasions. It was seen as remarkable when an important person decided to abstain from wine for a longer time for reasons such as mourning or political vexation,¹⁴⁴⁵ and he was usually very willing for those around him to persuade him to express his

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- 1426 Mez 8.
 1427 Bal. 416 (686); TS 125 (723); Athīr IV 177 (700).
 1428 Nāṣir-i Khosraw 2 (ca. 1040).
 1429 Rav. 90 (1024); Bund. 266 (1115).
 1430 Ibn Isf. 65, 155, 250.
 1431 Gard. 10.
 1432 TS 275; Bayh. 484.
 1433 Muḥ. lb. 36, 59, 163 (twelfth century).
 1434 Nikbī 204 (97).
 1435 ‘Abd al-Malik: Gard. 42.
 1436 Bayh. 6, 128, 185, 220, 349; Gard. 94; Siyāsāt-nāma 41f.
 1437 Bund. 266, 274 (twelfth century); Rav. 249f., 277; Dawl. 120; Ḥus. 52, 54, 86, 127, 133. On the subject of the consumption of wine in general see the anecdotes reported by ‘Awfi 183, no. 1027 to 1040.
 1438 Juv. II 62 (1206).
 1439 Bayh. 667 (ca. 1000); Dawl. 137 (a minister ca. 1225).
 1440 Gard. 83. See Barthold, *Vorl.* 86.
 1441 When Abbasid troops captured Isfahan in 748–49, they found wine glasses in every house: Ṭab. III 6.
 1442 Nikbī 189f. (Samanīds in Gurgan); Ḥus., ‘Urāḍa/Turk. I 283 (ca. 1020); Ḥus. 110 (ca. 1160).
 1443 Bayh. 431 (1034), 513 (1036); Rav. 236 (1146).
 1444 Ṭab. III 1700 (869); Bayh. 239.
 1445 Nikbī 190.

sorrow in a different fashion.¹⁴⁴⁶ In order to assuage the misgivings they might feel in this context, people would occasionally attempt to justify the consumption of wine in spite of the Qur'anic prohibition | in lengthy treatises.¹⁴⁴⁷ The [514] *Qābūs-nāma*,¹⁴⁴⁸ while explicitly emphasizing the Qur'anic prohibition, also contains (as does the *Siyāsat-nāma*) advice on the proper fashion of drinking wine, and assumes that wine will be served during feasts.¹⁴⁴⁹ We also know of paeans to the juice of the grape (e.g. by Jawharī-yi Zargar ca. 1180),¹⁴⁵⁰ from where it was only a short step to the glorification of wine as practised by the great Persian poets of the Middle Ages, and the scintillating wine symbolism used by the mystics.

The fact that someone might drink wine did not influence the assessment of his personality negatively either.¹⁴⁵¹ It was only the immoderate consumption, leading to excesses in a state of drunkenness,¹⁴⁵² which was seen as repulsive¹⁴⁵³ and might on occasion result in someone losing his office.¹⁴⁵⁴ While a punishment for drinking in public was often called for in theory, it was rarely implemented in practice.¹⁴⁵⁵ Only the Assassins were known to be (at least publicly) strict enemies of wine for some time, and Ḥasan-i Šabāḥ had one of his sons executed for this crime,¹⁴⁵⁶ while a later member of the ruling dynasty was able to clear himself of this suspicion.¹⁴⁵⁷ However, during the twelfth century, drinking wine became customary among them as well. The permission was said to be the official sign of the imam's return.¹⁴⁵⁸ It is said that Ja'far al-Šādiq's son Ismā'īl, who died young (and from whom the Ismailiya takes its name),

1446 Bayh. 45 (Mas'ūd of Ghazna 1031).

1447 Rav. 416–28 (with reference to Hanafite treatises), see Rav. xxvii and 418.

1448 *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 432ff. *Siyāsat-nāma* 210 advises against the excessive consumption of wine.

1449 *Qābūs-nāma*/Diez 444; *Siyāsat-nāma* 110f.

1450 Quoted by Dawl. 118–20.

1451 The emir Abū Ja'far of Sistan was described as 'very just, competent, intelligent and generous', and 'occupied with *sharāb* night and day': TS 315.

1452 A Buyid in 1028: Athīr IX 127.

1453 Bund. 232 (ca. 1153).

1454 In 738 a person suggested for the post of governor of Khurasan was rejected by the caliph because he was a 'wine drinker': Ṭab. II 1660.

1455 Athīr VIII 159 (a Zaydi imam in 929); Ḥud. 137 (ca. 982 in Gilan).

1456 Juv. III 210.

1457 Juv. III 225.

1458 Juv. III 225, 228 (wine being drunk during *Īd al-qiyāma* on 1 Ramadan as well).

was prone to this vice and that his father robbed him of the succession to the imamate for this reason.¹⁴⁵⁹

Of course it might happen that excessive consumption of this drink had fatal consequences, be it the fate of the son of the Khwarazm-shāh, Altuntash, who was known to have fallen off a roof when inebriated (1034),¹⁴⁶⁰ or the suspicion in the capital that the sudden death of a general from Khurasan might well have been due to a number of drunken nights.¹⁴⁶¹ Dangerous drinks in this respect certainly included the *si[h]yakī*, | which had a higher alcohol content ^[515] as two thirds of its volume had been evaporated.¹⁴⁶² The inebriating effect of wine was deliberately exploited to make it easier to capture an enemy,¹⁴⁶³ or murder him,¹⁴⁶⁴ or rob him,¹⁴⁶⁵ or make him talk.¹⁴⁶⁶ More than once an intoxicated general, or an intoxicated regiment, influenced military decisions significantly. If Muslims indulged in the consumption of wine without any restraint, it should not surprise us that 'heretics who renounced Islam', such as al-Muqanna¹⁴⁶⁷ or Bābak,¹⁴⁶⁸ enjoyed intoxicating drink. It is also worth mentioning that no one had any qualms to gratify Bābak's brother's wish for a considerable quantity of wine to be brought to his prison the night before his execution (838).¹⁴⁶⁹

Clothing

Persian fashion set the standard far beyond the borders of Iran, and thus became one of the clearest signs of the expanding influence of Iranian culture. The Umayyad rulers were the first who began to dress in the Persian manner.¹⁴⁷⁰ In the face of this universal tendency, attempts at punishing Arab soldiers¹⁴⁷¹ who dressed in the Iranian style and wore Persian kaftans and

1459 Juv. III 145 (ca. 760).

1460 Bayh. 410.

1461 Athīr VIII 163.

1462 TS 316 and n. 4.

1463 Rav. 90 (1028 Maḥmūd of Ghazna, one of the four Seljuk brothers); Aqsarā'ī II (the same event); Ḥus., 'Urāḍa/Turk. I 283.

1464 Rav. 363 (1191). See Nöldeke, *Aufs.* 8 and n. 2 (between 1030 and 1040).

1465 TS 315 (ca. 932).

1466 Ibn Isf. 155 (ca. 853); see also Ṭab. III 714 (807).

1467 Narsh. 72.

1468 Athīr VI 157.

1469 Ṭab. III 1231.

1470 Kremer, *Streifz.* 33; Kremer, *Cultur.* II 217f.

1471 Aghānī/Bulāq XIV 104. On the subject of Arab (warrior) dress see Fries 29–31.

gaiters (*rān*)¹⁴⁷² were of course futile.¹⁴⁷³ The Abbasids further strengthened the rise of Iranian fashion, as Persian court dress¹⁴⁷⁴ was a major constituent [516] of their imitation of the style of the ancient Persian kings.¹⁴⁷⁵ | This court dress consisted in an outer robe (*qabāʾ*) with sleeves,¹⁴⁷⁶ frequently made from silk decorated with gold (*dēbāh*, *qazz*),¹⁴⁷⁷ which had still been the ruler's privilege at the time of Yazdagird III.¹⁴⁷⁸ Red sateen is also mentioned in this context,¹⁴⁷⁹ while *immāt* (a kind of brocade) was used only towards the end of the Sasanid era.¹⁴⁸⁰ Wide *ṭirāz* borders with inscriptions were often used as decoration.¹⁴⁸¹ Trousers were originally a specifically Persian item of clothing that was soon adopted by the Arabs (e.g. 727–28).¹⁴⁸²

The heads of high-ranking personalities were often adorned with a coronet (*tāgh/j*).¹⁴⁸³ The tall black Persian hat (*qalansuwa*) was widely worn by the population;¹⁴⁸⁴ as early as the Sasanid era those worn by important people were richly decorated.¹⁴⁸⁵ The majority of the population wore the (usually

1472 Regarding the meaning of this word see Mas. VIII 62.

1473 Mubarrd, *Kāmil* 627.

1474 Kremer, *Streifz.* 33 and the literature quoted there.

1475 A coin with the image of the caliph al-Mutawakkil shows an Iranian beard, see E. v. Bergmann, 'Eine abbasidische Bildmünze', in (*Wiener Numism. Zeitschrift* I (1869), Vienna 1870, 445–46.

1476 See Ṭab. I 2642 (dress worn by the governor of Isfahan when receiving visitors in 642: golden coronet, the courtiers wearing earrings, gold bracelets and silk robes). Bayh. 289f. (dress worn by the courtiers at the Ghaznavid court when receiving visitors in 1031: two-pointed cap and valuable belts, linen robes, silver staffs). See also Ṭab. III 1230 (838). From the twelfth/thirteenth century see Hirth, *Länder*, 40 (island of Kīsh) = Hirth and Rockhill 133f.

1477 Aghānī/Būlāq XIV 104; Athīr II 212 (643); Muq. 281 (985); Bayh. 68 (Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1030). Information on dress and hairstyles in the late Sasanid era may also be found in T'ang-shu 3614/2.

1478 Ṭab. I 2880 (651).

1479 Rav. 261 (1153).

1480 For a robe worn by the general Rustam: Ṭab. I 2270 (636). Concerning all the technical terms see Dozy, *Vêtements*.

1481 See Kremer, *Streifz.* 33, and *EI* IV 850–58 and s265–67.

1482 Ṭab. II 1499, 1502, 1530. See Hermann Goetz, 'The history of Persian costume', in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, III 2227–56 (esp. 2236–39: Abbasid and Seljuk periods).

1483 Athīr II 212 (e.g. 643 Hōrmizdān); Ṭab. II 395 (680–81: this shows clearly how the diadem passed from the Persians to the Arabs).

1484 Bal. 434 (ca. 643 in Kandahar: the Arabs first came to know it here); Iṣṭ. 138 (ca. 930; especially regarding Fars). Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 142, n. 5.

1485 Athīr II 148 (643 Hōrmizdān). Schwarz III 141f.

black) lambskin hat (*kulāh*).¹⁴⁸⁶ Besides these the turban was also widely worn,¹⁴⁸⁷ often covered with a neck drape (*taylasān*), which was a characteristic piece of attire and worn by many in Khurasan, Qumis, Herat, and Sistan,¹⁴⁸⁸ while only nobles wore it in Khuzistan and Transoxania,¹⁴⁸⁹ and only *ulamā'* and *fuqahā'* in Marv | (together with the turban wrap).¹⁴⁹⁰ Ladies enjoyed [517] wearing earrings,¹⁴⁹¹ as they had done in the Sasanid era.¹⁴⁹² Common men, finally, would wear a woollen shift (*durrā'a*)¹⁴⁹³ and, if needed, a (thick) woollen coat.¹⁴⁹⁴ Wool was a widely used raw material in clothing; in its untreated form (*ṣūf*) it became the dress of the mystic (the *ṣūfī*). Hermits might be clothed in animal furs (e.g. gazelle in 1174¹⁴⁹⁵). Cotton is mentioned only rarely during these early years and occurs mainly in the eastern mountains and in Bukhara (876).¹⁴⁹⁶ Robes would be fastened with a belt (which is said to have been made from gold among the Sogdians in 721–22¹⁴⁹⁷). Mourning dress was black,¹⁴⁹⁸ or sackcloth. Undergarments were a kind of tunic (*ghilāla*)¹⁴⁹⁹ or shifts. On their feet, members of the nobility wore shoes, occasionally adorned with precious stones.¹⁵⁰⁰

There is no doubt that traditional dress varied from one region to the next, especially among the common people. It survived only in the more remote

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- 1486 Huei-ch'ao 448–52 (early eighth century); Bayh. 68 (1030). See also *EI* II 724f., s.v. *ḳalansuwa*.
- 1487 Muq. 416; Ṭab. III 1226f.
- 1488 Muq. 328, 367. Grünebaum 213; Schwarz VII 834f. (Jibāl); Herzfeld, *Sam.* VI 150, n. 2.
- 1489 Muq. 328, 416.
- 1490 Muq. 327f. See Mez 163f. 313f.: the dress of preachers would match that worn by the population of the country. Wiet 158.
- 1491 Kuwabara, 'On P'u Shou Kêng', I 52.
- 1492 Spiegel, *Ērānische Altertumskunde*, III 659.
- 1493 Muq. 328: Iṣṭ. 138 (tenth century; here with reference to Fars); Ṭab. III 1226f. (Bābak). Grünebaum 213.
- 1494 Muq. 416.
- 1495 Juv. II 10.
- 1496 Narsh. 80 (Bukhara); Huei-ch'ao 448–52.
- 1497 Ṭab. II 1441.
- 1498 Athīr IX 177 (1043–44 in Tabriz); also among the Daylamis in 994; Rud. 260. When Vashmgir (see p. 91 above) on his journey to Mesopotamia allowed himself to be persuaded to don black clothes in Qazvin (Athīr VIII 77), this was probably only in deference to the colour of the Abbasids.
- 1499 Ṭab. III 1279 (839 in Ṭabaristan).
- 1500 Ṭab. II 1225 (a Tukharian in 710); Muq. 440 (985).

areas (e.g. Daylam¹⁵⁰¹ and Gilan¹⁵⁰²), while it appears that elsewhere a more unified taste soon gained ground. There are certainly clear accounts of the fashions of Mesopotamia (itself influenced by Persian taste) not being significantly different¹⁵⁰³ from those of Khuzistan,¹⁵⁰⁴ Fars¹⁵⁰⁵ and Rayy¹⁵⁰⁶ or even Bust.¹⁵⁰⁷ While it is probable that the authors of these accounts were referring to the clothes of the more affluent inhabitants of the cities, there is no clear indication that this is indeed the case. | For everyday use there were – surely only in more affluent households – handkerchiefs (*mandil*) and woollen towels.¹⁵⁰⁸ Members of this class would sit on cushions¹⁵⁰⁹ made from (embroidered) silk. The walls of the Sasanid rulers' palace in Ctesiphon were covered with a very valuable and much-admired tapestry in silk interwoven with gold, measuring sixty by sixty cubits and showing images (of landscapes) and decorated with scattered precious stones.¹⁵¹⁰ The Arabs called it 'the bunch of grapes' (*qitf*). It came to Medina as part of the booty, and caused a great sensation there. There are no other references to, or remains of, carpet weaving surviving from this early time.

As regards people's personal appearance it is worth mentioning that hair was often dyed.¹⁵¹¹ The Seljuk Tughril wore his hair falling down his back in three tails.¹⁵¹² This appears to have been a Turkish fashion, which may be seen later among the Mongols as well; after all, the Seljuks were their precursors in many ways. Their era, which in the field of clothing brought the introduction of especially magnificent colourful attire (from ca. 1160 onwards),¹⁵¹³ was a new phase in the political and cultural history of Iran and must be considered separately, as it does not fit into the framework of the early Islamic development in Iran. During the Samanid era, political life throughout the Iranian territory had

1501 Athīr VIII 188 (966).

1502 Athīr VIII 77 (923). Here people were often 'naked' or wore only trousers.

1503 See Kremer, *Cultur*. I 293f.

1504 Iṣṭ. 91; Ibn Ḥawq.² 254. Schwarz IV 404f.

1505 Ibn Ḥawq.² 289.

1506 Iṣṭ. 208; Ibn Ḥawq.² 379.

1507 Iṣṭ. 245.

1508 Muq. 367 (985).

1509 Ṭab. I 2270 (636 Rustam); Bayh. 550 (1038).

1510 Described in detail in Ṭab. I 2452f. following two traditions.

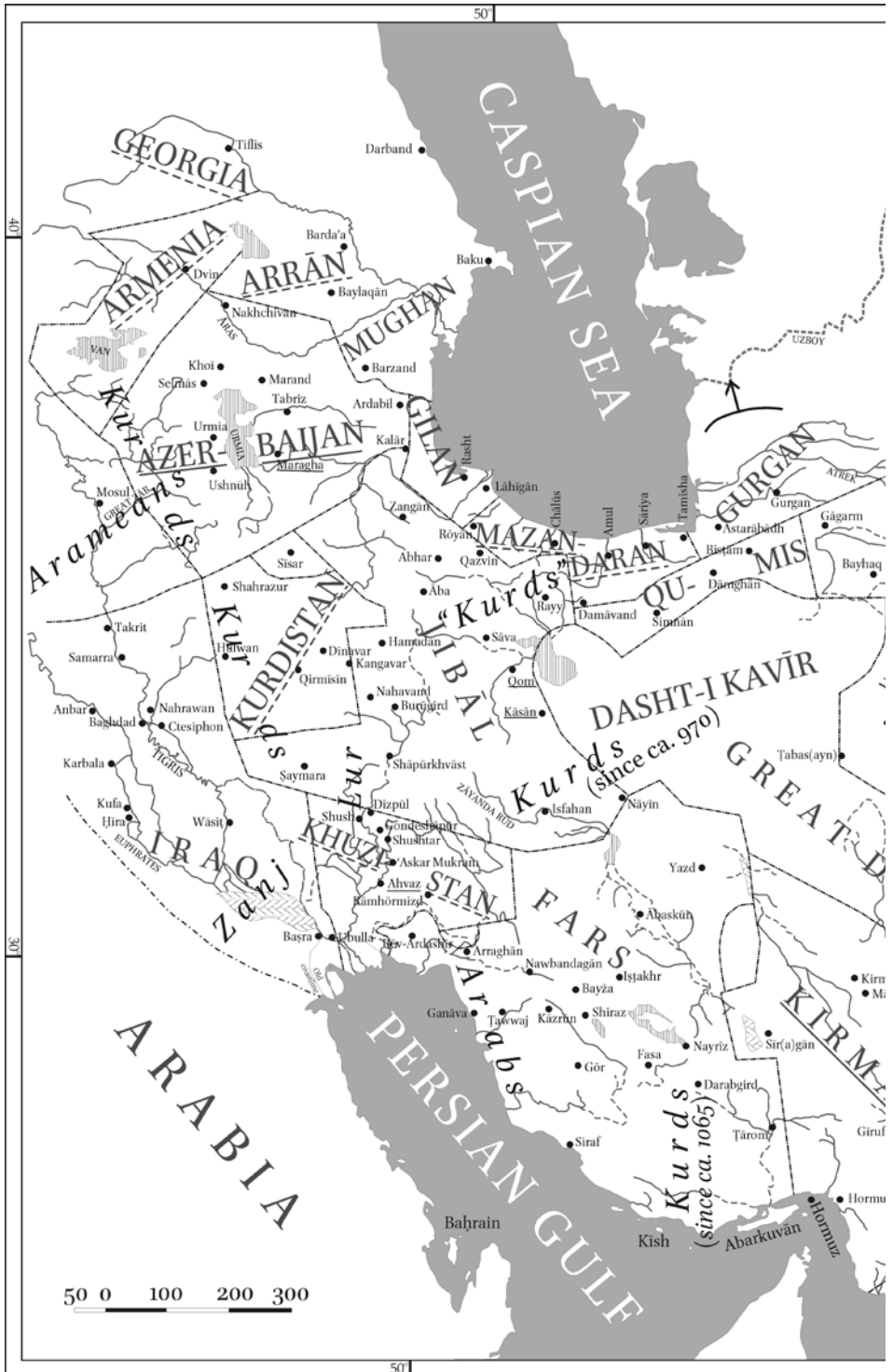
1511 Details may be found in Mez 369f.

1512 Rav. 331. Hirth, *Länder*, 40 = Hirth and Rockhill 133f. also mentions the flowing hair-style worn by the inhabitants of the island of Kish.

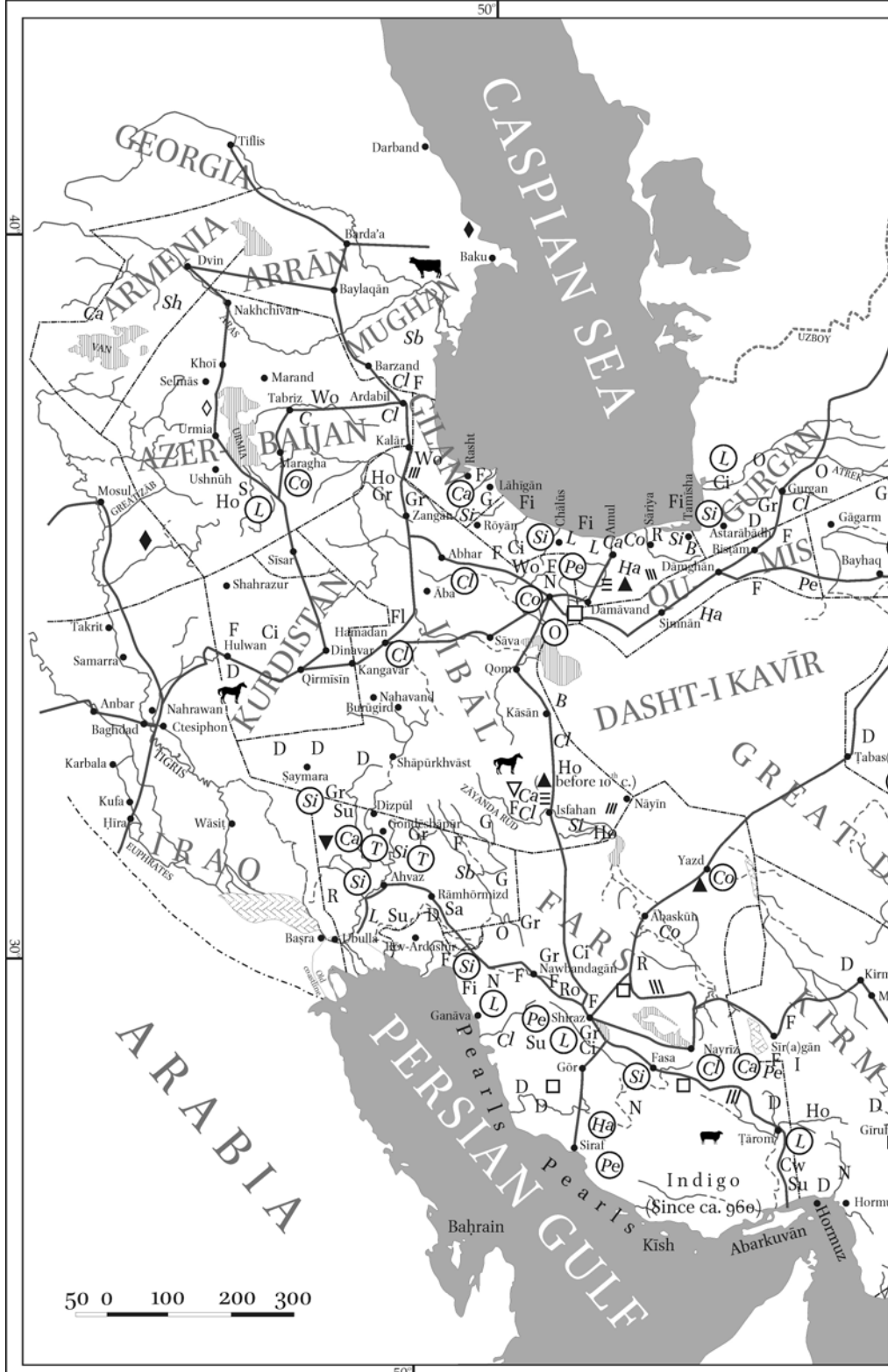
1513 Rav. 282 A high-ranking official close to Niẓām al-Mulk owned 360 robes (one for every day); however, he often gave them away as presents: Ḥus. 47.

appeared to develop towards independent statehood under indigenous rulers. The invasion of Turkish soldiers and the emergence of Turkish dynasties put an overall end to this development. The era during which Persian national and cultural spirit had prevailed throughout the world of Islam came to an end around the middle of the eleventh century, when the Seljuks assumed the rule of Western Asia, and thus re-connected Persia – albeit in a different fashion – with that part of the Islamic commonwealth that was governed from Baghdad. It was not until the Mongol era that Persia would break off once more, a self-contained territorial federation, but again under foreign rule. Now it faced the cultural task of winning the Turkish spirit over to Islamic–Western Asian culture. The fact that it succeeded only goes to show that the force of this people remained unbroken even after they adopted the faith of Islam.

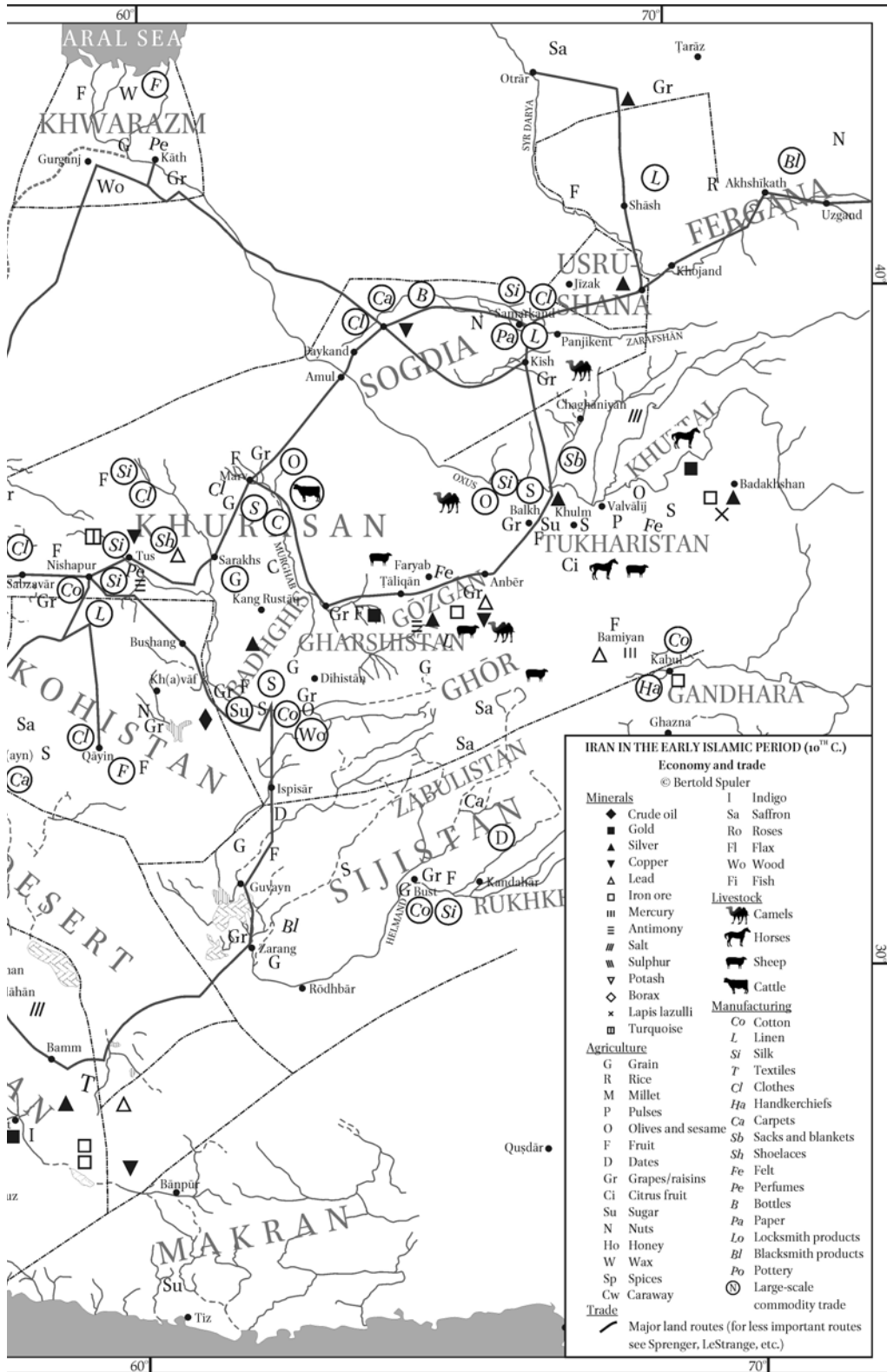
Specialised Maps

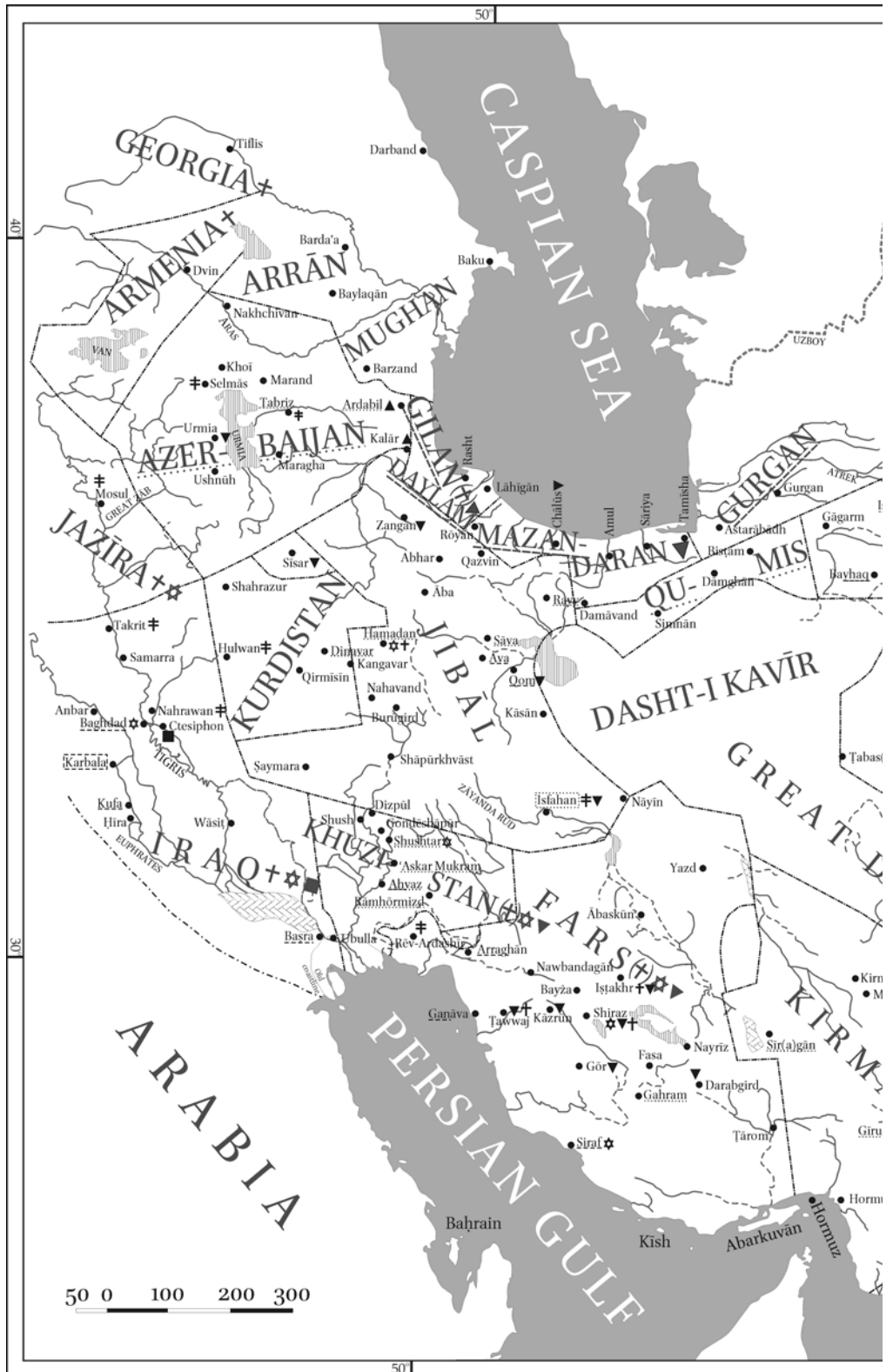






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IRAN IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD (10TH C.)

The spread of Islamic and non-Islamic religious groups

© Bertold Spuler

Islamic religious groups

— Kharjites - - - Shi'ites — Sunnis

Only places and provinces for which we have known sources are underlined. Partial underlining means that only a portion of the population adheres to the sect in question; full underlining/framing means that the sect is in the majority/ fully dominant.

Non-Islamic religious groups:

- ▲ Buddhist communities and shrines
- (▲) The same, but already defunct
- ▼ Zoroastrian communities and shrines
- ☆ Jewish communities
- Manichaean communities
- † Christian communities (Nestorian in Iran and Central Asia)
- ✦ Seats of Christian bishops and metropolitans

When a sign appears to the right of the name/ in parentheses, it means that the religious community was quite substantial/ in a minority in this place.

Abbreviations

AD	Albert Dietrich, 'Review', in <i>Oriens</i> VI (1953), 378–86 [added by RGH]
BSO(A)S	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies
BGA	Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum
CHr 4	Frye, R.N., ed., <i>The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 4: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs</i> (Cambridge, 1975)
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam (see Bibliography II below)
EI Turk	<i>İslam Ansiklopedisi</i> (see Bibliography II below)
GAL	Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> (see Bibliography II below)
GMS	E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series
IC	Islamic Culture
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
n.s.	new series
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
S	supplementary volume (used with EI and GAL)
SB	Sitzungsberichte
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevney Istorii</i>
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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